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THE PEOPLES OF ANCIENT ITALY



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The Peoples of Ancient Italy

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Edited by
Gary D. Farney and Guy Bradley

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Gary D. Farney and Guy Bradley

Introduction

Although there are many studies of specific ancient Italian groups, we noticed at the beginning of this project that there was no work that takes a comprehensive view of each of the ancient groups – the famous and the less well-known – that existed in Iron Age and Roman Italy. Italian scholars, of course, have been prominent in the studies of the individual peoples, although significant works have also been written in English, e.g. Salmon 1967, Harris 1971, Dench 1995, Smith 1996, Bradley 2000, Isayev 2007, Farney 2007, Fulminante 2014. Other recent works that have treated more than one Italian group have only dealt with some of them, and they have not had as their purpose to address thematic topics of importance for most, if not, all groups, e.g. Pesando 2005, Bradley, Isayev and Riva 2007, and Aberson, Biella and Di Fazio 2014. In order to discover basic information about some of the less well-known Italic peoples, modern scholars often have had to resort to the short, inadequate entries that exist for many (but not all) of these groups in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, the *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, or Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, or even one of the Laterza archaeological guides. For detail, one had to track down periodic archaeological site reports, of which there has been a veritable explosion in recent years, particularly in central and southern Italy. In addition, many important articles about some groups are only found in local Italian presses, of which there were only a few copies ever made. Moreover, some studies have focused on the material evidence for these groups, while others on what the literary sources say about them in particular in more “historic” periods when they are interacting with Rome.

Nevertheless, many wonderful resources are now available, and help to make this book possible. Most notable, *Fasti Online* has been a great resource for finding up-to-date excavation notices and information, coupled with the Italian Ministry of Culture's new push to put all of the publications of the various *soprintendenze* online. It is also hard to overstate the importance of Crawford 2011, which makes inscriptions in a variety of early Italian languages readily accessible. As one will see in each chapter, this work touches nearly every corner of ancient Italian group studies.

At any rate, the current volume has been conceived of as a resource for archaeologists, historians, philologists and other scholars interested in finding out more about an Italic group, or groups more generally, from the earliest period they are detectable (the early Iron Age, in most instances), down to the time when they begin to assimilate into the Roman state in the late Republican or early Imperial period. As such, it endeavors to include both archaeological and historical perspectives on each group, with contributions from the best-known or up-and-coming archaeologists and historians for these peoples and topics. Of course, some unevenness of content from chapter to chapter is to be expected, as, for example, archaeologists tend to

talk more about material culture and historians about literary sources, and some groups are only really known from material or literary sources. The language of the volume is English, but scholars from around the world have contributed to it, distilling their incomparable knowledge from a variety of research materials (many, of course, in Italian). An attempt has been made to make the information contained in Greek and Latin writers, as well as in the various ancient Italian languages, accessible to non-specialists and beginners.

We have restricted our geographical limits to the Italian mainland south of the Alps. It may appear arbitrary to exclude the islands. Sicily and Sardinia are part of the modern state of Italy, and were closely linked to ancient Italy. For instance, the indigenous peoples of Sicily, the Siculs, were thought to have had a presence on the mainland as well as on Sicily in mythical prehistory, while Sardinia was closely linked to cities on the Tyrrhenian seaboard before the Roman conquest. Nevertheless, from the third century BC onwards mainland Italy was conceived as a distinct unit that did not normally include the islands, and under Rome the islands were governed separately as provinces. Our focus, therefore, has been on this idea of Italy, *Italia*, in its more restricted ancient sense.

What do we mean by the “peoples” of ancient Italy? Some debate has gone into the terminology we use. We have titled the work ‘peoples’ as we believe this is a useful and relatively neutral term, although the modern conception tends to carry with it much greater implications of political unity (see Bourdin 2012, 173–276 for a discussion of ancient terminology). Chapters often discuss “ethnic groups,” reflecting the impact that thirty years or so of study of the ethnicity of the ancient Italian peoples has had in undermining many previous certainties about the unity and strength of collective identity. Older scholarship echoes the tendency in ancient sources to talk of Italian peoples as clearly defined blocks, who migrate or are founded, or are destroyed (Dionysius of Halicarnassus has a catalogue of these in the first book of the *Roman Antiquities*). More rarely do they talk of peoples losing their identity in a gradual sense, or gaining an identity in a contrastive situation. For unusual examples, see Aristoxenus and Strabo on colonial Greeks who are no longer Greek, or Strabo on Campanians and northern Italians, who despite their diverse roots, are “all Romans” (Aristoxenus in Athenaeus, *Deip.* 14.632; Strabo 5.1.10; 5.4.7). Much modern scholarship has tended to be suspicious of such “monolithic” pictures, and suggested that identities were more malleable. These new perspectives have been influenced by the work of anthropologists and sociologists such as Fedrik Barth and Anthony Smith, demonstrating that it is not a given attribute, and not biological, that the strength of ethnic identities varies, and that interaction at boundaries enlivens senses of ethnicity.

There are also, by necessity, chapters on elements, or themes, running through the identities and realities of various ethnic groups – their religious beliefs, languages, nomenclature, and so forth. Critical historical “moments” are also addressed, like the Roman conquest of Italy, the Hannibalic War, and the Social War. There has been some attempt to analyze the presence of these groups in literature, i.e. in the myth-

ology handed down through the Greek and Roman tradition, and in the important writings of the geographer Strabo. And, of course, we feel several of our authors have made significant contributions to discussion of ethnic identity in an ancient Italian context.

Various key points can be said to emerge from the volume as a whole. The volume illustrates the diversity of ancient Italy, in terms of its language, its complex and varied ethnic groups, and its material culture. This diversity is evident not only at the level of regional ethnic groups, but also in the persistent individuality of each polis or community. Pliny records over four hundred individual Italian communities in book three of his *Natural History*, most of whom seem to have maintained a strong sense of their former independence, even under Roman hegemony. The volume also illustrates the commonalities amongst the peoples of ancient Italy. This can be seen in terms of war and imperialism, where Rome now seems far less unique than it once did (cf. Eckstein 2006); religious structures, where our authors explore the similarities as well as the differences between Italian and Roman cults and institutions; and levels of state and city formation, and some of its correlates, such as (generally partial) literacy. The importance of interconnectivity and mobility amongst Italian peoples preceding the conquest is highlighted in many chapters, and lies behind the commonalities mentioned above. Italian communities also display many close links to neighbouring regions and other Mediterranean areas, especially Sardinia and Sicily, Greece, and southern France. Those on the coasts are also closely connected to Carthage and the Phoenicians, or to the Illyrians and other Adriatic dwellers. Naturally, many chapters cover the impact of Rome, in terms of conquest, colonization and alliances, and cultural change such as Hellenization and Romanization.

One will notice that our authors differ greatly on many important points about the study of ancient Italian groups, which reflects the vibrant debates within scholarship on early Italy. One of the greatest differences is the amount of confidence or scepticism placed on the reliability of the ancient literary sources (e.g. the role of the Sacred Spring ritual in the foundation stories of many Italian groups; the literary accounts of Regal Rome). There are also differences on how far Greco-Roman views of the Italian peoples should be taken as valid pictures, given that they provide an “etic” rather than “emic” perspective, in anthropological parlance. This reflects the influence of cultural critics such as Edward Said, whose examination of alterity in Western views of the Orient has led to a much more critical attitude towards “outsider” sources (cf. Dench 1995). Also, many wish to see the Etruscans as essential intermediaries between the Greeks and various ethnic groups (the Romans included), whereas others see the interaction between these groups as more a complicated process.

A variety of positions is taken on the emergence of regional Italic identities, which some see as developing into full form by the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age, and others as critically affected by the events of the Roman conquest (for this debate see Cornell and Lomas 1997; Herring and Lomas 2000; Bourdin 2012). Various authors examine the usefulness of concepts of “crisis” in Italian societies, such

as the state of the Tyrrhenian coastal districts in the fifth century BC, or that of southern Italy after the Roman conquest and the Hannibalic War (Toynbee 1965; Cornell, Rankov and Sabin 1996; *Crise et transformation* 1990).

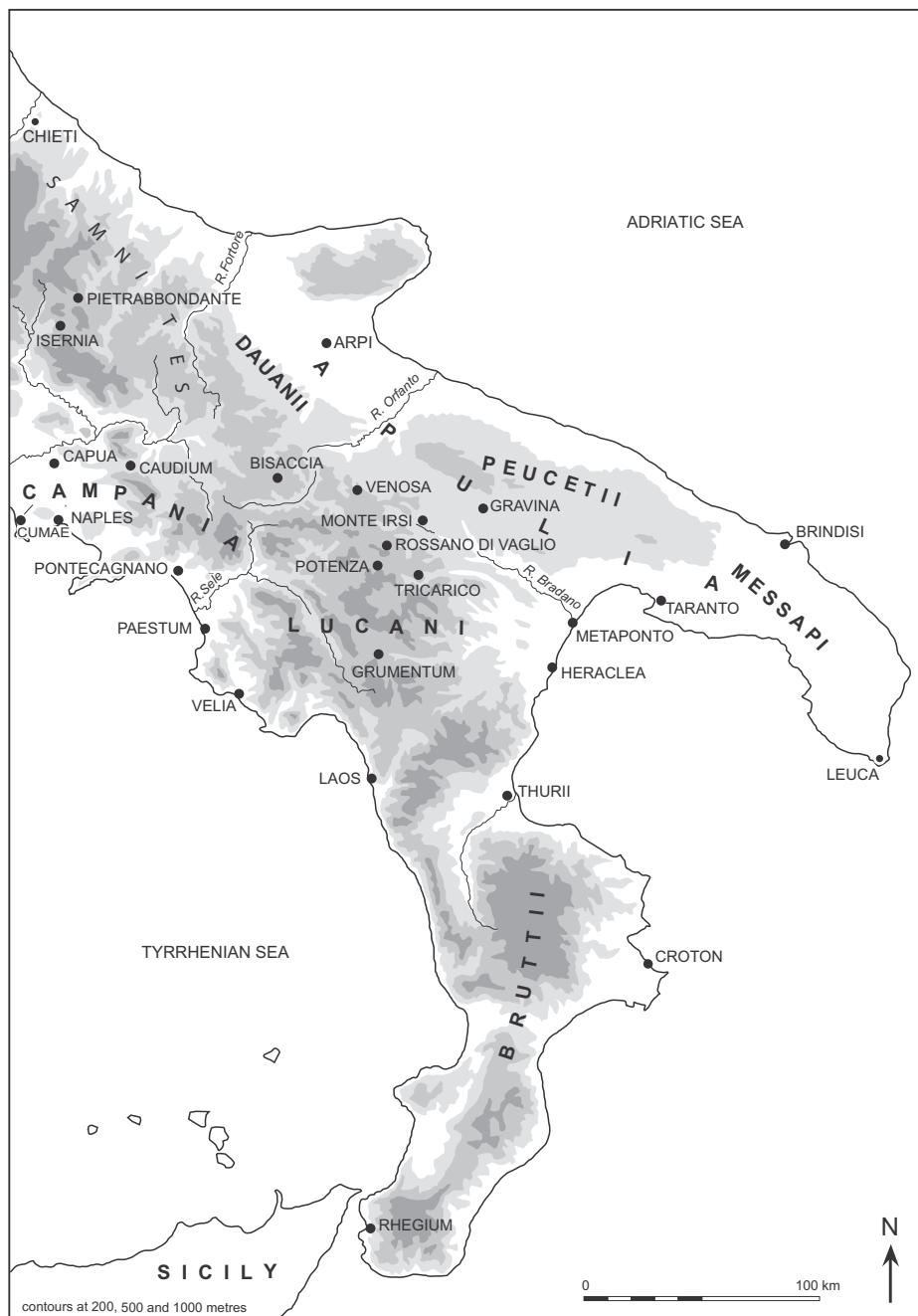
Our authors also reflect the variety of approaches that have been taken towards the Roman conquest and its aftermath. Many recent perspectives have been influenced by post-colonialism, which has questioned the nature of imperialism, and the self-justifying rhetoric of empires, placing more emphasis on the perspective of “subaltern” populations outside imperial power structures. For some scholars the Roman conquest is a process of imperial expansion, the creation of an empire from foreign peoples; other scholars have emphasised the wide variety of means for extending Roman power, from the relatively rare use of pitched battle to coercion and negotiation with other elites. Following on from the conquest, there is still a huge debate about the extent of “Romanisation” and the process by which the pre-Roman peoples became Roman inhabitants of Italian regions. How far did these peoples become Roman and lose their previous identities? To what extent did older notions of identity persist or flourish under Rome? These are questions that remain at the forefront of current research, and are far from being resolved. Finally, the problem of the nature of Italic resistance in the Social War is still widely discussed (see recently Kendall 2013; Dart 2014). How extensive was the allied rebellion against Rome, and what exactly were the allies fighting for? Should it be regarded as a foreign rather than civil war, or something in between?

These debates thus go on in other areas of ancient studies, of course, not just in those relating to ancient Italian groups. We invite the reader to draw their own conclusions, or (better) to keep both in mind as research continues and ideas develop.

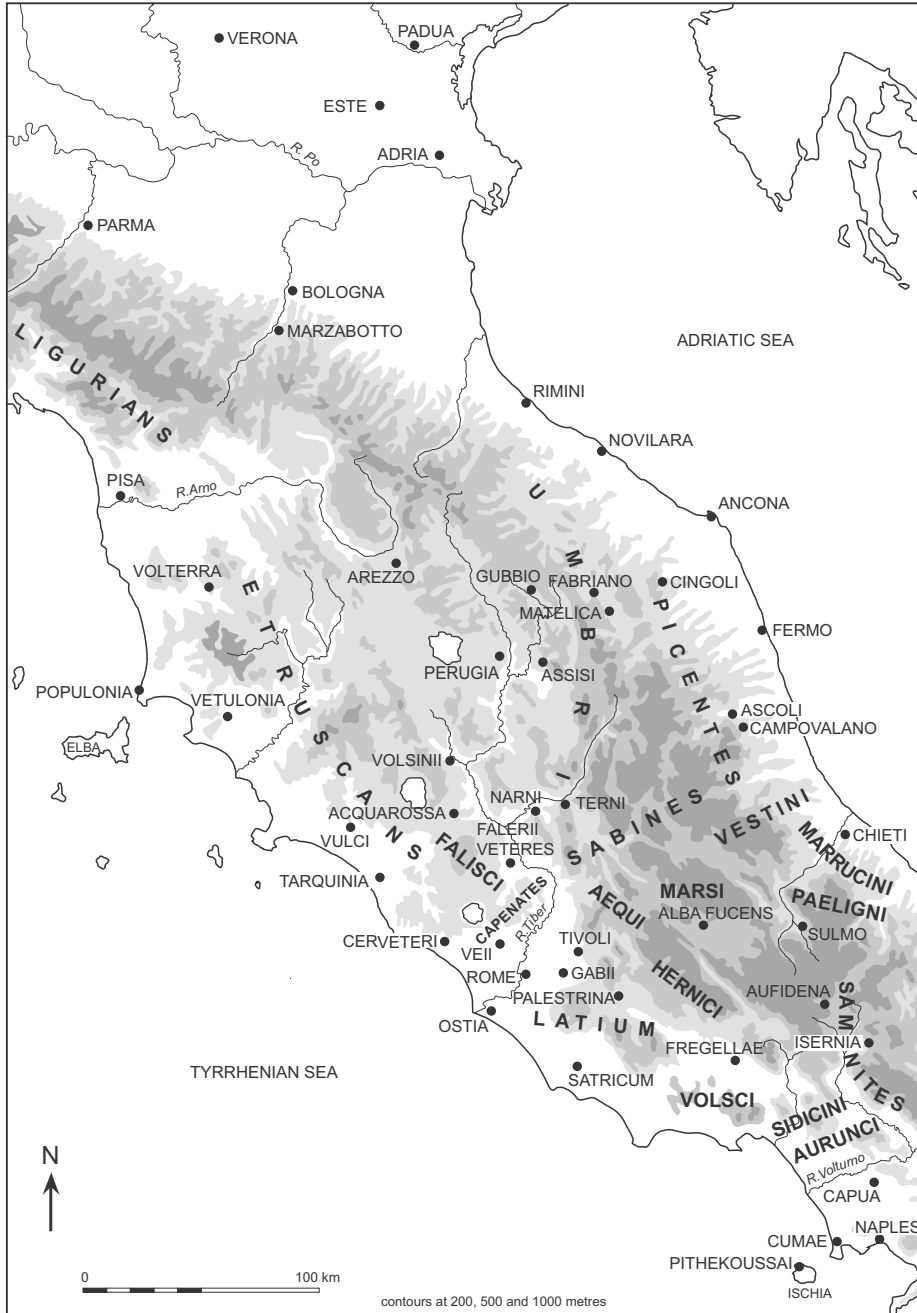
We would like to extend special thanks to Dr. Kathryn Whitcomb, who served as assistant editor for this project. We would also like to give a special thanks to Prof. Christopher Smith and Dr. Francesca Mermati who stepped in at the last minute to write their chapters. Finally, for our cover image, we would like to thank Dr. Monica De Simone and the Museo Civico di Rieti for permission to use a photograph of one of their pieces – we think this image of an Iron Age hut-urn of the “Latin” type, found in the territory of “Sabine” Reate (specifically, Campo Reatino; Museum Inv. No. MCR_0052_AR), highly appropriate for this project.

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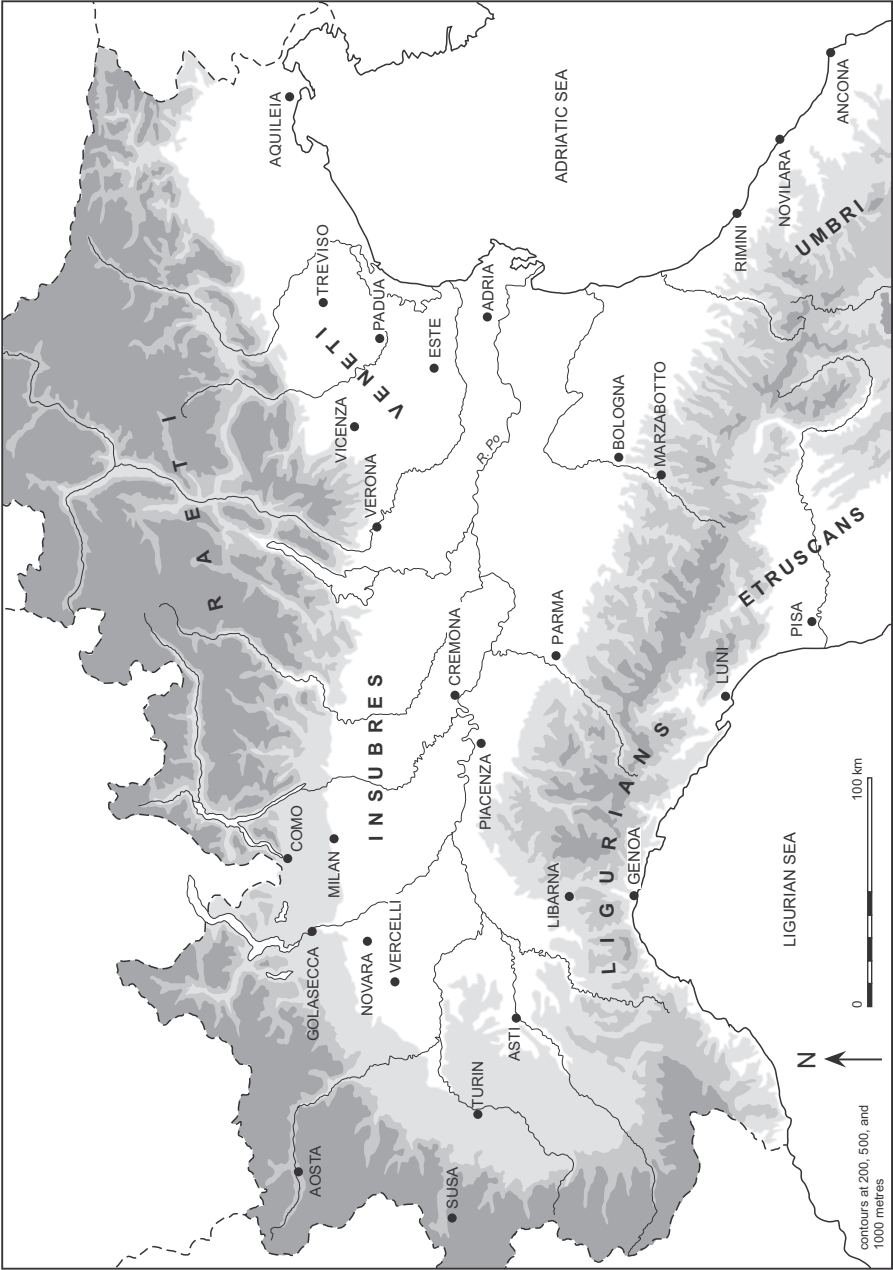
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Map 1. Italy south (© Cardiff University Archaeology Department, illustrations by Ian Dennis)



Map 2. Italy central (© Cardiff University Archaeology Department, illustrations by Ian Dennis)



Map 3. Italy north (© Cardiff University Archaeology Department, illustrations by Ian Dennis)

Themes in the Study of the Ancient Italian Peoples

Dominique Briquel

How to Fit Italy into Greek Myth?

I Criticism of Greek myth and its limits

The Greek author Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 2.19), writing at the time of Augustus, greatly approved of the Romans for not telling any tales unworthy of the divine, as was done by his own compatriots. The Greeks had no hesitation in relating how Ouranos had been castrated by his son Kronos, who had then in turn been deposed and imprisoned in Tartarus by his own son, Zeus – and many other equally shocking tales about the gods. Put another way, the Romans, unlike the Greeks, did not have a mythology and had not at all developed a corpus of stories about what the gods had done at a time before our own human era. In all likelihood it was the same for the other peoples of ancient Italy, since, as far as anyone can tell, it seems that none of them developed a heritage of traditions comparable to that of Hellenic mythology.

It is not certain, however, that the inhabitants of the peninsula appreciated this absence of mythology as much as Dionysius. From the moment they began to be in contact with the Greeks, they developed a passionate interest in their myths, and chose scenes from the Hellenic repertoire to decorate the objects that they liked to have around them. So, towards the middle of the seventh century BC at Caere, we find a rich Etruscan aristocrat commissioning a crater with a representation of Odysseus/Ulysses and his companions blinding the Cyclops Polyphemus from a Greek artist (established in Caere) named Aristonothos. From the same period an amphora, undoubtedly the work of an indigenous artist, depicts Medea practising her enchantments on the dragon of Colchis which is guarding the Golden Fleece (Cristofani Martelli 1987, 263–265; Thompson de Grummond 2006, 4, fig. I.5). At a later date, the locally-made mirrors which are frequently found among the grave goods in Etruscan tombs between the fifth and third centuries are decorated with scenes of the Greek gods, even if they are called by their Etruscan names – Tinia for Zeus, Uni for Hera, Turan for Aphrodite, Turms for Hermes (Thompson de Grummond 2006, 19 for identification of Greek gods with Etruscan) – taking part in the adventures which Hellenic mythology attributes to them (Thompson de Grummond 2006, 63, fig. IV.11, for Dionysus-Fufluns emerging from the thigh of Zeus-Tinia; 64–65, fig. IV.12–13, for Hephaestus-Sethlans causing Athena-Minerva to arise from the head of Zeus-Tinia; 88, 89–94, fig. V.18, 20–24 for the judgement of Paris). There was a richness of themes there not equalled by the resources of Italian myth, properly speaking.

Dominique Briquel: Professor at the Sorbonne University, Paris, 14 Boulevard Jourdan 75014 Paris, France. Email: dominique.briquel@gmail.com

II Gods and men: two distinct universes

But the success of Greek myth does not mean that it played a role in how Italian populations saw the gods or their relationship with the divine. We can interject here a distinction formulated by Varro in his “three-part theology.” According to this Roman scholar of the first century BC, it was necessary to distinguish between three types of theology: the mythical, which concerned the adventures that happened to the gods; the civil, which was concerned with the cult given to the gods in the city, both public and private; and the natural, the business of philosophers who reflected upon the nature of the gods (Lehmann 1997). Myth belonged to the lowest level and was the most likely to harbour an allegorical interpretation: it remained the business of the poets, who found in the stories (*fabulae*) a constant source of inspiration. Varro, from Sabine Reate, did hardly more than provide an intellectual framework for what was the Italians’ natural reaction in the face of the Greeks’ mythology – and to which Dionysius gave expression: they did not find in the myths an adequate expression of what they had formed of the divine and of the relations which could exist in the cosmos between men and gods. It pleased them, provided subjects for their artists and writers, but it remained for them external and unworkable as soon as it was a question of their own relationship with the divine. We may recall the reluctance with which Livy (*Praef.* 6–7) wrote of the idea that the founder of Rome, Romulus, was born with his twin brother Remus from the union of the god Mars and a mortal, Rhea Silvia:

The traditions of what happened prior to the foundation of the City or whilst it was being built, are more fitted to adorn the creations of the poet than the authentic records of the historian and I have no intention of establishing either their truth or their falsehood. This much licence is conceded to the ancients, that by intermingling human actions with divine they may confer a more august dignity on the origins of states (Trans. Canon Roberts).

For a Roman like Livy and, one can probably say, for Italians in general, humans and gods belonged to two distinct universes and the idea of a direct intervention of the latter in the affairs of the former, as happened in the stories told by the Greeks, was unacceptable.

Moreover, when it comes to the different peoples of Italy, it is no surprise to discover that they were reluctant to benefit from the richness offered by Greek myth – at least if we are speaking of gods in the real sense, for, as we shall see, it was not the same with heroes. None of these people seems to have felt the need or the desire to enrich what the Greeks told of their gods with more adventures of the gods in their own land. The Latins never asserted that Jupiter, Juno, Minerva or others had come to Latium and had enjoyed direct contact there with their ancestors; it was no different elsewhere in Italy, as far as we know.

Saturn, it is true, seems to have been an exception, since the tradition of the “golden centuries of Saturn,” the *aurea saecula* [*Saturni*] sung of by Vergil

(*Aen.* 8.324–325), is a direct extension of the myth of Kronos onto Italian soil: after having been deposed by Zeus, the previous lord of Olympus, far from being confined in Tartarus as the Greeks would have it (which is what Dionysius, as we saw, reproved them for), found refuge in Latium, where he became king, establishing there a period of prosperity and happiness (on the Golden Age in Vergil, see Binder 1971, 76–111; Kubusch 1986, 91–147). But it cannot be said that this theme filled the minds of the other peoples of ancient Italy. Before Augustus revived it to present the new regime which he had set up as a return to that idyllic time, it had been left to a distant past, that of the Aborigines, with no relation to the world in which men of the present time lived. Saturn himself was represented, in the Euhemerist manner, as a ruler who formerly reigned over Latium, and who was succeeded by Picus and Faunus, transpositions of old local divinities, and then by Latinus, the eponymous classical figure who had received Aeneas.

The rationalization of myths, seeing in the gods great men of earlier times whose deeds had won them promotion to the ranks of the divinities, really appears among authors like Prodicus, in the fifth century BC, and Hecataeus of Teos, contemporary of Alexander the Great and then of Ptolemy I, before being systematized in the *Sacred Scripture* of Euhemerus of Messene, at the beginning of the third century BC (Vallauri 1960). Only with Latinus did one enter properly into history, with the appearance of the ethnic name of Latins (on the aboriginal kings, see Brelich 1956/1975, 57–103/48–94; Martinez Pinna 2011, 129–145). From here on, one was in a period of what could be considered real history, where the gods no longer meddled in the affairs of men by interceding personally. Besides, Saturn, inasmuch as he was a god, appeared at odds with the real world, since his festival, the Saturnalia (Guittard 1976), led to a temporary overturning of the social order, the masters having to wait on their slaves in a return to primordial chaos.

III Stories about heroes: Heracles in Italy

It was on the other hand easier to make the figures, not strictly speaking of gods but of heroes, enter into the real history of the peoples of Italy: they could appear as men of past times, coming in during the “age of heroes” which had preceded that of actual humanity. Since, at least in most cases, they were not made the object of a cult, something which would emphasize their difference compared with the race of men, they were more likely to be placed in touch with them – and so in a position to be integrated into the picture which the different peoples of the peninsula could have of themselves and their past.

In Italy one hero in particular was adopted: Heracles, whose tenth out of the twelve labours in the canonical list, the theft of the cattle of Geryon, had led him to travel all over the western Mediterranean. During the course of his return, when he took back to Greece the herd which he had lifted from the three-bodied monster in his den on the island of Erytheia in the western extremities of the world, he

crossed Italy from north to south, from the Alps, which he had been the first to pass over, to Sicily, which he had reached by swimming across the strait (Jourdain-Annequin 1989). The Greek colonies established in the west had been happy to record the passage of the hero in these parts. For example, the Crotoniates explained the name of their city by an eponymous hero, Croton: this Croton had given hospitality to Heracles, but the latter had killed him accidentally, following which he raised a tomb to him, pointed out near Cape Lacinion (Diod. Sic. 4.14.7). And the inhabitants of Cumae in Campania, the doyen of the Greek colonies in Italy, placed in the Campi Flegrei, and hence near to them, the struggle of Admetus' son against the Giants, which other traditions placed near Chalcidian Phlegra (Timaeus ap. Diod. Sic. 4.21, 5.71; Strabo 5.5.4. For other traditions linking Heracles to Greek colonies in Magna Graecia and Sicily, see Bérard 1941/1957, 426–434/402–455.).

The indigenous peoples of the peninsula also wanted to profit from the legend by placing themselves in the exploits of the hero. Rome gave herself a special place, for it was there that the divinity of the hero had been recognized for the first time: after his victory over the brigand Cacus, the king Evander had greeted him as a god and instituted his cult at the Ara Maxima (Livy 1.7; on Heracles at Rome, Bayet 1926, Coarelli 1992, 60–103.). The hero with the club was linked with many indigenous peoples: a number of them attributed to him, rather than to Faunus, the paternity of Latinus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.43.1; on specific developments of this legend, taken up in an anti-Roman way in Hannibal's circle, see Briquel 1997, 37–56.). He was introduced into the tradition of Etruscan origins through Tyrrhenus, who had led the migration of the Lydians into Italy, had given his name to the Etruscans (at least under the Greek form of their name, Tyrrhenes) and was one of Heracles' descendants, son or grandson (Tyrrhenus, son of Heracles: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.28.1, Hyg., *Fab.* 274, Paus. 2.21.3; grandson, his father being Telephus: Lycoph. 1245–1249, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.28.2; more distant descendant, Strabo 5.2.1; Briquel 1991, 127–145, 181–228, 319–344). Even the name of Italy, understood as “land of calves” (*Italia* = *vituli*), was attributed to Heracles, linking this name to one of the animals of his herd that had escaped (Hellanicus ap. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.35.2; Briquel 1997, 153–195).

Allusion to Heracles, however, seems to have remained relatively external: it was never said that a people as such appeared following his coming to Italy. Dionysius, in the scholarly and artificial reconstruction of the prehistory of Rome which he carried out in Book I of his *Antiquitates Romanae*, wanted to show that populations of Hellenic origin followed one another on the soil of the *Urbs*, without any barbarian element leaving the least trace there (on the view that Dionysius made Rome a Greek town, a *polis Hellénis*, which, once it had expelled the primitive substratum of native Siceliots, had welcomed to its soil only peoples of Hellenic origin, see Musti 1970, 3–20 and Gabba 1991). As part of this, when he also wanted to bring in the legend of Heracles, he was obliged to imagine that the hero had left behind certain of his companions, too tired to continue the voyage (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.34.1–2). In fact, Heracles was only a traveler in Italy; he certainly left his descendants there, from

the numerous indigenous young women whom he had seduced, but no single people are linked directly to him. He is rather seen as being the origin of certain characters, eponyms of peoples or of cities. But this could just as well refer to the ancestry of family groups, without needing to introduce an ethnic dimension: we see this at Rome where the *gens Fabia* claimed to be the issue of a young woman whom the hero had seduced when he came to the region (Plut. *Fab.* 1.2; Sil. 6.633–636; Fest. 77 L). Our documentation, as is almost always the case, does not give us information for the rest of Italy, but it is likely that in other areas also aristocratic families wanted to ennoble their origin by claiming to be the issue of the hero.

The figure of Heracles was linked to several other areas of the Mediterranean world apart from Italy and had such a well-established geographical anchorage both in Greece and elsewhere that it could only be marginally reconstructed to take account of the Italian elements. But the use which was made of this prime example for the peninsula allows us to see the kind of function that Hellenic mythology had for its indigenous inhabitants. Heracles not only appears as a civilizing hero who enabled these regions to leave the state of primitive barbarism in which they found themselves, and who established order by ridding them of the monsters, crime and terror that reigned there (Lacroix 1974), but he also played a role in the founding of the human groups which were then formed, notably by the list of eponymous figures who were presented as his issue. Certainly, the hero with the club, only travelling through the peninsula, and remaining a “voyageur,” to follow the expression applied to him by Lacroix, continued to be external to the process of ethnogenesis. But Greek myth was in a position to furnish several other examples of characters who could be said to be fixed in Italy: they had established a line and had given birth there to human groups, founding towns or entire peoples. It is here that we have the essential role that Greek myth played vis-à-vis the peoples or native towns: it offered a repertoire of references by which the inhabitants of Italy could be linked to the Hellenic world.

IV Greek heroes as victims of native perfidy: Minos and Diomedes

It is true that sometimes the relationship established between the figures of Greek myth and the peoples of Italy was negative. This was the case with Minos and Diomedes, of whom it was said that both had perished as victims of native perfidy, through the wicked actions of their hosts, the Sican Cocalos and the Daunian Daunus respectively. Cocalos had received the king of Crete when he was engaged in his pursuit of Daedalus, who had escaped through the air from the Labyrinth where Minos had held him imprisoned and had taken refuge in Sicily with Cocalos. The Sican king welcomed Minos, but then treacherously caused his death by boiling him in a hot

bath (Hdt. 7.170–171; Arist., *Pol.* 2.10.4; Diod. Sic. 4.76–80; Strabo 6.3.2; Bérard 1941/1957, 437–443/417–426).

Diomedes, driven from Argos through the machinations of his wife, the unfaithful Aegialeia, had left for the southeast region of Italy, where with his companions he had founded Argyripa, that is to say Argos Hippiion, and had then helped the local king Daunus to conquer his enemies in exchange for the promise of part of his kingdom. But, far from keeping his promise, Daunus had caused his death (Mimnermus ap. schol. Lycoph., 610; Timaeus and Lycus of Rhegium ap. schol. Lycoph. 615 and Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 592–632; Strabo 6.39; Ant. Lib. 37; Bérard 1941/1957, 385–391/368–373).

These legends are ancient: the tragic end of Minos was recalled by the poet Mimnermus in the seventh century BC and was then taken up by the Greek historians of the west, Timaeus and Lycus of Rhegium around 300 BC, while that of Diomedes was known to Herodotus. They are an expression of the clashes that occurred between the Greeks of Sicily or those of the region of Tarentum with the natives of the hinterland, and their development is clearly to be sought among those Hellenic groups who came face to face with the local populations.

V Greek heroes as founders of peoples and cities

But these legends of Minos and Diomedes are quite uncommon and in general the relations established between the Greek heroes and the indigenous inhabitants of Italy are usually perceived more positively: the Greeks appearing in these legends are presented as the civilisers of the indigenous people, the founders of cities, or are even named as the originators of entire peoples. Besides, even the legends of Minos and Diomedes surely had certain functions. Diodorus (*loc. cit.*) tells how Daedalus had enriched the promontory on which the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite of Mount Eryx would be raised, and how after the death of Minos his companions who remained there had built the town of Minoa; whereas Herodotus (also *loc. cit.*) attributes to them the foundation of Hyria in another region, that of Tarentum, and makes the indigenous Iapyges of Messapia the descendants of the Cretans.

As for the legend of Diomedes, it underwent great development in Italy and numerous foundations were attributed to him (Lepore 1980; Braccesi 2001, 15–17, 39–43, and *passim*). In Daunia and its surroundings, in addition to Argyripa he is said to have founded Canusium and Brindisi. Further afield, in the area of the Samnites, there were the foundations of Venusia, Venafrum, Aequum Tuticum, and Beneventum (Lycoph. 592–632, Verg. *Aen.* 11.246–247, Hor. *Sat.* 1.65, 92, Strabo 6.3.9, Plin. *HN* 3.16(104).5, Just. *Epit.* 20.1.10, Solin. 2.10; Procop. *Goth.* 1.15). The Latin town of Lanuvium was ascribed to him (App. *B Civ.* 2.20), and there existed a version of the legend of the origins of Rome, recorded by Plutarch among the many variants which had become widespread in the Greek sphere, by which Rome's founder and eponym Romulus had been sent by Diomedes (Plut. *Rom.* 2.2; Cornell 1975). His leg-

end was diffused on the eastern side of the peninsula well beyond the lands of Dauria: at the top of the Adriatic, according to a belief reported by Pliny (*HN* 3.20(120).5), he had been the founder of Spina, the great port outlet of the Etruscan colonisation of the Po, and close by he became the object of a cult in the Veneto region. His cult had also been noted by Pseudo-Scylax – whose *Periplus* recalls an even more ancient period – in which the Gauls did not yet dominate this region – for the Umbrian coast (Ps.-Scylax 16; Strabo 5.1.8–9, 6.3.9). Further, we know that recent archaeological discoveries on the island of Palagruza, off the shore of Dalmatia, have given confirmation of the existence of a cult which was rendered to the hero in the Adriatic area (Kirigin and Cace 1998). Legends also talk of the islands of Diomedes, where the tomb of the hero is found, guarded by the birds which had been his companions and were transformed into winged creatures (Lycoph. 592–632; Ps.-Arist., *Mir. ausc.* 79; Ps.-Scymn. 431–433; Verg. *Aen.* 11.271–274; Strabo 6.3.9; Plin. *HN* 3.30 (151).1, 10.61(127).2, 12.3(6).1; Ael. *NA* 1.1, *Ant. Lib.* 37; August. *De civ. D.* 18.16).

VI Figures of the Trojan cycle: Odysseus and others

The figure of Diomedes comes from the Trojan cycle and is only one of many figures from the Trojan War who were placed in a relationship with Italy, through a tradition of the *nostos* (return), according to which, far from returning peacefully home and finishing his days there, he met further adventures which led him westward. The model of course was the *Odyssey*, which told of the difficult return of Penelope's husband to Ithaca – and this model was all the more pertinent because, from the sixth century BC, the Homeric tale was completed by the *Telegonia*, in which the hero abandons Ithaca, leaving again for Italy where he finds himself in the presence of his two sons, Telemachus son of Penelope and Telegonus son of Circe (Bérard 1941, 319–338 / 1957, 302/323, and for other *nostoi* and Trojan traditions, 339–402/324–383; Malkin 1998). The Etruscans also developed a tradition by which Odysseus, under the local name of Nanos, finished his days at Cortona, featured as the metropolis of the whole country (Lycoph. 805–806, 1242–1244, who refers to the fourth-century BC Theopompus, ad schol. Lycoph. 806. We find a local hero in an *interpretatio Graeca*, identified at other periods with Nanas, king of the Pelasgians, and with Corythus, ancestor of Aeneas: Briquel 1984, 150–168). But most commonly the Italians called on the sons or grandsons of the hero. It is difficult to determine if Hellanicus of Lesbos and Damastes of Sigeum had Odysseus and Aeneas working together to found Rome; the passage in Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2) cites them as recalling a foundation made by Aeneas after coming to Italy either “with Odysseus” or “after Odysseus” (Ampolo 1992; Malkin 1998, 202–204; Martinez Pinna 2011, 49). An ancient tradition, known through a passage interpolated in Hesiod's *Theogony*, makes Latinus, eponym of the Latins, a son whom Odysseus had from his union with Circe (as well as a brother called Agrios, behind which is probably hidden a local Faunus) (*Theog.* 1011–1016, whence Ps.-Scymn. 227, Solin. 2.9, Serv. ad

Aen. 7.47, 12.164, Eust. 1379.20, and commentary on Dionys. Per. 350). One hypothesis is that this Latinus, son of Odysseus, had been honoured by the Latins at the heroön discovered at Pratica di Mare (Lavinium) before which he was identified with Aeneas, in the wake of the reorganization of Latium by Rome after 338 BC (Cogrossi 1982; Grandazzi 1988). Auson, eponym of the Ausonians, was also presented as the son of Odysseus and the sorceress, but also sometimes of his union with Calypso. From the hero's union with Circe were further born, according to Xenagoras, a historian of around the third century BC, Anteias, Ardeas, and Rhomos, eponyms of Antium, Ardea and Rome respectively (Auson: Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.328, Tzetzes and schol. ad Lycoph. 44, Eust. 1379.20; giving Calypso as his mother: Ps.-Scymn. 229–230, schol. ad Apo. Rhod. 4.553; Anteias, Ardeias, Rhomos: Xenagoras ap. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.5, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Anteia*, *Ardea*; for Rome, the eponym “Romanos” in Plut. *Rom.* 2.1).

Telemachus and Telegonus themselves were put forward in the stories of the foundation of towns: Chiusi in Etruria was attributed to the former and Tusculum in Latium to the latter, where the great local family of the Mamilii claimed descent from him, and sometimes also Praeneste, more usually attributed to one Prainestes or Prainestos, son of Latinus who was presented as son of Odysseus and Circe, or further the Etruscan town of Caere, known by its Greek appellation of Agylla (Chiusi: Serv. Auct. ad *Aen.* 10.167; Tusculum: Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.8, *Epod.* 1.29–30 (with Porphyrio and Acron), Prop. 1.32.4, Ov. *Fast.* 3.22, 4.71, Sil. 7.792, Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.83; origin of the Mamilii: Livy 1.49.9, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.45.1, Fest. 116 L; Praeneste: Ps.-Plut. *Par. Min.* 91b; foundation by Prainestes/Prainestos: Zenodotus of Troezen ap. Solin. 2.9 (without mention of Circe), Steph. Byz. s.v. *Prainestos*; Agylla/Caere: Serv. Auct. ad *Aen.* 10.167). The founders of cities of indigenous peoples were often claimed as the generation of grandsons. Latinus was sometimes given as the son of Telemachus, Italus as the son of Telegonus (Latinus son of Telemachus: Hyg. *Fab.* 127, Fest. 329 L (referring to a certain Galitas); cf. Plut. *Rom.* 2.3 (without mention of Circe) and Zenodotus and Steph. Byz. s.v. *Prainestos*; Italus son of Telegonus: Hyg. *Fab.* 127). These multiple traditions are of unequal importance; many will have been thought up by Greek scholars and will not have had a real local impact. But in certain cases, we can be sure that they respond to an affirmation by those who were themselves concerned, and go back to a previous age: this is the case for the legend of the foundation of Tusculum by Telegonus, which seems to have been put forward by the son-in-law of Tarquin the Great, Octavius Mamilius, as Livy (1.49.9) and Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 4.45.1) report.

Other figures apart from Odysseus entered into the legends of *nostoi* which were called upon to lend a Greek ancestry to Italian cities – or aristocratic families, e.g. the Saties family, occupants of the François tomb at Vulci, who represented themselves as the issue of Nestor and Phoenix and decorated the atrium of the tomb with portraits of these heroes (Coarelli 1983, 15; Briquel 1997, 93–96). Nestor also sometimes appears as a town-founder in the Etruscan town of Pisa, unless that was Epeius, maker of the Trojan Horse – this association being in both cases related

to a link between the Pisa of Italy and the Pisa of the Peloponnese, to which both Greek heroes could be connected (Nestor at Pisa: Strabo 5.2.5; Epeios at Pisa: Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.179). These legends are also found among the Greeks of Magna Graecia. The colonies of Metapontum refer alternatively to Nestor (Strabo 6.1.15, Eust. ad Dionys. Per. 368: cf. Solin. 2.10, mentioning the Pyliads) or Epeios (Vell. Pat. 1.1 – with the name restored, Just. *Epit.* 20.2.1). We meet Philoctetes linked to the indigenous population of southern Italy, with the Oenotri in Lycophron, with the Chones, considered their descendants, with their towns of Chone and Petelia, in Strabo, Vergil and the commentary of Servius, and in Stephanus of Byzantium (Philoctetes: Lycoph. 913–921 (the Oenotri), Strabo 6.1.3 (the Chones), Verg. *Aen.* 3.402, with Serv. ad loc., Steph. Byz. s.v. *Chone*). Etruscan Perusia was attributed to the Achaeans, probably because of a legend of return from Ilium (Just. *Epit.* 20.1.11). Or indeed, without any direct link to the Trojan war, Falerii, capital of the Faliscan country, was considered to have been founded by a son of Agamemnon who had abandoned Argos after the murder of his father (Ov. *Am.* 3.13.32–35, Solin. 2.7, Serv. ad *Aen.* 7.695). And certainly, alongside the traditions calling on the Greeks (and what we have noted makes no attempt to be exhaustive), we need to add the very rich development of legends of Trojan origin – of which Aeneas, at Rome and elsewhere in Latium, is only the best-known.

VII Legends of Trojan origins: not only Aeneas and the Latins

Turning to the legend of Aeneas, who would found a new Troy over which he would reign, following the destiny revealed by Poseidon in the *Iliad* (20.302–308), we limit ourselves to recalling that the legend was already clearly attested to (with a Roman location) in the fifth century, by Hellanicus of Lesbos and Damastes of Sigeum (ap. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2). But at this stage it had a rather different form from the one it assumed in the Classical period. Centred on Rome, it introduces an eponymous female figure of the city, the Trojan Rhome, who will disappear afterwards (Alföldi 1957 suggests she appeared on the Roman coins of the third century). This Rhome, tired of travelling, is said to have burnt the expedition's ships, so preventing her companions from going any further, following a legendary motif which we find in many other parts of the Mediterranean. The very strongly established links between Rome and Capua from the foundation following the *deditio* of 343 BC of what is called, with much exaggeration “the Romano-Campanian State,” introduced Capua into the legend of Aeneas: Capua founded by Capys, cousin of Aeneas (Serv. ad *Aen.* 2.35, 10.145, citing Coelius Antipater) or Capua founded by Rhomos, son of Aeneas, brother of Romulus and of Ascanius, after the name of the father of Anchises, Capys (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.73.3).

The Veneti claim for themselves a similar origin, as Livy recalls at the beginning of his history, placing the little town of his birth, Padua, in parallel with the city whose history he was about to tell. The Veneti were the issue of Henetes of Paphlagonia, allies of the Trojans who, having lost their leader Pylaemenes, killed by Menelaus before Troy (*Il.* 5.575–579), had accompanied Antenor in his quest for a new land after the destruction of Troy (Ps.-Scymn. 387–391; Livy 1.1.1–3; Verg. *Aen.* 1.242–249, with Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.148, 1.150; Strabo 1.3.2, 1.3.21, 4.4.1, 5.1.4, 12.3.8; Pliny *HN* 3.23(130).3, citing Cato and 6.2(5).1, citing Cornelius Nepos; Just. *Epit.* 20.1.8; Solin. 45.1, citing Cornelius Nepos; Eust. ad Dionys. Per. 378). It was natural, given the traditional view of Antenor as favourable to the Greeks, that this Trojan had survived the destruction of his city and that people sought to pinpoint the region where he had settled: the connection between the name of the Enetes and that of the Veneti could support his being placed at the head of the Adriatic (Braccesi 1984; *ibid.*, 69–78 Antenor was linked with other regions, notably Cyrenaica).

Another people linked to the Trojan legend were the Elymes of Sicily: in their case the connection between names plays an equal part, since this ethnic name could evoke the Solymes of Homer (*Il.* 6.184, 204). Thucydides (6.2.3) made them fugitives from Ilium after the Achaeans had taken the city, who founded Eryx and Segeste in Sicily (cf. Strabo 6.1.3, citing Apollodorus, and 6.2.5; Plut. *Nic.* 1.3. Trojans in Sicily are mentioned in Ps.-Scylax and Phrygians in Paus. 5.25.6). When we reach Lycophron's *Alexandra* (1226–1280), whose obscure text was happily clarified by the scholiasts and Tzetzes, the tradition was much more complex and introduced the daughters of the Trojan Phoinodamas: he had sent them to Sicily to escape the wrath of Laomedon, furious that Phoinodamas had persuaded his subjects to abandon his daughter Hesione to satisfy a sea monster. We can see here the eponyms, Aigestes and Elymos – changing to Aigestos in Dionysius. And then the authors of the Roman period – when the town had welcomed on the Capitol the cult of Aphrodite of Mount Eryx in 215 BC, a remarkable sign of the alliance between the two peoples against the Carthaginian enemy – Vergil, Dionysius, and Strabo connected Aeneas with the Elymes and their heroes, underscoring the common Trojan ancestry of the *Urbs* and the Sicilian people (Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.550; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.47.1, citing Hellanicus, and 1.52.1; Verg. *Aen.* 1.549–550, 5.35–41; Strabo 13.1.53).

Whether talking of Greek or Trojan heroes, the voluminous tradition which had formed around the Trojan cycle was widely called upon to account for the origin of the indigenous peoples of Italy. And here we are often dealing with stories which are quite detailed, exploiting the minutiae of Greek myth with a certain virtuosity, which is not always the case elsewhere: enough here to recall the traditions of Arcadian origin, which in the case of the legend of Evander at Rome satisfies itself with indicating the hero's whereabouts without bothering about the circumstances. Evander, “a good man” in Greek, may represent an *interpretatio Graeca* of the local figure of Faunus, and is attested to in Polybius (ap. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.32.1; on the Arcadian traditions in Italy, the classic study is Bayet 1920 = 1974, 43–123). Or, there is, indeed the presentation by Pherecydes of Athens in the fifth century (ap. Dion. Hal. *Ant.*

Rom. 1.13.1) of Oenotrus and Peucetius, the eponyms of the two large indigenous groups with whom the Greeks were in contact in Magna Graecia, the Oenotri and Peucetians, as sons of the autochthonous Lycaon: a presentation reduced to a genealogical schema devoid of substance.

VIII Other traditions of Greek (or para-Greek) origins

But, even in the case of legends solidly anchored in the Hellenic traditions duly detailed, we are dealing with accounts which regard themselves as historical, without noting a difference other than the chronological in relation to the reality of the present time: this mythical time is a sort of prehistory, without a place being left for the divine or the marvellous. When we look for the characters about whom the Greeks tell the stories, who took part in what is considered their mythical patrimony, this does not introduce a different perception, compared to the cases where, in order to account for the peoples of ancient Italy, appeal is made to historical peoples, or at least to people considered as such (as were the Pelasgians, whom the Greeks of the Classical age represented as their predecessors on the soil of Greece).

One example is the Spartans, to whom the Samnites were sometimes linked, and through them their ancestors the Sabines. Strabo (5.4.12) correctly recognized in this version of the Samnites' origin a Tarentine flattery at a moment when they needed to win the Samnites as allies (Russo 2007). The Spartan origins of the Sabines were noted by many authors (Serv. ad *Aen.* 6.638, citing Cato and Gn. Gellius; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.49.4–5, referring to local stories; Plut. *Rom.* 16.1, *Num.* 1.3; Poucet 1963, 169–173).

Or there are the Etruscans, who were considered the issue of a group of Lydian emigrants, following the thesis presented by Herodotus, or Pelasgians chased from Hellas at the time when the Greeks arrived, as Hellanicus of Lesbos would have it (Hdt. 1.94; Briquel 1991, 3–66; on Etruscans as Pelasgians, Hellanicus of Lesbos ap. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.28.3; Briquel 1997). We are always dealing with stories of colonisation, hardly different from those which are told of the historical colonisation of Italy or other regions in which the Greeks settled. So the story of the Lydian migration into Etruria under the leadership of Tyrrhenus appears as a veritable patchwork of elements which we meet again in connection with Greek colonial ventures in the historical age.

IX Stories of mythical colonization as a means of inserting Italian peoples into the universe of the Hellenes

Stories that introduce gods or heroes are not meant to make us look upon the ancient Italians in a particular way, to attribute to them supernatural connections. It was above all a way to insert them into a system of representation which was familiar to the Greeks: it placed them in their framework of thought and within their real universe. A famous article of Bickermann has shown how the rich corpus of traditions and legends that the Hellenes had built up were put to use by them to organize the vision which they might have of the human groups with whom they came into contact: there was a need to be sensitive vis-à-vis Italy, barely emerging from a dark age, and towards which many Greeks ventured, both to carry out commercial activities and to settle there as colonists (Bickermann 1952 = 1985, 399–417). Their mythology offered a full repertoire of references by which they could attempt to explain the new peoples whom they discovered – exactly as was done by the Europeans at the time of the discovery of America, using both biblical and classical references to comprehend these unknown peoples (Bickerman 1952 = 1985, 77, 81, n. 107/411, 415, n. 107). The role accorded to mythology was the direct consequence of this hellenocentrism, but without this term needing to be taken in a purely negative sense: in a world which was expanding, it was necessary to resort to tools of classification for understanding the reality, and the vast patrimony of stories of the gods and heroes was in a position to provide them this.

This introduction of material from Greek myth into local ethnogenesis was in many cases due to the Greeks observing the indigenous realities and searching to make sense of them. So the many variants on the theme of the origins of Rome, which have nothing to do with the national tradition of the twin founders, are clearly Hellenic creations, feats from outside, and the same goes for the story of the Lycionides Oenotrus and Peucetius, bringing together two distinct groups, which were ethnically and linguistically diverse, one Italic and the other Messapian, and then linking the story to the Illyrian world. But, even though these legends had first been created by the Greeks, the local populations appropriated them gladly. It was a way of tying yourself to the prestigious universe of the Hellenes, of not appearing as barbarians – and so expresses a positive image of Greek culture; it could correspond just as well to a willingness among the Greeks who enjoyed good relations with these indigenous peoples, as to a desire of those concerned to have themselves noticed through their connection to a civilization felt to be superior. Strabo pointed out the character of obliging reconstruction on the part of the Tarentines, seeking to win the favours of the Samnites, suggesting they were of Spartan origin; but when the connection was repeated in the local Sabine stories, this was more probably

the work of the Sabines themselves, wanting to connect themselves to the model of Lacedaemonian austerity.

In certain cases, we can catch a glimpse of the conditions of the birth of these assertions: the belief that the Etruscans were the ancient Pelasgians, a notion which Hellanicus had put forward, was clearly born in the Greco-Etruscan milieu of Spina, within the framework of the exchanges which then took place in the Adriatic, exchanges in which the port on the Po played a central role (Briquel 1984, 3–30). Without taking the official form that this kind of assertion would have later on, becoming a sort of obligatory reciprocation of agreements finalised between cities and peoples, we can talk of an assertion of *syngeneia*, of kinship: good relationships were systematically represented as resulting from ancestral connections between the two groups, as the consequence of an original parentage. It was then necessary for the founders of the people or of the barbaric city to have been Hellenes (Musti 1963; Curty 1995). Inversely, from a Hellenic viewpoint, the assertion of the autochthony of a people, when talking of barbarians, did not have the positive connotations which it had in Greece (Loraux 1979, 1981, 1996). As Musti has clearly shown, the concept of autochthony, when applied by the Greeks to the indigenous peoples of Italy, means simply that these populations were barbarians and so were devoid of all relationship with Hellenism and its values (Musti 1970, 7–20; Briquel 1993). The resources of Greek myth were such that it was not difficult to find a legend by which to justify this pretended parentage.

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Duane W. Roller

Strabo and Italian Ethnic Groups

The *Geography* of Strabo, completed in the AD 20s, is one of the longest and most complex works surviving from classical antiquity. Ostensibly a geographical treatise, its seventeen books cover a wide range of additional topics, including cultic history, political history, geology, and Homeric criticism (Roller 2014, 16–24). Two of its books are specifically about Italy (5–6), and stand apart from the rest of the work: the ending of Book 4 and the beginning of Book 7 join almost seamlessly (in the Alps), with the intervening two an intrusion. It is probable that these books, which conclude with an eulogistic summary of Roman power and the Augustan peace (6.4.1–2), were a separate work by Strabo on the ethnography of the Italian peninsula. The beginning of Book 5 (5.1.1), after a brief connecting sentence about the Alps, also reads like an introduction to a discrete work, with its discussion of the meaning of the term “Italy.”

It is not clear when Books 5–6 were written (Strabon 2003, 3–4). The eulogy on Roman power at the end of Book 6 was produced in a narrow window around AD 18–19, between the death of Archelaos of Kappadokia in the former year and that of Germanicus in the latter (Biffi 1988, xxviii–xxix), but this dating refers only to this passage, and it is not exactly known when Strabo might have heard about the two deaths. Yet the *Geography* had been gestating since the 20s BC, and parts of the description, especially those involving autopsy, may fall anywhere in this period. Strabo had a habit of updating his text throughout his period of writing (which lasted into the AD 20s), so it is difficult to determine the compositional date of a particular passage that does not have definite chronological markers, and these indicators may merely be just an insertion.

Books 5–6 were written solely for a Greek audience (unlike much of the rest of the *Geography*, which would be of interest to both Greeks and Romans). A Roman reader would not need to be told about Romulus and Remus (5.3.2–3) or the location of Ostia (5.2.1). But to Greeks the Italian world – especially that north of the Greek-populated south – was still largely a novelty, and Strabo’s two books on Italy would provide a summary of the culture of the peninsula for Greeks who could not read Latin. Similar projects had been advanced by Dionysios of Halikarnassos and Diodoros of Sicily. Strabo, however, had the advantage of fluency in Latin, a rare commodity among educated Greeks; even the erudite Plutarch (*Dem.* 2.2) had difficulty in the language. Moreover, unlike Greek scholars whose knowledge of Italy was limited to Rome and the Greek cities, Strabo travelled in the north (5.2.6). His tone regarding Italy borders on the eulogistic (5.1.4–5), stressing its fertility and its unusual geographical features, an attempt to impress his Greek audience

Duane W. Roller: Department of Classics, The Ohio State University, 4240 Campus Drive, Columbus, Ohio 42520 U. S. A. Email: roller.2@osu.edu

with the wonders of a region in which Strabo had spent many years, with the subtle suggestion that there was a connection between this abundance and Roman power (Clarke 1999, 294–299). Although Strabo's attitude toward the Romans was complex – his own family had suffered at their hands (12.3.33) – nevertheless he accepted the reality of their power and wanted to explain it to Greeks (Van der Vliet 2003, 268–271).

Book 5 begins at the Alps and continues as far south as the Sagros River (the southern edge of Campania) in the west and Buca in the east. Book 6 covers the remainder of the peninsula, moving along the coast in a counter-clockwise fashion from the Sagros around to Buca, with a break after Metapontion for Sicily. The interior of the peninsula is discussed in a scattered fashion, after the adjacent coasts. The tone of the two books is somewhat different, reflected in the citation of sources. One of the distinctive qualities of the *Geography* is its rich use of earlier material, with nearly two hundred previous authors quoted in the work as a whole – some dozens of times – from Homer to Nikolaos of Damascus. Yet Book 5 is unique in its naming of only a handful of earlier writers. Two of these, Homer and Pindar, are mentioned only for mythological references, not the contemporary situation. Strabo's most common geographical sources – Eratosthenes, Polybios, Poseidonios, and Ephoros – appear rarely. Polybios has been suggested as the major source for Book 5 (Lasserre 2003, 10–21), yet he was cited only four times, two of which are merely distances. Strabo's visit to the quarries and mines of coastal Tyrrhenia (5.2.6), where he may have had professional interests, suggests further travel in the north and that much of Book 5 may have been based on autopsy or local information received; certainly his description of the city of Rome (5.3.8) is highly personal.

By contrast Book 6 is more conventional in its outlook, with over a dozen sources cited, including the full repertory of Hellenistic geographers, such as Apollodoros, Artemidoros, Polybios, and Poseidonios, authors whose material pervades the *Geography*. This suggests that the south of Italy and Sicily, better known to Greeks, could be handled more derivatively. The summary of Roman power that ends the book, written in the first decade of the reign of Tiberius, is an address to a Greek audience that may not have been fully informed about the contemporary political situation.

In his Italian section, Strabo mentioned approximately thirty ethnic groups, from the Enetians (Venetians, 5.1.4) in the north to the Iapygians in the heel (6.1.11). Although Dionysios and Diodoros covered some of the same material, their focus was more historical, and not as ethnographic or topographic as was Strabo. He seems to have operated outside any Roman tradition, as stadia were generally used for distances. Strabo was familiar with miles, citing them for his own travels (e.g. 5.3.2), yet many of the references to miles are linked to one particular source, the elusive Chorographer, often (but without certainty) thought to be the map of Marcus Agrippa or its commentary (Klotz 1931, 38–58). Strabo showed no knowledge of Livy, who might have been useful, and Asinius Pollio, Cicero, and Julius Caesar, familiar in other parts of the work, had nothing of interest to Strabo in his discussion of the peninsula. Yet his use of distinct Greek ethnic names (Ombrikoï, Saunitai, Bret-

tioi), rather than even hellenized forms of Latin ones, demonstrates both his Greek readership and a source transmission directly from the indigenous name into Greek, bypassing Latin. A single mention of the Latin term “Samnites” (5.4.12) is only to compare the name to the Greek form, Saunitai. For the south of Italy there was a wider variety of sources, but any Greek ones about the north have vanished without trace, further indication that Strabo’s data came directly from his own travels.

It should be remembered that Strabo’s discussion of Italian ethnic groups is situated in the context of his larger examination of world geography, and that the consideration of the Italian peoples is incomplete and chronologically inconsistent. If he had originally written a separate monograph on Italian ethnography, he may have condensed it for the purposes of inserting it into the *Geography*. No group is mentioned in great detail, although in some cases, such as with the Saunitai, Strabo’s account is among the most thorough extant. Others, such as the Chones, are cited merely in passing. As might be expected, there is more attention paid to Rome and its environs than other parts of the peninsula. The chronological context is also varied: the material from the south that relies on Antiochos of Syracuse may not be updated beyond his era of the fifth century BC, whereas Strabo’s comments on Rome and the surrounding area, as well as coastal Tyrrhenia, are fixed within his own era, in some cases as late as the second decade of the first century AD.

In the account that follows, the ethnic groups are presented as Strabo outlined them, and this essay is not meant to be a full examination of the available information about these peoples, but rather a reflection of Strabo’s varied data. The discussion adheres to Strabo’s geographical pattern, beginning with the Enetoi at the head of the Adriatic, and moving south down the peninsula. The report on the east coast breaks off at Buca (“the Outlet,” probably near modern Termoli) but that about the western side continues past Rome into the far south opposite Sicily. The description then moves around the end of the peninsula, and returns north along the Adriatic until Buca is reached once again.

The **Enetoi** (5.1.4, also Henetoi, whose name is reflected in the modern Venetians) lived around the head of the Adriatic in the marshlands that are still apparent today: like their modern descendants, they were particularly subject to high tides (those in this region are among the highest in the Mediterranean). Strabo – trained as a Homeric scholar – was particularly interested in their origins, since a tale popular in his time was that they were the same as the Enetoi who had been allies of the Trojans (Hom., *Il.* 2.852), and who had migrated to Italy after the war under the leadership of Antenor (Livy 1.1). Others believed that they were Keltic, perhaps a more plausible suggestion, but in both cases the stories were probably based on nothing more than similar-sounding ethnyms. The Enetoi controlled the beginning of a major trade corridor to the north (5.1.8) which ran to the city of Noreia, somewhere in modern Carinthia (Porod 2010, 113–116), and continued to the Baltic as part of the famous amber route. The cult of Diomedes was also common among the Enetoi (5.1.9), who had a major sanctuary to the hero known as the Timavum, probably

near the modern village of San Giovanni al Timavo at the entrance to the Trieste corridor, although no remains have been located. Nevertheless the striking karst topography of the region, with its numerous sinkholes and springs, is suitable for a sacred site.

The **Tyrrhenoi** (Etruscans) had been known to the Greek world since the fifth century BC (Hdt. 1.57, 94), and the primary interest of scholars was in their origins and their connection to emergent Rome. Strabo's account is essentially the one that had been standard since early times, and which was also reported by his contemporary Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ant. Rom.* 1.27). Strabo emphasized the strong ties between the Etruscans and Corinth in the Archaic period, something supported by material culture (Boardman 1980, 198–210). He was personally familiar with the Etruscan coast, and provided a detailed itinerary along it (5.2.5), including an early description of the famous quarries at Luna (modern Carrara), which were just being developed (Hirt 2010, 29–30). His topographical account of the interior describes each of the major Etruscan cities, but also stressed the importance of the numerous volcanic lakes as an essential part of the local economy through their fish and papyrus industries (5.2.9). Anachronistically, the Etruscans were still thought to be essentially pirates (5.3.5). Strabo also reported on the Etruscan cities in the south, around Capua (5.4.3), which flourished from about 650 BC until the end of the fifth century BC (Richardson 1964, 73–74). All in all, his material on the Etruscans, generally reflecting a perspective of the later Augustan period, is one of the most detailed in the Italian section.

The **Ombrikoï** (Umbrians) had been known to the Greeks since the fifth century BC (Hdt. 1.94). They lived east of the Etruscans, across the Tiber. Strabo's account is minimal, and does not show any personal familiarity: he may have taken his material from the map of Agrippa in Rome, since his report is oriented on the roads passing through their territory. The Ombrikoï extended from the Adriatic coast north of the Apennines to the Tiber, and south almost to Rome, a far greater territory than modern Umbria. Only the city of Perusia (modern Perugia) was west of the Tiber (5.2.9). Strabo's description of the Umbrian presence north of the Apennine Mountains, in the Padus (Po) valley (5.6.1.10), where they contended with the Etruscans for supremacy, is the most complete extant (Bradley 2000, 20–21).

The **Sabinoi** (Sabines) were just northeast of Rome. They were also treated briefly by Strabo, but with a certain amount of ethnographical detail. They were seen as prosperous farmers (5.3.1) but also as hardy primitives living in a mountainous terrain, of indigenous origin. Their early assimilation by the Romans, involving the famous tale of the capture of their women (5.3.2), was one of the more familiar stories of early Roman history, which Strabo recounted for the benefit of his Greek audience. By his time there was little surviving of their cultural identity, and even Kyres, or Cures, near Rome, the home of two Roman kings and the alleged origin of the word "Quirites" for the citizenry of Rome, was hardly known. A rare (for Book 5) citation of a source, the historian Q. Fabius Pictor, of the third century BC, may suggest where Strabo obtained his information for the Sabines.

The **Latin** territory was south of the left bank of the lower Tiber (5.3.2). There were various localized hill tribes within and adjoining their lands, such as the Aequians (Akoi in Greek), Volscians, Hernicians, and others, all of whom played a role in early Rome history. Because Rome was part of this region, much of Strabo's description is centered on the history of the city, and how the Latins were quickly subordinated (5.3.4). They retained some identity even in Strabo's time (5.3.6), and had their own festivals, especially at Ardea, where there was a cult of Aphrodite, or Venus. There is also an important report on the famous cult of Diana (Artemis) at Nemus, which Strabo saw as having a barbarian and Skythian element (5.3.12; Blagg 1986, 212–214). Nevertheless Latin culture was greatly in decline in Strabo's day, and he had little to say about it. His account of the city of Rome is oriented toward its physical beauty. The description is not without problems, in part because it was originally produced in the 30s BC and updated several times, the last after the death of Augustus in AD 14. Yet it remains an important personal report on the splendor of the Augustan city (Wiseman 1979, 129–134).

The **Saunitai**, better known in Latin as the Samnites, occupied the mountainous interior of south-central Italy (5.4.11–12). They were originally rural villagers, and became notorious for their raids into the Campanian plain (Livy 10.20), leading to a long series of wars – from the fourth into the first centuries BC – as the Romans attempted to subdue them. This only came to an end in the time of Sulla, particularly with his execution of thousands of Samnite prisoners in the Campus Martius in 82 BC, a matter of interest to Strabo as it was seen as a harbinger of the excesses of the coming Roman civil war, which, needless to say, greatly affected the Greek world. Strabo's ethnology of the Samnites, while brief, is the most extensive extant, with special attention given to the *ver sacrum*, or Sacred Springtime, the consecration of the harvest, an attempt to reduce the population during periods of adversity (the Romans themselves had practiced the ritual in the time of Hannibal, Livy 22.10.1–6). Strabo was also interested in Samnite marriage customs: the best young women were paired with the best young men, again perhaps a feature of a population under stress.

The **Ouestinoi** (Vestinians), **Marsoi** (Marsians), **Pelignoi** (Paelignians), **Marroukinoi** (Marrucinians), and **Phrentanoi** (Frentanians) were small ethnic groups related to the Samnites (5.4.2). They had a reputation as hardy mountaineers and renowned warriors, living on the upper Aternus (modern Pescara) River in the vicinity of modern Corfino. Generally they were good allies of Rome, but played a disproportionate role in Roman history as they were implicated in the beginning of the so-called Social War of the early first century BC. Strabo and other ancient sources called the conflict by its proper name, the Marsic War (Diod. Sic. 37.1–2; Vell. Pat. 2.15), as the Marsians were the instigators. They established a new Italian capital at Corfinium, named Italia, but it was short-lived due to the Roman response.

The **Oskoi** (Oscans) were also in the hill country north of Campania (5.3.6). They had died out in Strabo's day, but their language was spoken by the Samnites and

other related peoples, and Oscan plays were still performed in the mid-first century BC (Cic., *Fam.* 7.1.3).

The **Campanians** occupied the fertile volcanic plains and hills around the Bay of Naples (5.4.7, 11): their name (Greek “Kampanoi”) seems not so much to be an ethnym as a descriptive adjective, from *campus*. Because of early Greek settlement in their area, they adopted Greek ways sooner and more extensively than other indigenous Italian peoples. Strabo had little to say about the Campanians themselves, although he did comment on what was perhaps their most famous institution, gladiatorial combats (5.4.13), especially in the context of the era of Hannibal, who spent the winter of 216–215 BC in the region. This is one of several incidents concerning Hannibal in Strabo’s Italian section, perhaps indicating that he was using an historian of the Carthaginian commander as a source.

The **Pikentinoi** (Picentians, 5.4.13) were originally located in east-central Italy, but some of them moved into Campania in the early third century BC. Because they supported Hannibal, they were dispersed in the second century BC, and were denied service in the military, becoming postal couriers: this may also have been the fate of other supporters of Hannibal in southern Italy (Ramsay 1920, 80–81). Their name was said to come from *picus* (woodpecker), because they had followed one to their home, a typical folk animal etymology. Woodpecker stories are common in early Italian myth: the most famous is the woodpecker who assisted the wolf in saving Romulus and Remus (Plut., *Rom.* 4.2). The Picentians had been almost totally assimilated in Strabo’s time, although their name survives in modern Sant’ Antonio a Picenzia, just southeast of Salerno.

The **Leukanoi** (Lucanians) lived in the southernmost part of the Italian peninsula, extending as far as the northern narrows of the boot, and from the interior mountains to the west coast. They were related to the Saunitians and the Brettians, but had been assimilated by Rome in the third century BC (Livy 28.11.15), and had lost their independent identity. Strabo pointed out (6.1.2) that only a few poor villages could claim to be Leukanian, and that there were no visible cultural characteristics. Their language was extinct.

The **Brettioi** (Bruttii), who occupied the heel of Italy, had essentially vanished, much like their relatives the Leukanoi (6.1.2–5). Nevertheless Strabo discussed their territory in some detail, using material from the fifth-century BC historian Antiochos of Syracuse. They were the southernmost indigenous people of the Italian peninsula, perhaps originally disaffected Saunitians who had retreated into this isolated region. This was where the toponym *Italia* originated, and it was still limited to this area at the time of the local resident Herodotos (1.145), although there is no evidence of any surviving ethnic group called the Italioi. The toponym only began to extend to the north in the fourth century BC (Givigliano 2008, 485–488). Since there were no surviving Brettians, Strabo’s primary interest in their homeland was topographic. Their territory was especially rugged – the modern Aspromonte mountains reach an elevation of 1972 m only a few miles from the coast – and with dense forests. The major legacy of the Brettians was their pitch industry, which produced the

best of that commodity, still called “Bruttian pitch” in Strabo’s time (6.1.9; Cic., *Brut.* 85–86).

The **Oinotroi** and **Chones** (6.1.2–3) were shadowy early peoples of the south. The former may not have been indigenous, but rather the original Greek settlers of the peninsula, who moved into this region in the Late Helladic II period (Stubblings 1975, 356–358). Their name seems Greek (perhaps reflecting the importation of wine), and it was said that they came to Italy many generations before the Trojan War (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.11). The Oinotrians occupied the territory originally known as Italia (which came to be known as Oinotria), ejecting the indigenous population, which went to Sicily (6.1.6). But the Oinotrians themselves were eventually moved out (or assimilated) when the Samnites (probably actually their cousins the Brettians) entered the region. One of their sub-groups was the vague Chones. Despite the disappearance of the Oinotrians, the name Oinotria for this region survived as late as the fifth century BC, and perhaps even into Strabo’s time (6.1.15).

To complete his survey of Italy, Strabo examined the southeast, from the heel to midway up the coast to Buca, where his description of the eastern side of the peninsula had previously come to an end (5.4.2). The ethnic history of southeastern Italy is particularly complex, with several groups known by more than one name and seemingly overlapping each other (D’Andria 1988, 653–715). Strabo added little to the understanding of this region (6.3.1), which is still confusing to the modern scholar. The **Iapygians** were the early inhabitants of the heel, and the name Iapygia became the general name for the district. The **Peuketioi** were probably a sub-group, as were the **Podikloi**; Strabo believed that they were essentially interchangeable, although living side by side. The former were believed to be immigrants from Arkadia (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.11.3), and the ethnym was not used by the locals. Much the same could be said for the **Daunioi** (6.3.8), who were ethnically similar but somewhat to the north, around the Garganon (modern Gargano) peninsula. The **Salentinoi** were the farthest south, in the heel itself, and the region is still called today the Salentino. The **Kalabroi** (Calabrians) were also here (well east of the modern Italian region of Calabria). Yet Strabo had little to say about the characteristics of any of these groups, although he defined their location carefully:

The Hellenes call it [southeastern Italy] Messapia but to the locals one part is the region of the Salentinoi (that around the Iapygian Cape) and the other that of the Kalabroi. Above these to the north are the Peuketioi and those called in the Hellenic language the Daunioi. The locals call everything after the Kalabroi Apoulia, although some of them are called Poidiklioι, especially the Peuketioi [6.3.1].

After this careful delineation of the various groups, Strabo hardly commented on any of their ethnic characteristics, a much more vague description than for much of the rest of Italy. It is difficult to believe that Strabo was not familiar with the region – any route from Rome to the eastern Mediterranean, a journey Strabo made a number of times, would pass through it – but other than a comment that the district was “un-

expectedly charming” (6.3.5), surely autoptic, he revealed little knowledge beyond the ethnonyms and their relative location.

Strabo’s account of the Italian ethnic groups is scattered and inconsistent, since such data were not his real focus, but it allowed the Greek readers of Books 5–6 of the *Geography* an insight into the multi-ethnic history of the peninsula. Like the *Geography* itself, the information is varied in tone and quality, and an amalgam of source material and personal information. Yet it remains the primary Greek report on its topic from the early Imperial period.

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Helle W. Horsnæs

Ancient Italian Numismatics

Coins form a very particular group of ancient artefacts. They are small pieces of metal normally adhering to a standard weight system and carrying motifs and/or legends, and they are issued by an authority for a particular purpose. Coins were made by placing a blank on a die inserted into a base, and then striking it with a die inserted into a punch. This production technique allows for a large number of near-identical objects to be produced within a very short period. In the beginning only the lower die carried a figurative motif presented in relief on the obverse of the coin, while the upper, reverse, die produced a non-figurative punch mark, the so-called “incuse.” Soon also the reverse die was made to produce a motif in relief, thereby creating the basic design of coins which they still have today.

The dies have often been compared to royal signets or seals, and indeed the striking of coins has been seen as a stamp, guaranteeing the value of the precious metal used for the coins. By the end of the sixth century BC coins were issued in silver and, more rarely, gold by the major Greek *poleis* of Ionia, mainland Greece and Magna Graecia. While coinages of precious metal with intrinsic value prevailed in the earliest phase, they were soon supplemented by coins struck in blanks made of copper based alloys, normally described as bronze coinages. Most bronze coinages were credit money with a nominal value surpassing the intrinsic value of the metal, and thereby required the user to trust the issuing authority’s guarantee.

I The numismatics of the Italian peninsula

Since the Renaissance Roman coins have been collected and studied, and in particular the relatively homogeneous Roman Imperial issues were easy to insert into a classification system. During the eighteenth century Greek coinages began to arouse more interest, but the many diverse mints of the parts of the ancient world outside Rome proved more difficult to classify in a comprehensive system. Various attempts were made to bring order into this material, and in the end a system created by Joseph Hilarius Eckhel at the end of the eighteenth century prevailed. All the coinages today conventionally called “Greek,” notwithstanding that they cover a far greater variety of mints, were listed according to the mint in a geographical order ultimately adapted from Strabo’s *Geography*, beginning at Gibraltar and following the coastline clockwise around the Mediterranean. Barclay B. Head’s type catalogue *Historia Numorum* (first published in 1886; second edition in 1911) is the standard work of Greek coinages, and it is a direct descendant of Eckhel’s work on the “Greek” mints. The

Helle W. Horsnæs: The National Museum of Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Frederiksholms Kanal 12, DK-1220 Copenhagen K. Email: helle.horsnaes@natmus.dk

third edition of the *Historia Numorum Italy* (Rutter and Burnett 2001, henceforward: HN3) covers the coinages of central and southern Italy, and today provides the most comprehensive list of mints and issues in the Italian peninsula with references to the most important contributions on the individual mints, as well as an introduction to the theme.

The coinages of the Italian peninsula were described from north to south according to the Augustan regions, which did not respect the boundaries of pre-Roman communities. Within each region the coins are listed alphabetically after the name of the authority striking the coins (typically a *polis*, a federation, or a king), and chronologically within each mint. Fortunately, this approach does not consider the political or ethnic affiliation of the mints, which as we shall see may be debatable or change over time, but on the other hand the tri-partite division based on geography, alphabet, and chronology sometimes shrouds the typological affiliations between coinages struck in different mints.

The basic studies of ancient coinages are based on coins in collections, and thereby on the information inherent in each individual coin. These studies have led to an ever increasing refinement of the classification. The identification of a type is based on a close examination of the motifs of the obverse and reverse of coins in combination with legend(s). Stylistic comparison leads to a chronology of a type in relation to other types with similar features. Metrological analysis of large numbers of coins of the same type can reveal the intended original weight of the type, and thereby to which weight standard it adhered. This basic classification has identified the output of a considerable number of mints, some with large or long-lasting productions in different denominations, and others responsible for only one or a few small series.

The number of preserved coins in itself gives an indication of the volume of the coinage, but chance of survival and the circumstances of the recovery of the coins may distort this picture. The find of a hoard consisting of hundreds or even thousands of coins from one mint may lead to the suggestion that this mint was particularly active, while in theory this hoard may comprise the whole production of the mint. Many scholars therefore consider single finds of coins a better indicator for the volume of a mint's output than coins deriving from hoards. Unfortunately many of the coins known in collections today have no archaeological provenance, and although we may guess that a considerable number of them derive from coin hoards, we cannot know for sure.

A comparison of the number of dies used for a single issue with the number of specimens preserved can overcome some of the problems due to chance of survival (Esty 2011). Die studies are based on the fact that many coins could be struck from the same set of dies. The die study requires a meticulous identification and registration of each individual die used for a particular coin type and ideally all preserved coins of that type should be examined.

The close description of coins and the identification of chronologies of issues and location of mints form the backbone of further studies based on numismatic ma-

terial. Those who venture into the field of numismatics will soon discover that few of the indigenous groups described in literary sources issued coins under the name of the ethnic known from literature. Most coinages are issued by other types of authorities. The coin legend is the easiest way to identify the mint, but more often than not the legend is abbreviated and/or ambiguous. An attribution of a particular coin type to a mint normally requires additional evidence from written sources, but several coinages of the Italian peninsula carry a legend referring to a place or an *ethnos* not otherwise known. These issues, as well as anonymous, or “anepigraphic” issues, can sometimes be connected to known mints by similarities in use of iconography, style, or weight standard. The geographical distribution of finds of specific coin types can provide an approximate location of the mint. Still, even when the mint has been identified, the political or ethnic affiliation of the mint is not always easy to assess. The case of the mint of Poseidonia/Paiston/Paestum (HN3, 1107–1258) in Lucania is a revealing example. According to literary sources Poseidonia was originally founded around 600 BC as a Greek *apoikia*, it was taken over by Lucani in the late fifth century, and it became a Latin *colonia* in 273 (e.g. Crawford 2006). The city issued a substantial number of coinages in the Greek tradition, and the mint functioned in all three periods. There were certainly differences in the volume of the mint output through time, and indeed interruptions in the production, but the change from “Greek” to “Lucanian” is not visible in the coins (see Fig. 1). This should warn us that the use of Greek style or letters do not preclude the interpretation of an issue as made by (or perhaps rather for) an indigenous community, and in general this challenges the traditional notion of opposition between “Greek” and “non-Greek” in Italy.

The chronology of coin issues is based on an intricate web of information from various sources: common archaeological methods such as analysis of motifs, weight systems, stylistic developments and typologies, and not least association of different coin types in closed hoards build up a relative chronology. Specialized numismatic methods refine the chronology. Many ancient mints seem to have used a sequential striking from a set of dies until one of the dies was worn out and replaced by a new one. Whenever this change takes place, it is possible to link coins struck by the same die and thus obtain a relative chronology within the issue. In the case of a more complicated die pattern we may hypothesise that several working stations were in use side by side indicating an attempt to strike a large number of coins within a short period.

In some cases dies are shared by issues from different mints, and it allows us to assume that the coins from those mints were contemporary, and that they were perhaps even struck in the same physical workshop. An “overstrike” is a coin struck on an older coin rather than on a new blank. When possible to identify the original motif it gives a sequence of events. Identification of die sequences, overstrikes, and die sharing are methods peculiar to numismatics that can add to the precision of the relative chronology obtained by other methods.



Fig. 1. Three coins from Poseidonia/Paestum. A: Silver stater with incuse reverse motif, late sixth or early fifth century (SNG Cop 3,1271. HN3 type 1107); B: Bronze coin from the Lucanian period with the hardly visible legend POSEIDAN inscribed in raised tablet above the bull on the obverse and to the left of Poseidon on the reverse, ca. 350–290. (SNG Cop 3,1309. HN3 type 1158); C: Bronze coin with legend PAISTANO, probably struck after the foundation of the Roman colonia in 273 BC (SNG Cop 3,1324. HN3 type 1181).

The absolute chronology of coinages of the Italian peninsula, however, is a delicate matter. The Italic coinages, as most of other “Greek” coin types, are not dated by legends referring to reigns or otherwise. The relative chronologies are therefore combined with information mainly based on literary sources recording historical events in order to date the production of an issue (HN3, 10–15). The absolute dates proposed for the production of coins are generally much less precise than what archaeologists like to believe, and the tendency to give the dates for the possible production period(s) without referring to a discussion of them have sometimes been misunderstood as certainty. A date proposed for a coin should normally be understood as a period within which the production event took place, but we cannot be certain the coin type in question was produced throughout the whole period, and we must remember that the production date is only the *beginning* of the period of use of the coin. We have numerous examples that some coin issues were in use for very long periods, and coins are often found in archaeological contexts much later than the time of production.

II The inspiration from Magna Graecia

The coinages of peninsular Italy can be divided into three distinct, but partially co-existing geographical groups, transgressing the artificial borders created by modern classification. The earliest coins from Italy were struck in the late sixth century by the four Greek *apoikiai*, Metapontos, Sybaris, Croton and Caulonia, in the so-called Achaean weight standard based on a silver stater of little more than 8 g divided into three drachmas. The mints shared an incuse technique peculiar to the coinages of the late sixth century in the Italian peninsula, where the obverse presents the motif in relief, while the same motif is impressed in negative into the reverse. Four small and episodic issues of similar incuse coins may constitute the first coinages issued by or in the name of indigenous groups. Three of them are, however, known in only one or a few specimens (HN3, 1105–1106, 1356–1357, 1728), and doubts have even been raised about the authenticity of some of them. The only substantial issue, the so-called “Siris and Pyxus” coinage (HN3, 1722–1727), is known from ca. forty-five staters and a single drachm (Horsnæs 2011), far less than the contemporary issues of Sybaris, to which it is closely related (see Fig. 2).

In the early fifth century the mints of southern Italy adopted the double relief technique used elsewhere in the Greek world. Among the earliest mints using the double relief technique is a small issue ascribed to the Serdaioi (HN3, 1717–1721; Brousseau 2010), a people also known from an inscription found in Olympia commemorating a political pact. The ethnic identity of the Serdaioi is disputed, but we cannot exclude that they were indigenous rather than Greek.

In reality, these possibly indigenous(?) Archaic coinages raise more questions than they answer. Some specimens are found in coin hoards in southern Italy with coins from Greek *poleis*, and there is little doubt that they belong in this milieu.



Fig. 2. Silver stater with incuse reverse, late sixth or early fifth century. The motif, a standing bull with its head turned back, is identical to the staters of Sybaris, but the legends, SIRIN-OS on the obverse and PYX on the reverse, suggest that this issue was produced for another authority, perhaps an alliance between two communities, the identification of which remain disputed (SNG Cop 3,1387. HN3 type 1722).

But neither the geographical position of the mints, nor the authority behind the issues can be ascertained, and they may theoretically be from Greek *poleis* not mentioned otherwise, as well as from indigenous communities.

For most of the fifth century minting was generally restricted to a limited number of larger Greek *poleis*. The standard unit was still the stater, normally divided into two or three drachms, depending on the denomination system used in the individual mint. During the century some *poleis* began to mint an increasing number of small fractions in silver, and in the second half of the century the first bronze coins began to take over the role played by small silver denominations. It is, however, important to stress that this was not a linear development to take place at all mints. Some mints did not adopt bronze coinage until a much later period, while in other places the minting of silver was temporarily or permanently interrupted, while the bronze issues continued (Brousseau 2013).

The coinage of the Campani is the first issues with a legend identifying the striking authority as an ethnic group known from later literary sources (HN3, 476–478; *Imagines* Campania 1–4, Capua 1). The coins were silver didrachms on the Campanian weight standard, and they share obverse dies with both Neapolis and Cumae. They were probably produced in Neapolis for the former Etruscan town Capua that according to literary sources had been taken over by Campani in the late fifth century. Shortly afterwards brief series of didrachms were created in Campania for Allifae (HN3, 459; *Imagines* Allifae 1), Fenserni (HN3, 538; *Imagines* Fenserni 1), Hyrietes (HN3, 539–542; *Imagines* Hurietes 1) and Nola (HN3, 603–605; *Imagines* Nola 1) (see Fig. 3). Again, there are several examples of die sharing linking the issues within this group.



Fig. 3. Didrachms sharing motives (Athena/man-headed bull), but with legends referring to different issuing communities on the reverse, testify to the integration into a common material culture in Campania in the late fifth to early fourth centuries. A: the Campani [K]AMPANO retrograde (SNG Cop 1,381. HN3 type 477), B: the (former) Greek apoikia Neapolis NEOPOLITHS (SNG Cop 1,383. HN3 type 554), C: the Hyrietes YRINA (SNG Cop 1,371. HN3 type 539) and D: the (former) Etruscan town Nola [N]OLAION (SNG Cop 1,564. HN3 type 603).

Although not die linked to any of these coinages, the likewise short-lived di-drachm issue of Phistelia (HN3, 611–613; *Imagines* Phistelia 1) should probably be seen in relation to these. The communities of the Fenserni, Hyrietes and Phistelia have not been located, but the die sharing within the group and the use of legends in Oscan script allow for an interpretation of these issues as indigenous coinages struck in the Campanian milieu. In the early fourth century Teate/Teaum Apulum in northern Apulia produced an isolated issue (HN3, 695), but in this case the only denomination was a silver drachm derived from a prototype from Velia on the Tyrrhenian coast of Lucania.

This brief activity was followed by a period where minting was disrupted in Campania, even in the (former) Greek cities of Cumae and Neapolis (Pedroni 1996). For some time only the most prolific mints of the Greek *apoikiai* of southern Italy were active. From the second half of the fourth century, however, there is a marked growth in the silver output of some of the “old” Greek mints (Brousseau 2011), and at the same time several new mints began production.

The reasons for this growth in output and the establishment of new mints have been sought in the political changes taking place during the latter half of the fourth century: the internal rivalry between the (former) *apoikiai*, the campaigns of Alexander Molossus in southern Italy, and a strong new factor on the political scene: Roman expansion southwards. In fact the new north Apulian mints, although striking in Greek tradition, were established when the authorities behind the coinages were already deeply involved with the Romans, as allies (Arpi), or directly under Roman control (Canusium).

In Apulia only Tarentum had been minting from the late sixth century. But in the last quarter of the fourth century the south Apulian mints of Caelia (HN3, 757–772), Neapolis (HN3, 800–803), Neretum (HN3, 804–806) and Rubi (HN3, 807–813) struck for the first time, and shortly afterwards small issues were produced for Azetium (HN3, 727–729), Brundisium (HN3, 736) and Silvium (HN3, 822). The issues were small, and probably of little economic consequence, and they provide little information on the ethnic affiliation of the authority behind them.

Late fourth century mints in Cosentia (HN3, 2071–2074), Hipponium/Vibo Valentia (HN3, 2242–2261), and Medma (HN3, 2424–2436) in Calabria may tentatively be related to the formation of the Brettian (or Bruttian) *ethnos* in the mid-fourth century (for which see Cappelletti in this volume). Yet the Greek legends and traditional coin types do not allow for any firm ethnic attribution. The mints struck mainly in bronze, but Hipponium and Medma also produced Corinthian type silver staters.

The Campanian mints of Allifae and Phistelia resumed minting after a hiatus, along with new mints in Ausculum (HN3, 651–653) and Canusium (HN3, 657–659) in northern Apulia; and there was an anonymous mint in Campania, sometimes ascribed to Phistelia (HN3, 619). Several new mints in Apulia and Campania are characterised by small denomination silver coins, mainly obols weighing little more than half a gram, sometimes supplemented with diobols or fractions of obols, and they seem to form a cultural unity across the peninsula (see Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Silver obeloi from Campania and Apulia, late fourth or early third centuries. Well-preserved specimens normally weigh little more than 0.6 g. A: Allifae ALLIBAN[ON] (SNG Cop 1,295. HN3 type 460); B: Phistelia FISTLVIS (SNG Cop 1,576. HN3 type 613); C: Arpi, abbreviated A on the obverse (SNG Cop 2,602. HN3 type 635), D: Canusium, C A on each side of the reverse motive (SNG Cop 1,642. HN3 type 657).

Two very small issues of silver obols are identified by their legends in Greek script as belonging to the Peripoloi Pitanatai (HN3, 445; Campana 2009b) and the Saunitai (HN3, 446; Campana 2009a. Only four specimens of the latter issue are known today). In modern scholarship the issues are listed under the heading Samnium, and it would be tempting to see the coinage of the Saunitai as an expression of an ethnic identity of Samnites. The location of the mints, however, remains unknown. The use of Doric dialect in the legend of the Saunitai coins and the similarities between the reverse type of the Peripoloi Pitanatai and the diobols of Tarentum and Heraclea (Heracles strangling lion) have been used as arguments for placing these mints within a Tarentine cultural orbit, and it has been suggested that they were struck by mercenaries. In this case we might envisage a travelling mint, but it must be stressed that these issues are small, and few specimens have been recorded (Crawford 2011).

The coinages of the third century present a varied picture. In the southernmost part of the peninsula we see a discontinuation of many mints following the Roman take-over (280–270 BC), but many, although generally small, mints were active in Apulia and Campania. A particularly closely knit group of mints appeared in Campania and produced consistent amounts of bronze coins characterized by reverse types presenting either a man-faced bull or a cock. The man-faced bull revitalized a reverse motif, which had been common in the area in earlier periods. In the third century it is used in particular in central and southern Campania and the inland areas of Samnium, and the issues are closely linked to the bronze issues of Neapolis. The cock is more common in northern Campania, but the communities of Cales and Suessa employed both motives (see Fig. 5). There are several examples of overstrikes within the group dating the production of this group as a whole to ca. 265–240 BC (HN3, 58–61).



Fig. 5. Central Italian bronze coins sharing the Athena/cock motives, mid-third century. A: Caiazzo CAIATINO (SNG Cop Suppl. 24. HN3 type 433); B: Suessa SU[E]SANO (SNG Cop 1,589. HN3 type 449); C: Aquino AQVINO (SNG Cop 1,100. HN3 type 432); D: The legend VEINAL in front of the cock (not visible in this specimen) may refer to Venafrum (SNG Cop 1,599. HN3 type 2661).



Fig. 6. During the Second Punic War Brettii and Lucani struck several series of coins in various metals. Many of them shared motives on one or both sides. A: BRETTION (SNG Cop 3,1640. HN3 type 1987); B: [L]YKIANON (SNG Cop 3,1097. HN3 type 1456).

The Brettii produced a considerable number of coin types during the short period 216–203 BC, when they were allied with Hannibal in the Second Punic War (HN3, 1940–2012). The coins were struck in a number of different denominations in gold, silver, and bronze, and they depict a variety of figurative motives, but they all share the reverse legend BRETTION (in Greek letters). In the same period small issues were struck for the Lucani with the legends LUKIANOM/LUKIANON in Oscan and Greek language, respectively, but both in Greek alphabet (HN3, 1449–1458; *Imagines Lucani* 1) (see Fig. 6). These coinages may with some caution be interpreted as evidence for a need to spell out ethnic affiliations in a period of severe crisis. For a brief period the Brettian bronze coins seem to have dominated the circulation in what could be termed the Brettian core area of Calabria, while Punic issues dominated the precious metal coins (Taliervo Mensitieri 2004). The Punic impact and presence in the Italian peninsula was marked also by the short-lived use of Punic weight



Fig. 7. Struck bronze coin of Rome, legend ROMANO, ca. 270–260 (SNG Cop 1,195. HN3 type 278, Crawford 17/1a).

standard in the *apoikiai* Metapontum and Tarentum, and not least by the existence of one or more mints producing Punic coins within the peninsula (HN3, 161–163).

III The coinage of central Italy

Pliny the Elder (HN 33.13.43) is often quoted for the information that the Romans used to pay in *aes rude*, raw – or un-coined – copper, and indeed raw lumps of copper have been found in many sites throughout modern Italy, mostly in votive deposits, but also in burials. Naturally these lumps of copper can only be dated by contextual evidence. There are few reports of *aes rude* in connection with Villanovan burials. Nevertheless, in spite of the alleged antiquity of the *aes rude*, there are several finds that must be considerably younger, and the use of *aes rude* must have continued into at least the third century. While normally regarded to be a central Italian phenomenon, it today seems that the use of “raw bronze” was much more widely distributed (Cantilena 2008; Dr. Fleur Kemmers, pers. info.).

The end of the fourth century sees the first struck coins of Rome, the so-called Romano-Campanian issues of silver and bronze coins in Greek style (Crawford 1985 is fundamental; Burnett 2012 for the most recent summary, including a useful chronological table on p. 306–307). The silver coins comply with Neapolitan weight standard and fineness, and initially they were probably produced in Neapolis, while the earliest Roman bronze coins are believed to have been struck in several mints. The very first Roman bronze issue copied not only the weight standard, but also the design from the Neapolitan coins, only replacing the legend of Neapolis with the legend ROMAION (in Greek letters); but it was soon to be followed by other designs combined with the legend ROMANO in Latin letters. The first silver didrachms also complied with weight as well as purity to the contemporary issues of Neapolis, but carrying the legend ROMANO soon to be replaced by the abbreviation ROMA (see Fig. 7). It is not clear when the production of Roman coins was transferred to Rome, but from the second quarter of the century a mint was probably active in the city itself.



Fig. 8. A: Cast aes with Janus/prow, the value is indicated by an I, ca. 225–212 (SNG Cop 1,149. HN3 type 337, Crawford 35/1); B: cast quadrans with Hercules/prow. The value is indicated by three pellets, referring to the value of three unciae, a quarter of an aes, ca. 225–212 (SNG Cop 1,162. HN3 type 340, Crawford 35/4).

Alongside the struck coinages, Rome issued large cast bronze coins, often referred to as *aes grave* (see Fig. 8). Several series exist, and they seem to have suffered a number of weight reductions. Two basic groups may be singled out: the heavy and the light series. In both series the coins have marks of value ranging from one *aes* (I) to 1/12 of an *aes* = 1 ounce (*uncia*) (Burnett 2012). Initially a number of different motives were employed, but the last cast coinage has become known as the prow series because of the prow on the reverse of all denominations, while the obverse depicted different deities.



Fig. 9. Struck silver coins from the early periods of the Roman denarius series soon after 212/211 BC. A: Denarius with value mark X (Crawford 45/1); B: quinarius with value mark V (Crawford 44/6); C: and sestertius with value mark IIS (Crawford 44/7).

The third element of early Roman coinage is the *aes signatum* known from written sources. They are often identified with the cast currency bars found over a large area of central Italy. They have a standard weight of 1.5 kg, and carry the ROMANOM inscription identifying them as official issues (Burnett 2012, 302).

Roman coinage can be described as belonging to a Greek tradition until the reform of 212/211 BC that established the denarius as the basic denomination in the Roman coins system for almost half a millennium (see Fig. 9). The introduction of the denarius coinage marks the great divide in the study of the coinages of the Italian peninsula. The chronology has been a heavily debated issue, but today most scholars agree that the introduction took place during the Second Punic War, and most commonly it is dated to 212/211 (Burnett 2012, 304–305; Woytek 2012). The new silver unit was the denarius – actually a ten-*aes* piece, hence its popular name and the value mark X. It was struck in very pure silver. Two silver fractions marked V (quinarius, 5-*aes*) and IIS (sestertius, half-third or 2½-*aes*) were struck for a short period, while the rare high denominations in gold valued 60, 40 and 20 *aes* (Mars/eagle ser-



Fig. 10. Roman victoriatus (Sydenham 65).

ies) were produced for only a couple of years. Bronze coins were struck in a sextantal standard, meaning that one *aes* weighed 1/6 of a Roman pound (*libra*) equalling two ounces (*unciae*). The coins continued the motives and the use of value marks of the prow series. The system integrated all denominations into a single well-defined value system.

Yet, a single denomination stands apart. The *victoriatus* with a reverse featuring Victory crowning a trophy was a silver coin struck with a lower silver content and a weight equalling three-quarters of a denarius (see Fig. 10). It has been described as a “Roman drachm” made for export (Crawford 1985). It took over the role of Roman coins from the earlier Roman didrachm (the *quadrigatus*, depicting a quadriga on the reverse) in areas where Greek weight standards had been common (Woytek 2012).

This intricate system did not last long. By the mid-second century the Roman currency in practice consisted of denarii and *aes*, and in 141 BC a reform re-tariffed the denarius from ten *aes* to sixteen *aes*. Official payments were henceforward calculated in *sestertii* rather than *aes*, perhaps as a means to cover up for what was essentially a devaluation of the *aes*. In 91 BC a new reform introduced a new light weight standard, the semiuncial standard, for bronze coins, which however was not successful, and around 80 BC the production of Roman bronze coins was discontinued, leaving the denarius as the only circulating denomination (Woytek 2012, 321).

Etruscan coinages were produced on a small scale, and they did not circulate widely. A considerable number of the major Etruscan cities probably never produced coins. The mints of Populonia, Volaterrae, and Vetulonia are identified by coin legends in Etruscan script; but several series are anepigraphic/anonymous, and in these cases analysis of find distribution is the main argument for ascribing the series to a specific mint. Some minor issues carry legends that cannot with certainty be identified with communities otherwise known to us. A few episodic forerunners are regularly mentioned, but they are small issues, and their chronologies are subject to debate.

The majority of Etruscan coinages should be ascribed to the third century, the period in which the Roman presence in Etruria gradually changed from one of a foreign power fighting Etruscan cities to one of a local power fighting Gallic and Punic

intruders in Etruria. This may be a reason why the issues are relatively small and locally founded. On the other hand there are similarities between Etruscan and Roman coinage in, for example, the production technique of the cast coinages and the use of value marks.

Populonia is the most prominent Etruscan mint. It struck with a figurative motif in relief on the obverse. The reverse was normally blank, or in some cases carrying a small motif, more reminiscent of a symbol than of a proper reverse type. Several of the series ascribed to Populonia carry a mark of value. The date of the small, so-called “first Gorgoneion series” (HN3, 117–126) is not beyond debate, but some contexts may imply a date in the late fifth century. The series consists of silver coins with value marks in a decimal system (1, 2½, 5, and 10). The “second Gorgoneion series” (HN3, 127–190) is normally dated in the first half of the third century (see Fig. 11). It is much larger, comprising struck coins in gold, silver and bronze, with marks of value, but while the gold and silver have units comparable to the “first Gorgoneion series,” the bronze coins present four, three and two pellets that seems to belong to a duodecimal system of triens, quadrans and sextans, similar to the Roman system. The use of value marks is repeated on other Etruscan coinages, as is the use of a blank reverse on precious metal coins. In addition to – or instead of – struck coins, a number of mints produced cast bronze coins comparable to the Roman cast series. The most common cast series carries the legend *Velathri* (mod. Volterra, Roman Volaterrae) in Etruscan, while the so-called wheel series probably belongs in inland Etruria (HN3, 56–65), and the “oval” series may be ascribed to Volsinii (mod. Orvieto; HN3, 51–55; Crawford 2002), rather than Umbria. In addition to cast coins Tarquinii has been ascribed a production of currency bars (HN3, 212–220).

The so-called *ramo secco* group consists of currency bars cast in an iron rich bronze alloy. The bars always carry a dry branch motif that has given them their popular name. The *ramo secco* group is mainly found in northern Etruria and the Aemilia, and existed at least from the sixth century onwards and into the third century. Contrary to the Roman currency bars, the *ramo secco* bars do not follow a standard weight (Burnett 2012, 302).

The bronze coinages from the Latin colony founded at Cosa in Etruria in 273 BC (HN3, 210–211) are completely unrelated to the Etruscan coinages. Their types and legends (with either head of Mars/horse head and COSANO or head of Coza/horse head and COZANO) are closely linked to the Roman bronze coins with Minerva/horse head and ROMANO legend (HN3, 278). The foundation of the Roman colony thus provides important evidence for the chronology of the coinage of Cosa and the comparable issues from Rome in the second quarter of the third century.

A number of other communities in central and eastern Italy produced cast bronze coins comparable to the Roman and Etruscan series in the period between the Pyrrhic and the Second Punic Wars. The legal status of the communities varies. Several of them were pre-existing communities incorporated by Rome, others were founded by Rome as Latin colonies, while the Umbrian communities Iguvinum (HN3, 22–35) and Tuder (HN3, 39–50) and Ausculum in northern Apulia (HN3,



Figure 11. A: Populonia, silver coin of the “second Gorgoneion series,” with value mark XX, the reverse is blank (SNG Cop 1,1. HN3 type 152); B: cast bronze quadrans of Volaterrae (VELATHRI), club and three pellets indicating value (SNG Cop 1,19. HN3 type 109).

654–655) were still independent. Several had small issues with only one or two denominations, while others produced several denominations during a period with weight reductions. The majority carry value marks similar to the ones used in Roman and Etruscan mints; some, however, used a decimal system (Hatria, Luceria) rather than the more common duodecimal system also employed in Roma and Etruria.



Fig. 12. Padane drachms and their prototype: A: Drachm of Massalia, second century, with female head/lion and MASSA (SNG Cop 43,771); B: Padane drachm with blurred MASSA legend (Copenhagen inv.no. KP 2102.2); C: Padane drachm with PIRAKOS legend (Copenhagen inv.no. RP 687.1), most commonly found in the area around Milan.

IV The “Celtic” coinages of northern Italy

The coinages of northern Italy (Cisalpine Gaul) form a group distinct from other coinages of the peninsula, as they typologically belong among the Celtic coinages. Therefore the coinages of the northernmost part of the Italian peninsula were not included in HN3. The basic classification of the “Celtic coinage” of northern Italy covers a range of types (Arslan 1995, Tipo V–XXVII; Arslan 2001) struck in a number of mints throughout Cisalpine Gaul, and based on the distribution of types in finds suggestions have been presented to ascribe particular types to ethnic groups known from literary sources. All the coins are struck in silver, and the majority of them are identified as drachms. Smaller denominations are rare (Arslan 2009).

The “Padane drachms” copy fourth century silver drachms of the Greek *polis* Massalia in southern France, depicting a female head to the right on the obverse, and on the reverse a lion and the Greek inscription MASSA in the field above the lion (see Fig. 12). These immobilized motives are used on practically all Padane

drachms, and they develop in a manner similar to the Celtic coinages of central Europe: the original Greek style motives are subject to progressive stylization of image as well as text, from a naturalistic depiction of the female head and the lion leading to almost non-figurative motives where the text is integrated as part of the ornament. Most Padane drachms are essentially anepigraphic as the MASSA legend initially was taken over without changes. Only at a later moment do some epigraphic types appear, with legends in Lepontine script (Geiser, et al. 2012, 93–101). The legends have been interpreted as personal names, but we cannot exclude that they were rather titles of magistrates (Haeussler 2007, 58; see also Haeussler in this volume).

The chronology of the Padane drachms is not beyond debate. It seems at present that most scholars agree that the issues began in the third century and lasted into the first century BC. Dates are based on metrological analyses, historical events, and find associations. Arslan suggests that the weight of the drachms gradually declined, and that he could thus use the average weights of the types in a relative chronology. There seems to have been little interaction with non-Celtic areas in the third century, while the weight of the Padane drachms in the second century followed that of the Roman *victoriati*. The two currencies may have circulated alongside, although with the Roman *victoriatus* as the stronger (Crawford 1985; Arslan 2000). The minting of Padane drachms probably stopped no later than the granting of Latin Rights to Milan in 89 BC.

V Italic coinages in opposition to Rome

It would be anachronistic to consider the development of Roman coinage in the third century to be a result of a conscious policy aimed at developing a common currency for the entire peninsula. But the role of Magna Graecia was dwindling, and after the Pyrrhic War the balance had shifted. Rome was, however, not the only growing power on the Mediterranean scene. Weight reductions of bronze coinages in several communities, and the debasements of (for example) the Roman didrachms may reflect economic stress. During the Second Punic War the collapse necessitated a restart in Rome of the form of the new denarius system. While the “Roman drachm,” the *victoriatus*, initially played an important role outside Rome, the denarius coinage gradually displaced all other precious metal mints in the peninsula, and eventually also in most provinces; Roman coinage based on the denarius became the world-wide dominant currency until the reforms undertaken in the early fourth century AD during the reign of Constantine I.

Among the former Greek mints only Velia and Poseidonia persisted into the first century BC. Yet, a few new non-Roman mints appeared during the late second and early first centuries. During the Social War some of Rome’s opponents struck a short-lived, but large, series of issues in the name of ITALIA or VITELIU (the latter in Oscan script) (HN3, 406–428; Burnett 1998; Cappelletti 1999; *Imagines Italia* 1; Isayev 2011) (see Fig. 13). The coins of Italia can be seen as a rare case where the



Fig. 13. Denarii of Italia, A: with Latin legend *ITALIA* and oath-taking scene on the reverse (SNG Cop 1,292. HN3 type 408); B: with Oscan legend *VITELIU* and man (god) in military dress and reclining bull, 90–88 BC (SNG Cop 1,281. HN3 type 407).

use of an (acquired) ethnic as coin legend aimed at a deliberate policy of a group-identity among the *socii*. The coins were mainly silver coins, struck to the same standard as the contemporary Roman denarius, from which also some motives were borrowed, although the meaning of the motives was most probably re-interpreted as well. The coins were struck with legend in either Oscan or Latin, probably in several mints.

Recently, a number of pseudo-mints have been identified. They can be placed in two groups tentatively ascribed to Pompei and Minturnae but other locations are possible (Stannard and Carbone 2013, with references to previous works). The pseudo-mints struck exclusively small denomination bronze coins, and they are characterized by the re-use of motives and sometimes legends from a variety of different mints, many of which were outside the Italian peninsula, and the occasional muling of motives from different mints. The dates of the prototypes as well as the occasional examples of overstrikes place the issues of the northernmost mint (Minturnae?) in the mid-first century, while the Pompeian(?) mint may have been active from the late second century and into the first century. The production of the pseudo-mints can be compared with other non-Roman issues of small change bronzes in the peninsula, as for example the latest productions of the mint in Paestum (see Fig. 14). And so they may be interpreted as a response to a local need for small change for daily use in a growing monetary economy, rather than as a political statement.



Fig. 14. A: Bronze coin from Paestum first century BC with Athena/clasped hands (SNG Cop 3,1361. HN3 type 1250); B: an imitation of the same Paestan type ascribed to a pseudo-mint active in central Italy, note that the legend is reversed (SNG Cop 3,1360).

VI Coins from contexts

Coins from known contexts mainly derive from accidentally found hoards and from material retrieved during excavation, and in the latter case three different context types dominate: coins from burials, coins from sanctuaries, and coins from settlements. Considering the large number of mints active in the peninsula and the extraordinarily high number of coins minted, in particular in Rome and some of the south Italian centres, the number of reported coin finds from the Italian peninsula is low compared to countries with legal use of metal detectors such as England.

Coins deposited together in hoards have long been one of the most important sources for the relative chronology of the issues and for the geographical distribution of coins from individual mints. But while hoards have been studied intensively, the integration of numismatics in other archaeological studies is relatively new. The use of coins in funerary contexts was analysed in the volumes *Trouvailles monétaires* (Dubuis 1999) and *Caronte* (1995), which has been the inspiration for later studies. As suggested by the title of one of these works, the theoretical framework for the interpretation of the coins in burials has most often been the Greek myth of Charon. Most studies are focussed on finds from a single site, and each provides an overview of the coins in use in that area. In southern Italy coins begin to appear in varying numbers of burials in Greek necropoleis during the second half of the fifth century, but in cemeteries normally interpreted as indigenous they are very rare. The only two examples quoted are burials dated in the second half of the fourth century BC. One

contained an illegible bronze coin, while the other contained a one-sixth of a stater struck in Metaponto 550–480 BC, which clearly must be seen as an heirloom (Parente 1999, 145). Finds of lumps of copper, often interpreted as *aes rude*, are more commonly found in burials in central and northern Italy, but they seem less common in southern Italy (Parente 1999, 146–147 with further references; see however Cantilena 2008). In northern Etruria coins have been found in graves from the later fourth to first century in Volaterrae and its territory, but they are absent from burials in other coin issuing areas such as Populonia. Whether this is due to chance in survival or a reflection of different burial rituals or practises remains to be seen. Normally only a single coin is found in each grave, and it is most often a small denomination coin from one of the most prolific mints. In southern Italy these are the mints of the major *poleis*, and in particular the most active in the third centuries, and later Neapolis, Velia and Poseidonia/Paestum; while the cemeteries of central and northern Italy are dominated by Roman coins, some Campanian issues are also represented. Among the Etruscan issues Volaterrae dominates (Vicari 1999).

As noted by Crawford, the “spread of practise” (of depositing coins in sanctuaries) “mirrors the spread of coinage,” and this applies to burials as well as to sanctuaries, where coins gradually supplemented or even took over the role as votives formerly played by other object types (Crawford 2003, with useful appendices on foundation deposits, thesauri and votive deposits). However, in several cases it seems that the coins, contrary to other types of votives, were not left alone: they could be reclaimed by officials in case of need. The reclaiming of donated coins is a practice well-known from later periods, with Fontana de Trevi in Rome as a modern example. This of course means that a critical approach is needed when interpreting the chronological span of coin finds from sanctuaries.

The coin finds from sanctuaries, as those from burials, provide some indications of the geographical distribution of individual issues, and they may to some degree be used to assess the volume of certain issues. But, as warned by Crawford, the material is certainly not without pitfalls. It is, as always, necessary to distinguish between closed depositions (hoards) of many, perhaps thousands, coins and single depositions (or large accumulations of single depositions) before any valid quantitative analysis can be undertaken. Unfortunately, few deposits have been excavated and published according to modern standards, which makes these distinctions difficult to identify.

A considerable number of distribution and circulation studies covering geographic areas rather than single sites have appeared recently. The studies presented by Marazzo, et al. (2004) are a part of this trend, but may also have fuelled it (see for example: Arslan 2006 on the Adriatic; Ranucci 2011 on Ager Nursinus, but with references to other studies of central Italy; Williams 2011 on southern Etruria). Many of these studies are breaking new ground, and therefore the finds lists appended to them are of major interest.

VII Conclusions

Together the various studies of numismatic finds from the peninsula confirm the pattern presented by typological studies: few large mints produced very high numbers of coins. The finds furthermore underscore the general regionality of circulation and the almost complete dominance by one or a few major mints that transgress local circulation. Within these cultural regions the coins from minor mints often adapt to major mints by common use of identical weight systems and/or the sharing of designs, and the examples of die sharing may indicate that what we call the products of one individual mint may have been made in the same physical workshop as coinages from other mints/authorities.

From around 300 BC bronze coins outnumber precious metal coins among single finds in most areas (Siciliano and Sarcinelli 2004, with diagrams at p. 268, 278 and 287; Williams 2011; Ranucci 2011; Cantilena 2008), but precious metal coins were, however, more subject to hoarding than base metal (bronze) coins. From the Hellenistic/Republican period, when bronze coinage was struck (or cast) over a large part of the peninsula, only 20% of the hoards consist of bronze coins only; 60% consisted of silver coins only, while no less than 10% consisted of gold or electrum coins, or of gold or electrum mixed with silver coins. Mixed silver and bronze hoards make up for the last 10%. These figures are based on the finds listed in *IGCH*, and there are numerous methodological problems involved in such a simplistic use of an old inventory. Yet, it illustrates that there is rarely a one to one relationship between coins from hoards and coins from single finds (including accumulated finds from votive deposits). An early fourth century hoard consisting of fifteen silver coins was recently excavated in a sanctuary at Pontecagnano in Campania. The composition of coins from this hoard was comparable to other near-contemporary hoards, but it was wholly incompatible with both the single finds of coins from the same sanctuary and with the coins found during excavations in the cemeteries of Pontecagnano (Cantilena 2008). This is a clear warning that the many hoards published in *IGCH* and in the subsequent volumes of *Coin Hoards* are in no way representative of coin use in pre-Imperial Italy. This evidence also shows that precious metal coins normally travelled more widely than bronze coinages, and it is clear that precious metal and base metal coin most often belonged in different orbits. Still, the coinages of pre-Imperial Italy form an intricate web of material. In spite of lacunae, uncertainties and differences of opinion much information is already available, and adjustments to, for example, chronologies can only be made taking other parts of this material into consideration (Crawford 2002).

In southern Italy the question of indigenous coinages is closely interwoven with the issues of the Greek *apoikiai*. Some of the workshops probably struck coins for Greek *apoikiai* and for non-Greek ethnic groups alike; but in many cases this is impossible to say. The low number of coins from inland cemeteries hints that coin use in the Archaic and Classical periods mainly affected the *apoikiai* on the coast. In the

Hellenistic period it is possible to identify communities using Oscan in coin legends, but there are several examples that the same community issues coins with both Greek and Oscan (or both Latin and Oscan, the case of Italia), and there is a gradual change from Greek to Oscan and Latin script from the third century onwards. In Etruria legends are written in Etruscan, while in northern Italy only very few issues use local script, in spite of the relatively wide spread use of, for example, Venetic script in funerary inscriptions.

Coins are powerful symbols, and in a few cases, notably the coinages of the Brettii during the Hannibalic War and the coinages of Italia during the Social War, groups seem to have used coinage consciously as a means of self-expression. But apart from these examples, the absence of coin legends tied to ethnics known from literary sources is striking. In the cases where a mint worked for an indigenous community, this community chose to identify itself by a name not known from literary sources. Rather than wondering why it is so difficult to find and identify the “indigenous” mints, we should perhaps take the coins at face value as a historical source. The coins issue a warning that the ethnics applied to the inhabitants of particular areas of pre- or proto-historic Italy in literary sources were the outsiders’ names, while the coin issuing polities used their proper names for themselves. The evidence of the coin also stresses the similarities rather than the differences between various communities in pre-Imperial Italy. It is possible to argue for close collaboration and adherence to shared motives, weight systems and even production tools between different communities, no matter which ethnic origin is reported to us from literary sources. Dichotomies between Greek and “indigenous,” and later between Romans and their “Italic” adversaries are known from literary sources. These sources, however, may reflect a need to categorize and simplify a historic narrative, rather than being trustworthy representations of the self-identification of the “indigenous” groups.

Figures

All photos for this article: National Museum of Denmark, CC-BY-SA.

Bibliography

The bibliography refers to works mentioned in the text and few additional titles that have appeared recently, but it is a very small selection. For literature printed before ca. 2000 I refer to the bibliographies in the third edition of *Historia Numorum, Italy* (HN3 = Rutter and Burnett 2001), adding only references to studies that have appeared later, or which have not been quoted there, in the hope that the reader will be able to find there more specialized references. Some recent overviews will be found in introductions to volumes of the international *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (SNG) series dealing with coinages of the Italian peninsula: Parente 2003, Sheedy 2008 and Catalli, et al. 2008. Ten years after the publication of the HN3 discussions of coinages with Italic legends were amplified, and sometimes revised, within the framework of the study of Italic inscriptions (Crawford 2011). Etruscan

coinages have been the subject of several discussions (Crawford 2002; Burnett 2007; Vismara 2007) and a new catalogue of coin types is in publication (Vecchi 2013). Lists of Celtic coins found in Italy are published by Arslan on his homepage (see below: *Repertorio*).

Italian numismatic periodicals such as the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* and *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* are important starting points when searching for literature on Italic coinages. Many specialized studies will be found in other periodicals or in conference proceedings, and studies of individual mints are often published in museum catalogues or acts of symposia dealing with a specific area. Recent studies can often be found on the web, and some coinages are described in Wikipedia, but few official research facilities are presently available as web resources.

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Daniele F. Maras

Epigraphy and Nomenclature

Epigraphy is the discipline that investigates written documents inscribed on materials differing from those typically used in writing, materials that are generally speaking durable and permanent, such as pottery, metal, stone and the like. The main issues are often the origin and spread of alphabets and writing systems, the inscriptions with their supports and features, and the social, historical, institutional and linguistic data recorded in written documents (Panciera 1998). Among the last, nomenclature has a prominent position, since most ancient inscriptions feature onomastic formulas along with information about their social status.

Apart from the number of writing systems and languages, there are issues of identity and historical reasons for the rise and fall of different epigraphic cultures, uses for writing in the public and private spheres, as well as in the sacred and profane, and in funerary contexts as well as in everyday life. Furthermore each subject of these has its own historical development, intertwined with the transformations of society and of material culture – which includes the inscriptions and supporting material.

As regards ancient Italy, epigraphy investigates the whole corpus of written material, comprehending also items that are traditionally studied by paleographers and papyrologists, such as, for instance, the Etruscan linen book of Zagreb (Roncalli 1985, 13–15; see also Calabi Limentani 1991, 16–18). Of course, it is impossible in these few pages to give a complete account of the complex epigraphic record of ancient Italy, including on the large number of languages with as many ethnic groups, with changing cross-relationships over the course of time, continuing to and passed the initial period of Romanization. In this chapter we will therefore introduce some general arguments about writing – its spread and its links with social issues and identity – and inscriptions – typology, supporting material and the function of written record – dedicating some more place to the historical development of the peculiar forms of nomenclature of the peoples of ancient Italy, with special regard to its relation with the Roman onomastic system.

I Reception of writing and society

The earliest use of writing in central Italy was a result of the contact between local aristocracies and Greek traders in the eighth century BCE (Cornell 1991, 8; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 7–13; all dates are BCE unless otherwise noted). The earliest known epigraphic document is the famous graffito from Gabii, dating from the

Daniele F. Maras: Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Via della Conciliazione 5, 00193, Rome, Italy. Email: danielemaras@email.it

mid-eighth century, and it is sometimes considered by scholars either Greek (Guzzo 2011, 63–65, with bibliography) or Latin (Colonna 2004, 481–483). In any case the findspot of this inscription makes a striking coincidence with the news of Romulus and Remus studying *grammata* – “(Greek) letters” – at Gabii, as stated by Plutarch (*Rom.* 6.2).

Further evidence of writing in the eighth century comes from the metropolis of Veii, Caere and Tarquinia in southern Etruria (Colonna 1976, 7–10), whence the use of the alphabet quickly spread to northern Etruria (Vetulonia, mid-seventh century; Chiusi, late seventh century) and to Felsina (Bologna, in the Po valley, beginning of the seventh century) (Maras 2013, 333–339). In these early attestations the inscriptions belong to two different categories: either they record social relationships among the elites (in the case of gifts, symposia and grave goods), or they are incorporated into the activity of craftsmen (in the case of signatures, marks and ornamental uses of writing). At times the categories overlap, when signatures are added to gift inscriptions, or symposiastic texts have an ornamental value (Maras, 2015b, 203–206).

As a matter of fact, writing was an important technical skill belonging to the Orientalizing heritage handed down to the Etruscan elites, along with technological advancements in crafts such as sculpture, architecture, pottery, goldsmithing, and so on. Scribes and craftsmen worked side by side within aristocratic courts, as specialized masters of their arts (Cornell 1991, 9; Maras, 2015b, 206–209; Medori and Belfiore, forthcoming), and most probably writing-skills were required as part of the training of craftsmen, whether they were goldsmiths, potters or weavers.

As for the last, evidence comes from the frequent association of letters and marks with weaving-tools, such as spindle whorls, spools and loom-weights, especially in the eighth and seventh centuries (Riva 2006, 123; Wallace and Tuck 2011, 196–197). We can therefore argue that letters and perhaps texts were part of the decorative patterns of clothes and textiles; and since weaving is usually considered as an activity of women both in literary and iconographic sources, we are allowed to infer that the early spread of writing crossed gender barriers (Bagnasco Gianni 2008, 48–49). Incidentally, this is also suggested by the legend of Tanaquil, the learned wife of Tarquinius Priscus, who was trained as an expert of prodigies, as was supposedly common in Etruria (Livy 1.34.9).

II The local scripts of ancient Italy

The Etruscan alphabet was borrowed from a Greek Euboean model, presumably handed down through the Euboean colonies of Pythecussai and Cumae in Campania: at first the letters maintained their original form, except for the *gamma* that took the form of a moon-shaped C, probably because of a Corinthian influence (Colonna 1976, 9–10). The letters corresponding to the sounds /b g d o/, although preserved in the alphabetic model – as proved by later abecedaria – were not used in

Etruscan alphabet	A > ʒ ʒ I ʒ B O I ʒ V W V ʒ M ʒ Q ʒ T V ʒ ʒ ʒ ʒ
Latin alphabet	A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V X
South-Picene alphabet	A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V X
Lepontian alphabet	A ʒ ʒ I O I ʒ V W V ʒ M ʒ Q ʒ T V ʒ ʒ ʒ ʒ

Fig. 1. Comparison of some archaic sample alphabets of ancient Italy: Etruscan, Latin, South-Picene, Lepontian.

writing, for they were not necessary in transliterating Etruscan language (Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 63–65; Wallace 2008, 29–32). The earliest innovations in the alphabet were of course the abandonment of the useless letters, which took place in different moments between the mid-seventh and the mid-sixth centuries, and the introduction of the graphic group *HV* or *VH* in order to express the sound /f/, missing in the Greek model, but necessary for the Etruscan language (Maras 2013, 333).

Through the channel of aristocratic relationships – including “diplomatic” gifts and symposiastic meetings – writing was rapidly handed over not only to other Etruscan communities, but also to the neighbouring peoples still within the seventh and the early sixth centuries (Fig. 1):

- in central Italy Faliscans and Latins received the full alphabetic set, preserving letters for /b g d o/, but abandoned the aspirated stops /χ θ φ/ (Cornell 1991, 14).
- across the Tiber paleo-Sabellian and south-Picene communities transformed the Etruscan alphabet and adapted it to their own Italic languages, by adding further vowels /í ú/ and introducing an 8-shaped letter for /f/ (Rocca 2000, 184).
- in northern Italy the Celtic communities of the Golasecca culture and the Veneti received a reformed set that still preserved /o/ but had no more /b g d/ (Maras 2014, 75–78).

Apart from the number and shape of the letters, the adaptation of the Etruscan alphabet to other languages required a selection of graphic rules that soon determined the differentiation of local scripts. Further phenomena of cooptation caused the transmission of writing from literate peoples to other neighbouring communities, not without the influence of Greek scripts in southern Italy and often with a reciprocal interference among writing systems (Rocca 2000, 184–196).

In general, on the grounds of their origin we can distinguish the subsequent main groups (in parentheses the date of the earliest attestations):

- Greek based scripts: Etruscan (late eighth century), Enotrian and Ausonian (the so-called alphabet of Nuceria, sixth century), Messapian, Sicilian and Elymian (late sixth century), Lucanian (fourth century);

- Etruscan based scripts: Capenatian (mid-seventh century), Faliscan and Latin (seventh century), Lepontian (late seventh century), paleo-Sabellian and south-Picene (end of the seventh century), Camunian, Raetian and Venetic (mid-sixth century), Umbrian, Campanian (pre-Samnitic, fifth century), Samnite (fourth century);
- Latin based scripts: Hernican (seventh century), north-Sabellian (Paelignian, Vestinian, Marrucinian, third century), late Volscian (third century), late Umbrian and Lucanian (second century).

Of course this is only a simplified list and each one of the writing systems of ancient Italy had its historical development in relation to the neighbouring ones, with steady interferences and phenomena of acculturation as well as of conservatism, which determined a complex interdependence of the epigraphic cultures until Romanization.

An interesting case-study is provided by the different solutions adopted to solve the problem of the sound /f/, missing in the original alphabetic model, but necessary for most part of the languages of pre-Roman Italy. Moreover, as we mentioned above, the Etruscan writing system at first introduced a graphic group *HV-VH*, probably borrowing it from a Greek script (Corinthian?; Prosdocimi 1990, 218–221; Maras, 2015b, 203), and then transmitted it to the Venetic writing system, where it survived until Romanization. In central Italy, already before the end of the seventh century (as shown by the abecedarium from Leprignano), the Capenatian-Faliscan scripts introduced an arrow-shaped letter in order to express the /f/, which remained a peculiarity of these alphabets. Almost in the same period the paleo-Sabellian script of the inscription of Poggio Sommavilla (in Sabine language) has an 8-shaped letter for the same purpose. This sign was soon introduced into the Etruscan alphabet, too, at least from the second half of the sixth century (excluding the stele from Vetulonia, according to Agostiniani 2011, 183–184), and was also adopted by Etruscan-based scripts that came later, such as Samnite and Umbrian. Latin writing used at first the *VH* group, which was reduced to the simple *digamma* at least from the beginning of the sixth century, thus originating the letter *F* that still figures in our alphabet.

Greek based scripts of southern Italy adopted a number of different solutions throughout the centuries: in the mid-sixth century, the Enotrian and Ausonian alphabets introduced a “hooked” *digamma* in order to express the sound /f/ (Poccetti 2010, 70–73), which was soon transmitted to the south-Picene script, where it was used as a variant of the normal *digamma* expressing the sound /w/. Much later, Lucanian and south-Campanian Samnite scripts expressed the sound /f/ alternatively by means of *beta*, *theta*, *phi*, and even special forms of *omicron* and *sigma*, with different solutions in the course of time from the fourth century onwards (Colonna 1984, 234–237). Eventually, the 8-shaped letter reached this area too, but was never able to replace completely the previous local choices. Finally, in the late Republican period, the use of the Latin alphabet for local languages provided the final solution to the problem. Just before that, the adoption of Latin as the official language caused native languages and local epigraphic cultures to disappear.

The linguistic and epigraphic Romanization of Italy was a long lasting process that at times encountered the opposition of local communities, which found in their own scripts and languages a marker of their cultural independence and identity (Lomas 2004, 204–205). This is apparent in the use of the Samnite national alphabet (Oscan), especially during the Social War, when the anti-Roman propaganda made use of Italic language and writing (Dench 1997, 44–49). At the same time, the need to preserve and display their own ethnic identity encouraged the Celtic peoples of northern Italy and the Veneti of northeastern Italy to use their respective languages and national scripts throughout the end of the Republican period. This was despite their different relationships with the Romans: the former were ancient enemies, the latter faithful allies (Benelli 2001, 14–15; Häussler 2002, 61–76; Solinas 2002, 275–298). On the other hand, the increasing prestige of the Latin language and the co-optation of local elites in the Roman ruling class and cultural system eventually created a natural desire to write in Latin in institutional matters. This desire was at times even officially expressed, as in the case of Cumae in 180 BCE, where the local government made a request to use Latin in public affairs (Livy 40.42.13; Cooley 2002a, 9).

III The epigraphic record: typology and function

A rapid survey of the main epigraphic collections for the peoples of ancient Italy gives an idea of the kind of documents that have been preserved from antiquity and discovered by archaeologists. The following list includes the relevant issues with reference bibliography: Celtic (Solinas 1995; Maras 2014); Camunian (Mancini 1980); Raetian (Schumacher 2004); Venetic (Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967; Lejeune 1974; Marinetti 2002); Etruscan (Rix 2011); Faliscan (Bakkum 2009); Archaic Latin (Colonna 1980; Maras 2009a); Sabellian languages (south-Picene, Umbrian, Oscan and minor dialects: Rix 2002; Crawford 2011); Ausonian (Russo 2005); Messapian (de Simone and Marchesini 2002); and the languages of ancient Sicily (Agostiniani 1977; Agostiniani 2012; Tribulato 2012).

At first glance, the lion's share of the epigraphic corpora of ancient Italy belongs to funerary inscriptions: in fact, it is easy to see that the need to perpetuate the memory of the deceased – at times with honorary purposes or in order to celebrate his/her family – is one of the main reasons for creating a durable, written monument. In the course of time, however, different peoples developed different epigraphic cultures, not always having the same goals in recording information by means of writing. As a matter of fact, even though almost all south-Picene texts are funerary/honorary steles, and the most part of the huge corpus of Etruscan epigraphy belongs to funerary contexts, this category is by percentage less represented in the Umbrian and Oscan epigraphic heritage, where sacred and official inscriptions are more frequent. Thus, from the point of view of epigraphy, some cultures are more informative and communicative than others for the sake of historians and archaeologists; some oth-

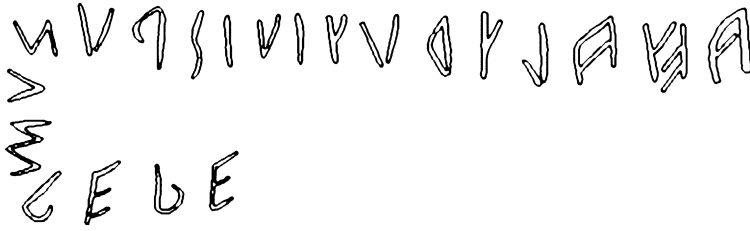


Fig. 3. Todi (central Italy), Umbrian inscription on a bronze statue (so-called “Marte di Todi”), late fifth century BCE.

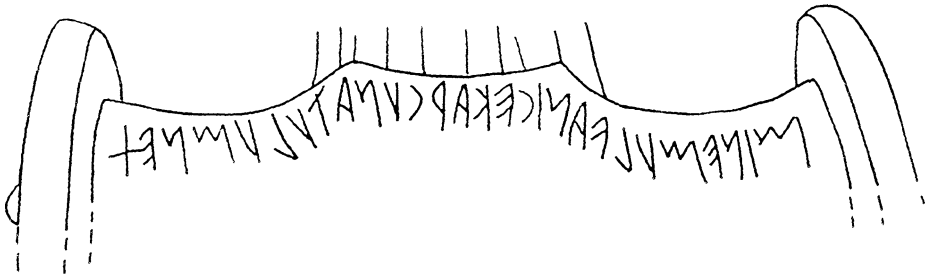


Fig. 4. Veii (central Italy), Etruscan inscription on a bucchero jug, first half of the sixth century BCE.

graphic corpora, since in ancient societies there was no clear separation between sacred and profane, and ritual behaviours were deeply intertwined with a number of other components of everyday life. For example:

- Venetic, Este (fourth-third centuries): *vdan fugia urkleina reitiei donasto*, “Fugia (wife of) Urkle gave the writing-tool (?) to Reitia” (on a votive bronze stylus; Pellegriani and Prosdocimi 1967, Es 47; Bonfante 1996, 305).
- Umbrian, Todi (late fifth century): *ahal trutitis řnum řeře*, “Ahal Trutitis gave (as a) gift” (on a bronze statue; Rix 2002, Um 16; Bonfante 1996, 310) (Fig. 3).

C) Not far from this is the category of inscriptions relating to **social ceremonies**, such as symposia and aristocratic gifts, especially important in the Orientalizing period and in Etruria, as we told before. For example:

- Etruscan, Veii (first half of the sixth century): *mini mulvanice karcuna tulumnes*, “Karcuna Tulumnes gave me” (on a bucchero jug; Rix 2011, Ve 3.6) (Fig. 4).

D) A large number of instrumental inscriptions record simply names – generally in the nominative or genitive case – and evidently record the **possession** of the object by an individual. But it cannot be taken as sure that this “possession” does not imply elliptically a more complex action, such as a gift or an offering. For example:

- Elymian, Montelepre (fifth century): *αταιτυκας εμ*, “I am of Ataituka” (on an Attic cup; Agostiniani 1977, n. 319).



Fig. 5. Nuceria (southern Italy), Ausonian inscription on a bucchero jug, mid-sixth century BCE.

- Ausonian, Nuceria (mid-sixth century): *bruties esum*, “I am (of) Bruties” (on a bucchero jug; Rix 2002, Ps 4) (Fig. 5).

E) Especially important for historians are **institutional inscriptions**, recording the intervention of magistrates and public figures in some event of the public life (such as, for instance, the construction of a monument or a road), or presenting the text of a law, or lists of citizens and of magistrates. Also boundary stones (e.g. the Cippo Abellano) and contracts (e.g. the Tabula Cortonensis) belong to this category, although they can also refer to the private sphere (e.g. the Cippus of Perugia). For example:

- Samnite, Pietrabbondante (mid-second century): *sten[is --] meddīs tuvt[ik]s úp-sannam deded ínīm prufatted*, “Stenis [---] public magistrate gave (this monument) to be built and approved (it)” (on a public monument; Rix 2002, Sa 5).
- Umbrian, Mevania (end of the second century): *[-] p() nurtins ia() t() ufeñie[r] cvestur farariur*, “... Nurtins (son of) P(---) (and) Ia(---) Ufeñie (son of) T(---) *quaestores* of the spelt (gave this)” (on a stone sundial; Rix 2002, Um 8).

F) Relating to the activity of workshops and craftsmen are **signatures** and **stamps**, as well as a part of the great number of **marks**, numerals, sigla and single letters often present on pottery and other artefacts, whose actual function is often hard to determine. Some of them can be also classified as trademarks. For example:

- Capenatian, Tolfa (early sixth century): *setums míom face*, “Setums made me” (on an impasto crater; Rix 2002, Um 4).
- Samnite, Pietrabbondante (second century): (in Oscan script) *h(eíre)n(neís) sat-tieis detfri seganatted plavtad*, “Detfri (slave) of Herennis Sattis signed in *planta pedis*” (impressed on a tile; Rix 2002, Sa 35).

Of course this list cannot be complete, for the purposes of writing are practically infinite; but the mentioned categories compose the most part of the epigraphic record of ancient Italy, with a different rate of attestations in every single corpus. Each archaeological item carries a message from antiquity, which allows the archaeologists to come into contact with ancient people who realized it, used it, attributed it a symbolic value, and eventually abandoned it. In addition to this an inscribed object is

the only archeological item that has been conceived from the beginning as an actual message: this is the reason why epigraphy is the only discipline that can answer to social, individual and religious issues that would have otherwise been doomed to oblivion by the muteness of the finds.

IV Nomenclature

Since the most part of the information contained in ancient inscriptions is actually made of personal names, the following pages will be devoted to the systems of nomenclature of the Italian peoples with special regard to the Etruscan and Roman world. Ancient Italy shows an unparalleled variety of linguistic, ethnic and social situations that gave origin to a complex interrelation of different naming systems, which also have implications for institutional and political issues. For reasons of space, in this chapter we shall try to provide just the general features of the historical development of nomenclature among the peoples of pre-Roman Italy, with no claim of completeness, referring to the existing literature on the subject in each single cultural context (see several contributions in Poccetti 2009). Dealing with different peoples and chronologies, the resulting narrative will be in some measure desultory; while apologizing for this, we hope to offer the reader a useful picture of the argument.

In antiquity, the majority of Indo-European languages used a single personal name, often accompanied – in the case of freeborn people – by filiation (indication of the father's name) variously expressed. Originally, the Italic peoples were no exception to this (Motta 2009, 300; Salway 1994, 124–125). But between the late eighth and the mid-seventh centuries the need for a heritable onomastic component originated in central Italy (Colonna 1977, 176–180; see below).

In the ancient literary sources Varro is the first to speculate on the historical development of Roman nomenclature, stating that originally simple names had existed, since Romulus, Remus and Faustulus had neither a *praenomen* nor a *cognomen* (ap. Probus, *De praenominibus* 4.1). According to Probus and Priscianus, the Romans acquired binominal naming formulas when they blended with the Sabines, because of the juxtaposition of Latin and Sabine names in front of each other as a confirmation of their union (Salway 1994, 124–125). Actually in the sources Titus Tatius and Numa Pompilius are the earliest figures with two names, which cause some scholars to suppose that the binominal formula stemmed from the Sabine language and culture (Solin 2009, 275 n. 77). But the second element of these formulas was a patronymic in the form of an adjective, and – what is more important – it was not heritable, as shown by the names of Hersilia, daughter of Titus Tatius, and Pompo, Pinus, Calpus and Mamercus, who were sons of Numa Pompilius according to the tradition (Plut. *Num.* 21).

One generation later, according to this tradition, the names of Numa's sons gave origin to as many *gentes* of Rome: the Pomponii from Pompo, Pinarii from Pinus, Cal-

purnii from Calpus, Marcii from Mamercus (that is to say the clan of king Ancus Marcius, grandson of Numa) and also the Aemilii (Plut. *Num.* 8.18; Solin 2009, 286). In this regard, it is notable that the filiation from a Pompo, formerly expressed as Pompilius, becomes Pomponius two generations later.

Epigraphic evidence shows the persistence of individual names many times throughout the Archaic period in the Latin, Etruscan and Italic areas. But the unofficial nature of the majority of inscriptions, often on *instrumenta* (e.g. pottery or jewels), does not allow us to be sure whether a different official, possibly binominal formula existed or not (Colonna 1977, 176). Exemplary in this regard is the inscription of the Fibula Praenestina, dating from the mid-seventh century – and recently acquitted from the charge of being a modern forgery (Mangani 2015) – which records a gift from a *Manios* to a *Numasios*, both aristocrats having single names corresponding to later *praenomina* (Colonna 1977, 187; Maras 2015a). Still Praeneste has the coeval inscription *vetusia*, often considered an early occurrence of a feminine *gentilicium* (Kajava 1994, 19), but probably to be interpreted as an Etruscan genitive in *-ia* of the masculine name *Vetus* (Cornell 1991, 18 with bibliography). Similarly, in an Etruscan context of the highest rank, such as the Regolini Galassi Tomb at Caere (first half of the seventh century), the grave goods were marked with the simple name *Larθia* (genitive of *Larθ*), at times accompanied by a filiation (*larθia velθurus*; Buranelli and Sannibale 2001, 361). Even later, when the use of family names – or *gentilicia* – was widespread in southern Etruria (see below), the occurrence of single names provides evidence for the endurance of the earlier formula in lower classes as well as in domestic contexts, where the official binominal formula was felt as not necessary (Colonna 1977, 176–177).

Some cases of Greek names inserted into Etruscan formulas deserve a special mention, such as *Larθ Telicles*, perhaps from Caere, and *Rutile Hipocrates* from Tarquinia, both dating from the second half of the seventh century, who were respectively sons of a Telekles and of an Hippocrates. It is impossible to know, however, whether their patronymics had been transformed into heritable *gentilicia* or not (Heurgon 1977, 32; Colonna 1977, 184; Marchesini 2008, 47–48, 66, 151).

In other linguistic domains of central Italy, early occurrences of single names date from the end of the late Orientalizing period, such as:

- Faliscan, Civita Castellana (second half of the seventh century): *Lartos* and *Kaisiosio* (both in genitive case; Bakum 2009, 415, n. 6–7);
- Sabine, Poggio Sommavilla (beginning of the sixth century): *Alez* (Rocca 2001, 120–123).

On the other hand, binominal formulas with individual names and patronymics were attested still later in the nomenclature of:

- South-Picene, Casteldieri (sixth-fifth century): *[k]aúieh kaúieis puqlōh* (in dative case; Rix 2002, Sp AQ 1);
- Ausonian, Sorrento (beginning of the fifth century): *urufieís pafieís* (in genitive case; Russo 2005);

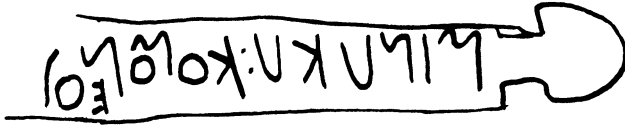


Fig. 6. S. Pietro in Stabio (northern Italy), Celtic inscription on a stone funerary stele, fourth – early second centuries BCE.

- Messapian, Lecce (second century): *θotor bostahi* (de Simone and Marchesini 2002, 12).

V Patronymic adjectives and other appositives

Even though designation by individual name was originally the general rule for nomenclature of freeborn people, in some linguistic milieux of ancient Italy there is evidence for the early introduction of further onomastic elements in the formula, in the form of nicknames or further appositive nouns, presumably deriving from personal features and background. However, it is difficult to determine whether these onomastic components were heritable – and thus to be considered family names – or not.

In particular, in the Celtic languages of northern Italy we have epigraphic evidence for the existence of binominal formulas in inscriptions as early as the first half of the sixth century. In fact, Celtic nomenclature shows evidence for a second member of the onomastic formula, that has often either an ending *-i* (that has been compared to a genitive case), or the form of an adjective (with suffixes *-alo*, *-io*, *-ikno* and variants): in both cases it probably referred to a patronymic (Motta 2009, 301–302):

- Celtic, Sesto Calende (first half of the sixth century): *useθu viko[---]i* (Morandi 2004b, n. 78; Maras 2014, 76–79, fig. 2);
- Celtic, Vira Gambarogna (fifth-beginning of the fourth centuries): *teromui kualui* (in dative case; Solinas 1995, 331–332, n. 29; Maras 2014, 81, n. 17);
- Celtic, S. Pietro in Stabio (fourth-second centuries): *minuku komoneos* (Solinas 1995, 328–329, n. 22; Maras 2014, 88, n. 33) (Fig. 6);
- Celtic, Todi (second century): *kosisis trutiknos* (Solinas 1995, 382–383, n. 142).

This feature is also shared by the Veneti (Eska and Wallace 1999, 132, with a list of Venetic patronymic appositives):

- Venetic, Padova (fourth century): *fugioi uposedioi* (in dative case; Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, Pa 20).

But in some occurrences the appositive cannot be referred to a filiation (Prosdocimi 1991, 162–163):

- Venetic, Padova (sixth-fifth centuries): *puponei rakoi* (in dative case; Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, Pa 1);
- Celtic, Prestino (first half of the fifth century): *uvamokozis plialethu* (Solinas 1995, 343–345, n. 65; Maras 2014, 81, n. 10);
- Venetic, Oderzo (mid-fifth century): *padros pompeteguaios* (Eska and Wallace 1999);
- Celtic, Briona (late second-early first centuries): *kuitos lekatos* (Solinas 1995, 379–381, n. 140).

The two last cases present meaningful appositives in presence of a patronymic: *caia-loiso* in the inscription from Oderzo (Eska and Wallace 1999, 132–133), and *tanotali-knoi* – a plural form shared by three brothers – in the inscription from Briona (Motta 2009, 303). On the other hand, in order to explain the unusual form of *plialethu* at Prestino, it has been supposed that it is formally identical to the father's name (Motta 2009, 307–310, quoting Prosdocimi), or that the ending *-u* belongs to a genitive (De Hoz 1990); a further possibility could be that the appositive indicates the belonging to a clan, similar to the *gentilitas* of the later Celtiberian culture (Motta 2009, 300) or to the lineage of Ogamic inscriptions (the so-called MUCOI: Motta 2009, 309).

Despite the rarity of sure non-patronymic appositives, it is possible that Celtic nomenclature allowed the integration of either titles or nicknames into one's own formula, as has been supposed for the “multilingual” interpreter *pompeteguaios* of Oderzo (literally “(man) with five languages;” Eska and Wallace 1999, 129–131), for the Latin acculturated “Quintus Legatus” of Briona (Häussler 2002, 65–66), and even for the institutional priestly figure named *akisios arkatokomaterekos* at Vercelli, whose official name shows no filiation (first half of the first century; Häussler 2002, 64–65; Motta 2009, 302–303; Häussler 2013, 120–122). It is important to highlight that the different formulas attested by inscriptions depend neither on social status nor gender: the presence of patronymics or appositives in the same inscription, at times referring to peer individuals, show that variability was inherent in Celtic nomenclature.

VI The rise of the *gens*

The peculiar economic structure of central-Italian society, with special regard to the towns of southern Etruria, caused the necessity of providing each individual with a permanent, heritable element of his/her onomastic formula. The reason is linked to the possession of land by the aristocratic *paterfamilias*, which implied the legal right of handing down family estates to his own heirs, thus perpetuating his juridical personality (Capogrossi 1990; 1994), which was of central relevance also for relationships with *clientes*, fellows and servants (Colonna 1977, 185–188; Maggiani 2000, 249). Therefore, the creation of a heritable family name was a simple way to fix in the nomenclature a reference to the rights and properties of the family/clan, that

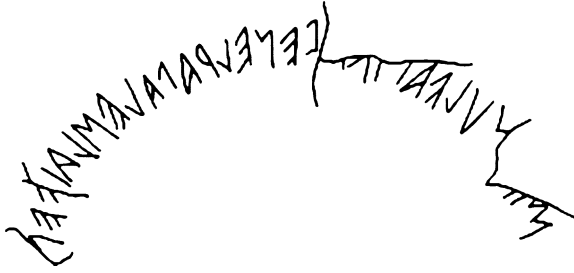


Fig. 7. Rusellae (central Italy), Etruscan inscription on an impasto dolium, end of the seventh century BCE.

is, the *gens* (Smith 2006, 158–159). Not dissimilarly in Greece the names of aristocratic and royal lineages, such as the Bacchiadai or the Pisistratidai, implied a reference to rights of succession (Salway 1994, 125 n. 6).

The heritable component of nomenclature is named *gentilicium* – from the *gens* – and takes the form of a patronymic adjective with apparent reference to a forefather, e. g. in Latin Valerii from Volesus, Pompilii from Pompo (see above), but also Romilii from Romulus, Hostilii from Hostus, and probably Iunii from the Faliscan name *Iuna* (Rix 2009, 499). Nomenclature with *gentilicia* certainly spread and operated in southern Etruria and in Latium in the late seventh and sixth centuries (e. g. Etruscan *spur-ieisi teiθurnasi*, *mamarce velxanas*; Latin *tita uendias*, *popliosio ualesiosio*). Anyway, some doubts still exist about the origin of this onomastic system.

In this regard it is worth taking into consideration some early Etruscan occurrences that present as many rare archaic cases of *gentilicia* occurring together with patronymics:

- Etruscan, Narce (ca. 650–625 BCE): *laricesi p[---] [---]naiesi clinsi velθurusi* (in pertinentive case; Rix 2011, Fa 3.2);
- Etruscan, Vetulonia (second half of the seventh century): *[a]uveleš θeluskeš tuš-nutni[eš?]* (or *tušnutnai[eš?]*, in genitive case: the second *ny* has been corrected on or added to an *alpha*; Maggiani 2007, 71–72, pl. X c; Agostiniani 2011, 183–184);
- Etruscan, Rusellae (end of the seventh century): *venel rapaleš laivena[?]* (Rix 2011, Ru 3.1) (Fig. 7).

In cases like these, scholars usually consider the second member of the formula as a *gentilicium* and the third as a patronymic or – in the inscription from Rusellae – as a metronymic (Colonna 1977, 188–189; Maggiani 2005, 72). But in actuality it is easy to observe that the former has the ending of the genitive (not preserved in the inscription from Narce), while the third member has an ending *-na* or *-naie* that is typical of the *gentilicia* (see below). It is therefore probable that the second member is a patronymic interposed between *praenomen* and *gentilicium*, which is different from later inscriptions.

In origin, being added to the original binominal formula, *gentilicia* occupied presumably the last position, as still happens in later Sabellian formulas (e.g. Umbrian *vuvçis titis teteies*, Volscian *ec se cosuties*, Marsian *pa ui pacuies*, north-Lucanian, ἀλαπονις πακφης οπιες; Rix 1996, 256–257. See also the archaic Faliscan formula of *ofetios kaios uelos amanos* from Civita Castellana, seventh century, belonging to two brothers, sons of a Vel; Bakkmum 2009, 217–218). The filiation then lost its importance and was recorded only rarely in special inscriptions, such as the three listed above. Eventually, when the social developments relating to the formation of the Archaic and Classical polis required the reintroduction of patronymics – and metronymics in Etruria (see below) – they were added at the end of the formula, according to the recent general rule.

In other regions of Italy doubts arise whether the second member of a binominal formula is a patronymic adjective or an actual *gentilicium*:

- South-Picene, Caestrano (first half of the sixth century): either *aninis rakinelis* (Rix 2002, Sp AQ 2; Calderini, Neri and Ruggeri 2007) or *nevii pomp[---]i* (in dative case; La Regina 2010, 243; *Imagines* Aufinum 1);
- South-Picene, Falerone (sixth-fifth centuries): [---] *taluis petrūnis* (if no further onomastic member is to be integrated at the beginning; Rix 1996, 257–258, n. 21; Rix 2002, Sp AP 4; La Regina 2010, 250–251, n. 3);
- Sicilian, Mendolito (sixth-fifth centuries): *ρυκες χαζουε[ς]* (Agostiniani 2009, 52–53);
- Pre-Samnitic, Nola (mid-fifth century): *lucies cnaviies* (in genitive case; Rix 2002, Ps 13).

In these cases it is probably more prudent to maintain a neutral opinion, and not to talk of *gentilicia* without evidence of the heritability of this onomastic component (Meiser 1987). Therefore, in consideration of the available data and of their chronology, we are allowed to consider the Etruscans responsible for introducing the *gentilicium* in the nomenclature of pre-Roman Italy (*pace* Solin 2009, 275 n. 77; see also Rix 1995b, 728; Salway 1994, 126).

The new system was soon adopted by the Latins through the translation of the Etruscan suffix *-na* into the Latin (and Italic) suffix *-ius*. Hence, from the Archaic period onwards, binominal formulas with *praenomen* and *gentilicium* (usually with filiation) became the standard nomenclature of free citizens in central Italy. As a matter of fact, this type of nomenclature spread to the neighbouring peoples of pre-Roman Italy preceding and accompanying Romanization (Dupraz 2009, 337–338; see also Lejeune 1977, 36–38). For example:

- Etruscan, Caere (end of the seventh century): *mamarce velchanas* (Rix 2011, Cr 3.11);
- Latin, Satricum (end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth centuries): *popliosio ualesiosio* (in genitive case; *CIL* 1, 2832a; Colonna 1980);
- Umbrian, Todi (end of the fifth century): *ahal trutitis* (Rix 2002, Um 16) (Fig. 3);

- Samnite, Capua (fourth-third centuries): *pak(is) puinik(is) pak(ieis)* (Rix 2002, Cp 1);
- Lucanian, Rossano (third century): *ηηρενς πωμπονις ηηρ(ενηις)* (Rix 2002, Lu 5);
- Paelignian, Corfinium (second half of the second century): *t(itis) cristidis t(itieis) f(ilius)* (the filiation is actually expressed in Latin; Rix 2002, Pg 57; Dupraz 2009, 322–338).

In this system, the individuating function had shifted from the simple name to the couple formed by *praenomen* + *gentilicium*, giving more importance to the latter (Salway 1994, 126). As a consequence, the number of *praenomina* increasingly shrunk throughout the centuries, especially among aristocratic families, down to seventeen in Classical Roman, standard nomenclature (Salway 1994, 125 n. 9), and less than ten usual in later Etruscan nomenclature (Heurgon 1977, 28; see also Rix 2009, 499–494). Exceptions were of course possible, as peculiarities of some families (such as the *praenomen* Appius that was exclusive of the Claudii) and in the case of the inclusion of new people(s) into the system of *gentilicia*.

In consideration of the fact that Etruria introduced *gentilicia*, it is not surprising that Etruscan nomenclature shows traces of an early development from the simple form of the adjective in *-na* to marked forms in *-na-s*, *-na-ie* and the like (Maggiani 2000, 252–258; Marchesini 2008, 95–105), which probably were intended to distinguish the actual *gentilicia* from virtually identical patronymic adjectives. As a matter of fact, the use of patronymic adjectives was spread among the neighbouring peoples such as the Celts of northern Italy (see above), the Faliscans (e.g. *Voltilio* from the *praenomen* *Voltio*, and *Titio* from the *praenomen* *Tito*; Rix 1972, 706; Bakum 2009, 232–233) and the Messapians of southern Italy (e.g. *Sohinnes* formed with the suffix *-ias*; Rix 1972, 708).

In some cases, perhaps even some Etruscan formulas of the Archaic period show patronymic adjectives in *-na*, in a position that anticipates the function of the later *cognomina*:

- Etruscan, Orvieto (first half of the sixth century): *aveles vhulvenas rutelna* (in genitive case; Rix 2011, Vs 1.45; see also Solin 2009, 275, quoting Rix 1963, 379–383);
- Etruscan, Carthage (first half of the sixth century): *puinel karθazie vesqu[?]na* (Maggiani 2006, 319–321; Rix 2011, Af 3.1).

In cases like these it has been suggested that what looks like a second *gentilicium* refers to a family that granted either hospitality or citizenship to a foreigner with a sort of cooptation (Maggiani 2006, 334–337). But it is also possible to suppose that these are early attestations of “patronymic *cognomina*” that were meant to distinguish different branches of a *gens* through the reference to a common ancestor; some possible comparanda for this come from some Latin *cognomina* of the first two centuries of the Roman Republic, apparently identical to *praenomina* used by early aristocratic families (Solin 2009, 286–287; see also Kajanto 1965, 172–178).

Thus presumably *Avele Vhulvenas* in Orvieto descended from a *Rutele*, as Lucius Aemilius Mamercus descended – or pretended to descend – from Mamercus son of Numa (Pocchetti 2008, 138). This procedure might throw light also onto the origin of the *gentilicia* from individual names either in the regular form of adjective (with ending *-na* in Etruscan and *-ius* in Latin and Italic languages; Heurgon 1977, 29) or in a form identical to individual names and *praenomina* in the case of the so-called *Individualnamengentilicia* and *Vornamengentilicia* occurring in Etruria especially in the Hellenistic period, and presumably belonging to *gentes* of new creation (Colonna 1977, 184–188).

Actually, all *gentilicia* stemmed ultimately from personal names of forefathers, whether real or so believed (Salway 1994, 125–126). Therefore any etymological reference is placed one step backward, at the level of the original name whence the corresponding *gentilicium* derived (*pace* Salway 1994, 125 n. 13): as a matter of fact individual names at times referred to hair colour (like *Flavius* from *flavus*, “fair-haired”), or to animals (like Latin *Porcius* from *porcus*, “pig,” as well as its Etruscan parallel *Porsenna*, presumably deriving from an Umbrian name **Purze* having the same meaning; Colonna 2000, 281–282) or to other lexical spheres. (By the way, despite what literary sources tell, the name of the Tarquinian dynasty and the corresponding Etruscan *gentilicium Tarχna* probably derived from the name of Tarchon, Etruscan *Tarχun*, founder of Tarquinia and one of the forefathers of the Etruria; Colonna 1977, 184).

It is therefore striking to find some *gentilicia* deriving from gods’ names, such as Latin *Iulius* from *Iulus* (i.e. **Iovulus*, little Jupiter), Etruscan *Larania* from *Laran* (the Etruscan Ares) and *Tinnuna* from *Tina* (the Etruscan Jupiter; Colonna 1995, 332–339). In these cases, it may be that the family pretended or believed itself to have a divine origin, as is known in the late Republic for the Iulii, who worshipped the god Veiovis – represented as a young Jupiter (Gell. NA 5.1212.11–2; Fest. 519L) – even before the ancestor Iulus was identified with Aeneas’ son (Maras 2011, 23). Similarly, in the late Republican period, it was fashionable to ennoble one’s ancestry for political purposes by referring to pretended, famous namesake-forefathers, as suggested by Cicero (*Brut.* 62; see Salway 1994, 126).

VII *Cognomina* and metronymics

The heritability of *gentilicia* and the habit of handing down a short number of *praenomina* in each family caused a relative lack of variability in nomenclature and the consequent risk of coincidence of names, especially among the Latin and Etruscan aristocracies. As a third member of the onomastic formula, the *cognomen* helped to distinguish different branches of a *gens* (we have already discussed the possibility of patronymic *cognomina*). Evidence of this comes from the etymology of the word from the verb *cognoscere*, “to know, discern” (Rix 2009, 499).

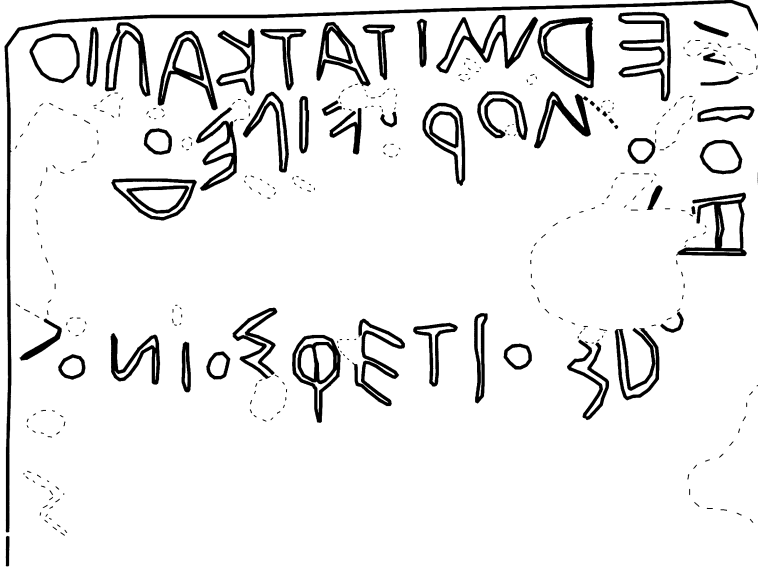


Fig. 8. Tivoli (central Italy), archaic Latin inscription on a stone base, second half of the sixth century BCE.

Recent studies have proved the reliability of evidence coming from the lists of magistrates of the early Roman Republic, which record formulas with three-names already in the fifth century (Solin 2009, 253–269; see also Kajanto 1977a, 64–65, and Solin 1977, 103–146). In addition to this, some late Archaic inscriptions seem to confirm this early chronology:

- Etruscan, Orvieto (first half of the fifth century): *larθ paiθunas prezu* (Rix 2011, Vs 3.4);
- Latin, Tivoli (second half of the sixth century): *cauio [...]*nonios qetios** (CIL 1, 2658) (Fig. 8).

Even when the second member of the formula is a patronymic adjective rather than an actual *gentilicium*:

- South-Picene, Servigiano (sixth or, better, fifth century): *noúinis petieronis efi-dans* (Rix 1996, 257–258; Rix 2002, Sp AP 5; *Imagines* Falerio 3);
- Pre-Samnitic, Capua (mid-fifth century): *vinuxs veneliis peracis* (Rix 2002, Ps 3; Poccetti 2008, 136–137).

In actuality, only Latin literature and epigraphy provides sufficient evidence for reconstructing the history and function of the *cognomina*; but we can sketch some general features applicable to the other onomastic domains of pre-Roman Italy (Rix 2009, 500–501).

Since their original purpose referred to individual nomenclature, early *cognomina* show a high variability and can be gathered into groups according to their meaning (Kajanto 1977a, 65–67; Rix 2009, 499–504):

- a) ethnic: e.g. *Capitolinus*, *Collatinus*, *Soranus* (Solin 2009, 276–283; see also Poccetti 2008, 143 on the formula *caso cantovio aprufclano* on the tablet from Civita d'Antino, third century);
- b) patronymic: e.g. *Mamercinus*, *Paetinus* (Poccetti 2008, 137–138);
- c) identical to individual names or *praenomina*: e.g. *Paetus*, *Proculus*, *Volusus* (Solin 2009, 286–287);
- d) somatic: e.g. *Barbatus*, *Caecus*, *Cicero* (Solin 2009, 283–286);
- e) moral: e.g. *Cicurinus*, *Imperiossus* (Solin 2009, 286).

In addition, of course, a number of *cognomina* have no clear explanation (such as *Pulvillus* and *Ahala*; Rix 2009, 500), or derive from the personal history or social background of their bearer (such as *Scipio* and *Ambustus*, or the *cognomina ex virtute*, such as *Asiaticus* or *Africanus*; Solin 2009, 273–274, 280). Finally, Etruscan nomenclature adds to the series also job-*cognomina* (such as *acilu*, “craftsman,” or *suvlu*, “flute-player,” Rix 2009, 500–501).

Even though *cognomina* were originally attached to a single person, they soon became heritable for reasons of prestige. Furthermore, some important families used to improve their onomastic formulas by adding new *cognomina*, which at times substituted old ones (e.g. *L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus*; Solin 2009, 252–258).

The use of *cognomina* spread among Roman aristocracies and – presumably later – in lower classes in the Republican period, reaching an almost universal diffusion in the first century CE. Nonetheless, standard nomenclature in Italy before the Roman Empire remained fundamentally based on the binominal formula with *praenomen* and *gentilicium*. In official formulas, however, filiation, and occasionally *cognomina*, were also included.

In addition to this, in Etruscan culture, in accordance with its peculiar consideration of women's role in the society, there was a substantial diffusion of metronymics, which in the recent period were generally added to patronymics in official formulas. A formula mentioning the *gentilicium* of the mother had probably the purpose of preserving a memory of the link between the families. The earliest occurrences date from the late Orientalizing period:

- Etruscan, Vetulonia (second half of the seventh century): [a]uveleš θeluskeš tuš-nutni[eš?] or tušnutnai[eš?] [al]panalaš (in genitive case; see above);
- Etruscan, Cerveteri (beginning of the sixth century): larθ apunas veleθnalas (Colonna 1977, 188–189; Rix 2011, Cr 3.17).

But in actuality the use of metronymics spread widely only from the fourth century onwards in funerary inscriptions both of southern and northern Etruria:

- Etruscan, Tarquinia (mid-fourth century): velθur partunus larisališa clan ramθas cuclnial (Rix 2011, Ta. 9);

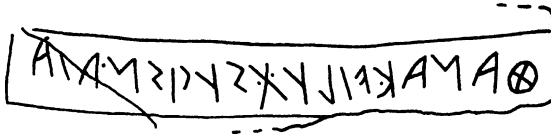


Fig. 9. Veii (central Italy), Etruscan inscription on a bucchero fragment, end of the seventh century BCE.

- Etruscan, Perugia (end of the third century): *vel axuni ve(lus clan) trazlual* (Rix 2011, Pe 1.637);
- Etruscan, Chiusi (mid-second century): *la(ris) pulfna la(risal clan) seiantial* (Rix 2011, Cl 1.6).

VIII Nomenclature and gender

As regards women, it is certainly worth spending some time on the peculiarities of feminine nomenclature (Kajanto 1977b, 147–158). Among the peoples of ancient Italy women generally shared the same onomastic formulas as men, either featuring names and patronymics, or having heritable *gentilicia* too, as shown by the following examples:

- Etruscan, Veii (end of the seventh century): *θanakvilus sucisnaia* (with *gentilicium*, in genitive case; Rix 2011, Ve 2.10) (Fig. 9);
- Bruttian, Laos (fourth century): *vo(μ)ψ(ι)α(v) φαριαν, φιβιαν σπεδ(ι)αν* and *μεδεκαν απαδιαν* (with *gentilicia*, in accusative case; Rix 2002, Lu 46);
- Faliscan, Civita Castellana (third century): *cauia [u]eculia uoltilia* (with *gentilicium* and patronymic adjective; Bakkum 2009, 442, n. 80);
- Celtic, Carcegnà (second-first centuries): *uenia metelikna* and *aśmina krasanikna* (with patronymic adjectives; Solinas 1995, 372–373, n. 122);
- Paelignian, Sulmo (second century): *saluta caiedia c(aieis) f(ilia)* (with *gentilicium* and filiation expressed in Latin; Rix 2002, Pg 17);
- Umbrian, Todi (second-first centuries): *uarea folenia* (with *gentilicium*, in Latin script; Rix 2002, Um 38).

Inscriptions with names of women are more frequent in regions where a tradition for funerary epigraphy was more developed, such as in Etruscan and Faliscan regions and among the Paeligni. Whereas, just a few inscriptions record names of Sabellian women (Bakkum 2009, 227 n. 115). In northern Italy, a number of Celtic and Venetic instrumental inscriptions concern women, especially in case of votive gifts.

Peoples that used *gentilicia* seem to have provided women too with binominal formulas with *praenomina*: the Latins originally shared this feature, as shown by the archaic inscription of *Tita Uendia* (seventh century BCE) and by the Latin name of the legendary Etruscan queen Tanaquil, Gaia Caecilia (Plin., *HN* 8.194).

The disappearing of the feminine *praenomen* is therefore a later Roman peculiarity, presumably originating from the major importance attached to the *nomen gentis* in the case of marriages and relationships among families (Kajava 1994, 101). In this context it is clear why some original *praenomina* – namely concerning the order of birth, such as *prim(ill)a*, *secunda* and so on – were postponed and dealt with as *cognomina* in Roman feminine nomenclature (Kajava 1994, 122–125).

Official formulas, especially in funerary contexts, presented at times also complementary information such as gamonymics (names of husbands; Lejeune 1974, 60–63; Bakkum 2009, 230–231) and – only in Etruria – the rare metronymic:

- Etruscan, Arezzo (fourth century): *fasti kainei tulesa* (with gamonymic; Rix 2011, Ar 1.1);
- Venetic, Este (fourth century): *fukssiai voltionninai* (with gamonymic adjective, in dative case; Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, Es 2; Bonfante 1996, 305–306);
- Faliscan, Falerii Novi (third century): *cau[ia] uecin[e]a uotili[a] ma(r)ci acacelini uxo(r)* (with patronymic adjective and gamonymic; Bakkum 2009, 502, n. 222);
- Etruscan, Clusium (second half of the third century): *θanχvil šuplini larθialisa caeś sentinateś puia* (with patronymic and gamonymic; Rix 2011, Cl 1.86);
- Etruscan, Clusium (second century): *θana: pulfnei: patacsalisa remznal šeχ* (with gamonymic and metronymic: mother's *gentilicium* + *šeχ*, “daughter;” Rix 2011, Cl 1.2150);
- Etruscan, Volterra (first half of the second century): *vipinal ulχnisla* (in genitive case, with gamonymic, but without a *praenomen*, according to the Roman use; Rix 2011, Vt 4.5).

IX The impact of Romanisation

The inclusion of the Italian peoples within the Roman orbit, with special regard to their admission into Roman citizenship, was a complex phenomenon that involved issues of acculturation and conflict (Vallat 2001, 106–108; Lomas 2004, 220–223), and eventually determined the abandonment of some features of the precedent ethnic identities (Cooley 2002a, 10; Häussler 2002, 72–73). Native language and – as a not obvious consequence – even nomenclature were primary casualties of becoming Roman (Farney 2011, 224): as a matter of fact, along with the progressive substitution of Latin to local languages in public issues and subsequently in the private sphere, personal names increasingly took a Roman form, with different behaviours in different regions.

The vitality of Etruscan nomenclature at first preserved native names from disappearing, and Latin formulas were added to the original ones in funerary inscriptions, thus creating a double, parallel nomenclature, as testified by a small number of bilingual inscriptions (Benelli 1994, 13–38; 2001, 10–11):

- Etruscan-Latin, Pesaro (first century): *l(a)r(is) cafates l(a)r(isal clan) ~ l(ucius) cafatius l(ucii) f(ilius) ste(l latina tribu)* (Rix 2011, Um 1.7);

- Etruscan-Latin, Clusium (first century): *vel zicu ~ q(uintus) scribonius c(aii) f(ilius)* (Rix 2011, Cl 1.320).

These two examples show how the Latinization of native *gentilicia* operated (Benelli 2001, 13–14), either changing the ending by means of the addition of a Roman suffix *-ius*, or “translating” the meaning of the original name (since *zicu* comes from *ziχ*, “to write”). On the contrary, sometimes local *praenomina* were replaced by Latin ones with no apparent correspondence. Eventually, Latin language and nomenclature overwhelmed the remains of Etruscan ethnic pride and no known Etruscan inscription dates beyond the Augustan period.

In other regions, where individual names still survived, Romanization brought the introduction of *gentilicia*, at times following either the foundation of colonies of Roman citizens, or the assignment of land to veterans (Harris 1989, 154–155; Lomas 2004, 207–213). This process took place as early as the third century in central Italy and continued throughout the Social War, for northern Sabellian peoples, such as the Paelignians, Vestinians and Marrucinians (Rix 1996, 244; Dupraz 2008, 127–131; Dupraz 2009, 322–338).

In accord with their later admission into Roman citizenship, in northern Italy Romanization of nomenclature took place only in the late second and first centuries, with different consequences in the Venetic region and among the Celtic peoples. As a matter of fact, in the former case, a desire to emulate Roman culture can be detected in loanwords and onomastic forms (Lejeune 1977, 38–40), whereas the Celts attempted to safeguard their identity through the preservation of native language and nomenclature (Solinas 2002, 275–298), but eventually adopted Latin in the “official” writing of epitaphs, although still preserving some native features and behaviours (Häussler 2002, 62–67; Häussler 2013, 118–125).

Finally, Umbrian and Oscan nomenclature were easily adapted to the Roman system simply transforming the endings of *gentilicia* into the regular *-ius*, and progressively abandoning native *praenomina* in favour of Roman traditional ones (Lejeune 1977, 36–38; see also Dupraz 2008, 127–129). The integration of Oscan and Latin languages and nomenclature is apparent, for instance, in Pompeii, where native writing and language seem to have been still lively at the time of the eruption in 79 CE (Cooley 2002b, 82–84).

This phenomenon was neither determined nor accompanied by an abandonment of the pride of families for their Italian origins: on the contrary they were often highlighted by adding ethnic *cognomina* to onomastic formulas (such as *Picens*, *Marsus* and *Umbri*). Incidentally, there is evidence that showing off an Italian (not-Roman) origin was even considered an “added value” in politics and success in political careers (Farney 2011, 227–228).

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Enrico Benelli

Problems in Identifying Central Italic Ethnic Groups

I

When, in the 1970s, the discovery of the Sabine necropolis at Colle del Forno revealed for the first time the material assemblage characterizing this people between the late seventh and the middle of the sixth centuries BC, it was defined at first as “of Adriatic type.” This is hardly surprising, since the only Archaic Italic culture known in some detail at that time was the Picene one, with its appendix at Campovalano, on the Adriatic side of northern Abruzzo, an area which was to be later incorporated into the fifth region of Italy, together with Picenum proper. The large necropolis at Alfedena, excavated between the last years of the nineteenth and the beginnings of the twentieth centuries, was considered at that time of almost no use in the scientific debate, since its extensive edition included a small number of figures only, and the finds, stolen by German soldiers during World War II, had been subsequently returned without their labels, making it impossible to reconstruct the one thousand or so grave assemblages unearthed by Lucio Mariani and his fellow researchers. Moreover, later excavations, carried out in 1974–1979, in a season of growing interest in Italic peoples that followed the discoveries at Colle del Forno and Campovalano, affected only a small area of the necropolis containing very homogeneous late Archaic depositions, which generated the widely diffused misunderstanding that all tombs from this necropolis should be dated within a short period of time, between late sixth and fifth centuries BC (see the brief history of research at Alfedena in Frizzi, et al. 2012, with references). This conclusion eventually supported the (equally wrong) idea that all central Italic cultures had originated from the Adriatic area, where their features were supposed to have appeared earlier.

From the 1990s on, an intense season of archaeological research in the central Apennines has completely overturned this picture; a great number of new archaeological facies has been revealed, and it has become evident that the chronological framework needed a dramatic revision. For example, it is now clear that traditional datings of Campovalano are in many instances far too high (albeit the recent edition of the necropolis seems not to have taken notice of this: Chiaramonte Treré and d’Ercole 2003; Chiaramonte Treré, et al. 2010. For a survey of the most evident chronological problems see now Acconcia 2014, 77–93), whilst, on the other side, necropoleis from different areas, like Alfedena, or Casal Civitella di Riofreddo, in the Aequian

Enrico Benelli: Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico – Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Area della Ricerca di Roma 1, via Salaria km 29+300, 00015 Monterotondo Stazione (RM), Italy; Email: enr.benelli@gmail.com

territory, are dated too low (for an overview of problems in Abruzzese chronology see Weidig 2014, 652–658, with references). Nevertheless, even in recent times some scholars have preferred to stress the (very few) common elements shared by these archaeological facies, instead of focusing on the (considerably more numerous) elements of differentiation between them, perpetuating an old-fashioned, untenable, idea of a somehow confused pan-Italic culture, spreading by way of migration waves and/or mutual cultural influences, eventually fostered by a (real or perceived) ethnic homogeneity. Even if what has been published until now is only a very small portion of the new finds, and some of these facies remain very difficult to understand (like in the Fucine basin), these discoveries have revealed the existence of a number of central Italic archaeological cultures, broadly interrelated to each other, but at the same time clearly differentiated in their material assemblages, as well as in their burial customs. What is more important, shared elements seem now to have derived more probably from circulation of artifacts between different cultural areas of central Italy, than from an ancestral common culture. For the archaeological facies of this region homogeneity seems to have been a relatively late result of continued contact.

II

The most evident common elements, widely shared in all the central Italic cultural area, are some types of metal ornaments and weapons. Weapon types are particularly pervasive; the typical central Italic dagger, usually labeled “gladio a stami,” which probably appeared in the lower Tiber valley in the early seventh century BC, was ubiquitous from northern Picenum to southern Samnium. Nonetheless, a recent analysis has shown that it is possible to identify at least five different varieties, with partially overlapping diffusion areas (Weidig 2008; updating in Weidig 2014, 62–95. One or two more daggers from Crustumerium are published by Di Gennaro 1999, 10 and Attema, et al. 2016, 101). The longsword replaced the dagger, at times varying from place to place, and almost everywhere the two weapons coexisted for some time – sometimes for decades or even a century. The first type of longsword, with a massive iron hilt, appeared very early in the Sabina, probably not much later than the “gladio a stami” itself: the most ancient tomb groups, which at present are not earlier than the late seventh century BC, contained both weapons. A second type, with a composite hilt, seems characteristic of the period following the mid-sixth century; in some areas (for instance in the L’Aquila plain) its appearance led to a quick dismissal of the dagger; but elsewhere (like in the southern Picenum), on the contrary, the latter survived longer. The “Capestrano type” longsword, an evolution of the most ancient, massive hilt swords, was created probably in central Abruzzo (d’Ercole 2010, 156–157), albeit its characteristic sheath is first attested in the Tiber valley (Benelli and Naso 2003, 190–192); it reached at least Campovalano in the north, and Riofreddo in the west. All these types of daggers and swords are shared by most central Italic archaeological facies, but the different patterns of distribution

through time betray independent behaviors in the various areas (see also Weidig 2014, 95–160 who proposes a completely different and innovative classification of central Italic sword types, which will require further studies). Their history had probably no significance in terms of cultural identity, because it is reasonable to suppose that weapons which proved particularly efficient were promptly adopted outside their area of origin. It is thus no surprise that, for instance, the “gladio a stami” was employed also in Latin towns like Tibur and Crustumerium, whose identity in the Archaic period cannot be reasonably doubted. Some of these daggers have been found also at Falerii, but in one tomb only, which consequently has been interpreted as containing the burials of a group of immigrants (De Lucia Brolli 1998); this is probably also the case for the one “gladio a stami” from Grotte di Castro (Tamburini 2007, 116). Grave goods in both tombs (Falerii and Grotte di Castro) included an iron “coltello-rasoio,” typical of central Abruzzese cultures, which provides a strong suggestion about the provenance of these immigrants.

Metal ornaments had usually a narrower diffusion than weapons; only some types of fibulae appear everywhere (or nearly so) in the central-Italic area. But, at the same time, there was almost no metal ornament which was typical of one *facies* only, with very few exceptions. For instance, a well-known series of bronze belt plaques (labeled “Capena” type), probably first elaborated in the lower Tiber valley, was widely diffused in an area comprising Capena, the Sabina, the Nera valley, the L’Aquila plain, the Fucine basin, the present-day province of Teramo, and the southernmost part of Picenum, in the upper and middle Tronto valley (see Weidig 2005; updated in Weidig 2014, 199–227). This area can be divided into at least ten archaeological *facies*, clearly differentiated from each other, especially through pottery and burial customs. Consequently, the “Capena” type belts can hardly be considered an element of ethnic or cultural identity. On the other side, another type of bronze belt, with chequered buckles (labeled “Colle Fiorano type:” Papi 1978), seems to have been exclusive to the territory that the Romans attributed to the Vestini *transmontani*, characterized by a distinctive archaeological *facies*. Its presence at Bazzano, in the L’Aquila plain (D’Ercole, et al. 2003, 546 and fig. 3; the buckle is misinterpreted as a pendant, and included in a plainly inconsistent “tomb group:” see Benelli 2008, 93, n. 26; Weidig 2014, 227–228), is probably to be interpreted as marking the burial of an immigrant woman, exceptionally containing two belts, belonging to the two different types. This is probably the case also for the four-circles belt buckle from Fossa (t. 17: Benelli 2004, 14–16), belonging to a type known only between Bologna and northern Picenum (Colonna 1985, 49–50).

The geographical distribution of bronze disks employed as female ornaments may have had cultural significance, but in a very broad sense only (see especially Tomedi 2000 and Colonna 2007a). Attempts to identify decorative patterns as typical of specific ethnic groups have proved unsuccessful, especially after the discovery of the Brecciaro-Cretaro necropolis at Avezzano, where almost all types have been found in the same place (Ceccaroni 2012, 343, with references). But, at the same time, the presence – or absence – of this type of ornament seems to follow at

least some of the cultural boundaries between archaeological facies. For instance, the bronze disks are at present not attested in the L'Aquila plain and, in general, in all the geographical areas attributed to the Vestini, with only some possible exceptions, whose indications of provenance are extremely vague and cannot be taken at face value; the same seems true for the area of the Praetutii. Given the great number of necropoleis excavated in these regions, the absence of bronze disks can not be considered random. This evidence is particularly striking for the L'Aquila plain, because in an earlier period (late eighth to early seventh centuries BC) the local female costume included iron disks, which are clearly identifiable as the prototypes of the bronze ones; four of them have been found at Fossa (Cosentino, et al. 2001, 78, 83, 106; Cosentino, et al. 2004, 226), and only three elsewhere (one at Brecciaro-Cretaro, one at Forca Caruso, and one at Colle del Forno: see respectively Ceccaroni 2012, 343; D'Ercole 2010a, fig 235; Benelli, 2015). The use of disks was dropped in the L'Aquila plain roughly at the same time that it appeared elsewhere, replacing iron with more expensive bronze. Bronze disks were most largely employed (and possibly also produced) in the Fucine basin, but they are diffused relatively widely both southwards and northwards; two large groups from Umbria have been attributed to immigrants (or, more precisely, immigrant women) from the central Apennines (Colonna 2007). This explanation, which envisages a degree of female mobility through intermarriage, can probably work also for other isolated finds of bronze disks.

The distribution of round breastplates ("dischi-corazza") of some of the most ancient types (Mozzano and Cittaducale: Tomedi 2000, 35–38), belonging approximately to the same period when bronze female disks were also produced, seems to fill exactly the voids left on the map: Fossa and Bazzano, in the L'Aquila plain, Cittaducale and Leonessa, in the inner Sabina, and far away Matelica (see Weidig 2014, 49–56, with literature). Only at Marino del Tronto both types seem to have been found together (although information about these finds is somewhat confused: Lucentini 2000, 294, 320–321; see also Lucentini 2002, 34–35 for female disks from Colli del Tronto and Acquasanta). Other, mostly later, breastplate types (Alfedena and Paglietta: Tomedi 2000, 45–51), on the contrary, seem to have been absolutely typical of a southern area centered around the Sangro valley, the heartland of the Pentri and the Frentani; their occurrence elsewhere is consequently attributed to warriors (mercenaries?) moving outside their homeland (Tagliamonte 1994, 92). These movements foreshadowed the later, and much more evident, diaspora of mercenaries of Campanian/Samnite origin, attested *inter alia* by typical weapons and bronze belts (Tagliamonte 1994, 148–150; 2013).

The evidence discussed above seems to suggest that metal objects cannot be used as markers of cultural identity in Archaic central Italy, with very few exceptions. On the contrary, it envisages the existence of a cultural phenomenon known as a "metallurgical *koinè*," characterized by the sharing of metal implements, weapons and ornaments across the boundaries of a number of archaeological facies clearly differentiated from each other. Only some metal types show a pattern of distribution apparently matching the partition between a northern and a southern macroregion

discussed below (§6), albeit the results of a recent study (Richardson 2013), attempting to define patterns of adornment typical of the region where later Samnite identity arose, will require further refinement.

III

A quite different question is what kind of relationships, if any, existed between the archaeological facies and the peoples of central Italy known from historical sources. The boundaries between the civic communities of the Roman period, which can be reconstructed with a reasonable degree of accuracy, can preserve ethnic divides preceding the Roman conquest, since most of these communities are attributed to specific peoples. The map drawn by Adriano La Regina some forty-five years ago (La Regina 1968, map A) is still the standard work about boundaries between peoples in central Italy, at least as they were understood by Roman historians.

The most striking examples of non-correspondence between archaeological facies and peoples are offered by the Vestini and the Sabines: perhaps not by chance, since the geographical areas inhabited by both of them are by far among the best known in the whole area. The Vestini *transmontani* are characterized by a clearly recognizable archaeological facies (for an overview of the evidence see especially Staffa 2010, with references), with a highly distinctive pottery assemblage, sharing some morphological families especially with other coastal areas, northwards (amphorae, ollae) as well as southwards (one-handled bowls). Pottery from the necropoleis of Atri, in Praetuttian territory, has more in common with what is known from the area of the Vestini *transmontani* than with the ceramic assemblage typical of the Teramo area: but female tombs contained belt plaques of the “Capena” type instead of the long belts with chequered buckles of the “Colle Fiorano type” (about Atri, see especially Baldelli and Ruggeri Giove 1980). But it would not be safe to conclude from this evidence alone that female ornaments, rather than pottery, could have had a function of ethnic marker: this may have been true for the “Colle Fiorano” belts, but it is certainly not the case for the “Capena” type belt plaques (see above), as for most other ornaments.

The inner area of the Vestini *cismontani* is best known through the highly characteristic archaeological facies documented by the large necropoleis of Fossa and Bazzano (Benelli 2004, 2008; Weidig 2014), with a ceramic assemblage showing unmistakable ties to the Tyrrhenian world (especially with the Sabina), accompanied by a number of Etruscan (and even Sabine) imports which has no parallels in the whole central Italic area. These ties were so strong that from the early sixth century onwards it is possible to identify a local production of bucchero (Acconcia 2012, with references). This facies, known especially in the L’Aquila plain, extended southwards at least until Peltuinum (see especially Acconcia, et al. 2011, with references).

Further south, quite another world appears. In the middle Aterno valley, where the river turns abruptly towards the coast, crossing a series of narrow gorges defining

the historical boundary between the Vestini and the Paeligni, recent road works have allowed archaeologists to conduct extensive excavation campaigns, especially in the various necropoleis in the territories of Capestrano and Caporciano. The finds are for the most part still unpublished, with the exception of some “highlights” (Cairolì and d’Ercole 2004; d’Ercole and Cella 2007; d’Ercole and D’Alessandro 2007; d’Ercole and Martellone 2007, 2007a; Acconcia 2014, 263–284; Martellone 2015. See also various papers published in *Quaderni di archeologia d’Abruzzo* 3, 2011 [2014], 297–311 and 345–350), which combine with what was already known (see Cella 2012, with references) to give a very interesting picture of an archaeological facies which has more southwards than northwards links. The impressive quantity of unpublished finds (around one thousand tombs from an area comprised between S. Pio delle Camere and Navelli: d’Ercole 2010a, 137, n. 61; earlier finds from the plain of Navelli: Mieli 1998) suggests some caution in drawing conclusions, but some patterns are clear enough. The only elements shared between the two facies of the territory of the Vestini *cismontani* are “Capena” type belt plaques, and a relative abundance of Etruscan imports. The ceramic assemblage typical of the middle Aterno valley shares some morphological families with the Fossa-Bazzano facies, but the actual forms are plainly different in detail, whilst some vases from this area are identical to types diffused in the Paelignan territory – although it is not possible to assess if they are to be considered imports or shared types. Moreover, some morphological families included in the Capestrano-Caporciano pottery assemblage, like the flat-handled ollae, find parallels only further south (see for instance d’Ercole 1998; Mieli 1998; for the ill-documented Archaic Paelignan facies see especially Mattiocco 1981, 67–78, pl. 59–69). The differences between the Fossa-Bazzano and the Capestrano-Caporciano facies do not involve material aspects only, but affect also burial customs, especially in the late Archaic phase. In the L’Aquila plain, grave goods were gradually reduced in number from the late sixth century onwards, until their complete disappearance around the mid-fifth century; in the middle Aterno valley, on the contrary, late Archaic burials became increasingly richer, and included a number of Etruscan bronze vases and banquet implements. Differences between a Fossa-Bazzano and a Capestrano-Caporciano facies persisted until the late Hellenistic period, when the Paelignan links of this second facies became more evident – especially thanks to a better knowledge of the Paelignan necropoleis belonging to this phase (Benelli and Rizzitelli 2010, 109–119).

IV

The territory of the Sabines was divided into at least four geographical units (the Tiber valley, the Rieti plain, the area of Nursia and Cascia in the Nera basin, and the northwestern part of the L’Aquila plain), separated from each other by mountain ranges. Only in the Tiber valley has archaeological research allowed us to gain a detailed picture of the local facies of the late Orientalizing and Archaic periods (see

Benelli 2014, with references). Despite a long tradition of studies in Sabine archaeology, only in recent times has it become possible to observe the sharp differences between a northern and a southern facies along the left bank of the Tiber. Both areas shared a great deal of their ceramic repertoire, and almost all types of metal ornaments and weapons; the only remarkable difference between them is decoration of pottery, which is relatively abundant in the north and extremely uncommon in the south. But, at the same time, the northern and the southern areas are clearly differentiated from each other especially by burial customs. One of the most striking features is probably the opposite choice about the deposition of table amphorae in tombs: in the north (Magliano, Poggio Sommavilla) they are ubiquitous, whilst in the south (Colle del Forno) they were completely banned, with the only exception of tomb XI, belonging to the most prominent (royal?) family of Eretum, which systematically eschewed local burial customs. Excavations in the settlement at Cures have revealed that Sabine table amphorae were well known in the southern area, too; their exclusion from the repertoire of grave goods should therefore be regarded as a choice dictated by cultural and/or ritual needs. In the late Archaic period, burial customs followed even more different paths: in the south, grave goods disappeared completely after the mid-sixth century, in accordance with what happened at about the same time in Latium and at Etruscan Veii; in the north, on the contrary, in these same decades, they became richer, and included expensive imported goods like Etruscan bronze vessels and Attic black- and red-figured pottery.

This evidence suggests that it is not possible to overlap archaeological facies and ethnic identities. A Sabine identity, especially along the Tiber valley, had probably emerged well before the late seventh century BC, at least as a contrastive one towards neighboring Latins and Etruscans. Behind the choice of deliberately opposite burial customs (as is the case with the deposition of amphorae) stood probably the assertion of a local culture, which did not affect the definition of all communities as Sabines. The existence of a sense of a broader Sabine unity is further attested by epigraphic evidence. New discoveries have revealed that in the whole of the Sabine territory (encompassing not only the Tiber valley, but also far-away Nursia and Amiternum. The inscription from Nursia is still unpublished; for the two inscriptions from Amiternum see Heinzelmänn 2013), in the late Archaic period, after the first experiences of Sabine epigraphy, a new distinctive writing system was employed, displaying a choice of graphemes and an epigraphic habit that clearly distinguished it from other systems of the same so-called “South Picene” series.

V

Even one of the best known central Italic Archaic cultures, the Picene one, was probably not as uniform as it appeared at first. The area of the present-day province of Macerata, for example, has revealed some characteristic features which distinguished it from neighboring territories (see for instance Percossi Serenelli 2003); the same

is true for the area centered around Asculum and the Tronto valley (see especially Lucentini 2002). If we accept the idea that the Picene culture was articulated into more archaeological facies, it would be possible to refer to it also some other facies from outside Picenum proper. This would be the case, for example, of the territory attributed to the Praetutii by Roman historians; its typical archaeological facies (attested especially from the large necropolis at Campovalano) shares many features with Picenum, especially with the Tronto valley. On the other side, some vase forms (table amphorae, for example) belong to morphological families with clear connections towards central Abruzzo, revealed also by the production of local bucchero. In my opinion, in the Teramo region Picene cultural traits prevailed on Abruzzese ones through time; but only a global revision of the clearly unreliable chronological framework usually adopted for Campovalano will show if this idea is supported by evidence or not.

In the inner side of Picenum, an area stretching roughly from Fabriano to Pitino di San Severino (if not until Tolentino and Moie di Pollenza) is characterized by a particularly flourishing orientalizing phase, already unknown in the Picene culture, which has been traditionally explained through closer contact with Etruria. The recent discoveries from Matelica have revealed the existence of an archaeological facies which only with some difficulties could be labeled as “Picene.” Its impressive ceramic assemblage has more to do with Umbria (and even with inner Abruzzo) than with Picenum; but any conclusion is still impossible to draw, since only a very limited number of finds has currently been published (Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008). The Roman *municipia* of Matilica and Camerinum were enlisted in the Imperial sixth region (together with historical Umbria) and not in the fifth (with Picenum and the Praetuttian territory): but the significance of these Augustan geographical partitions should not be overestimated, since it suited Roman administrative purposes more than ancient ethnic boundaries. Nevertheless, it is now clear that the traditional view of a uniform and clearly defined Picene culture, coinciding with historical Picenum, needs a radical revision.

Recent linguistic research (Calderini 2011) has also cast serious doubts on the traditional interpretation of the stem **púpún-*, attested in some of the so-called “south Picene” inscriptions, and usually considered as defining the inhabitants of the region, eventually transformed into *Picentes* by the Romans via a phonetic misunderstanding. The only ethnic definition clearly recognizable in the “south Picene” corpus refers to a “Sabine community” (gen. *safinas tútas*) and to “*principes Sabino-rum*” (*safínúm nerf*), repeatedly mentioned in the three inscriptions from Penna Sant’Andrea, which, strictly speaking, was in Praetuttian territory. In which sense the inhabitants of this territory could have defined themselves as “Sabines,” and which is the origin of the ethnic “Praetutii,” is still open to debate (see especially Colonna 2003).

VI

The archaeological facies included in the middle Italic metallurgical *koinè* can be broadly divided into two large zones. The northern one extended through Picenum, Umbria, the Sabina, and the greatest part of Abruzzo, whilst the southern one encompassed the later Samnite territory, the Paelignan area, northern Campania, southern and inner Latium. Some geographical areas are still at present ill-defined; for example, the Fucine basin belonged probably to the northern region, as shown, for example by the “Capena” type belt plaques, albeit some isolated items typical of the other one (and probably originating from nearby Sangro valley) have been found uphill from its southern fringes. The Capestrano-Caporciano facies (see above) has a mainly northern outlook, but southern elements (of a Paelignan type) are also present; on the other side, some isolated northern elements have been found in the otherwise “southern” Paelignan culture. Outside this one instance, the border between the northern and southern zone seems to have been very effective, at least for what concerns material aspects of culture.

Pottery is probably the most evident element of differentiation. Typical forms of the northern and the southern zone belonged to morphological families related to southern Etruria and to Latium/Campania respectively. The most distinctive vase is probably the table amphora, as it is very well-executed with respect to its features, but at the same time it is common enough to allow the recognition of local types. The southern amphora, with the upper end of its handles on the rim, is an evolution of the typical middle Tyrrhenian orientalizzing amphora: its body was tall and ovoid in the late seventh century, and became gradually more globular. The shallow late Archaic types could resemble kantharoi more than amphorae (Benelli and Cifarelli 2011). On the other side, the northern amphora, with its handles on the shoulder, is a Capenate or Sabine creation, derived from the south-Etruscan stamnoid olla, by turning the handle direction by 90°. This is why its body, in the late seventh century, had a globular shape, like Etruscan late orientalizzing stamnoid ollae; during the sixth century it became more and more ovoid, reaching finally the tall, elongated shape of the typical “Sabine amphorae” of the late Archaic period (Benelli and Weidig 2007; Weidig 2014, 559–573).

The boundary between the northern and the southern area seems to match almost exactly the (later?) linguistic watershed between Umbrian/Umbrian-related and Oscan/Oscan-related languages. The “south Picene” corpus, whose classification is still debated, is mostly concentrated in the northern area, but some inscriptions were found in the southern one as well. In the post-Archaic period, southern linguistic elements (of a Paelignan type) reached Navelli (hardly surprising, given its location), in the area of the Vestine territory characterized by the hybrid Capestrano/Caporciano facies. Only the northern, Umbrian-related, character of the language of the Volsci seems to contradict an otherwise almost perfect correspondence between cultural and linguistic macroregions; but one should not forget that the actual findspot

of the main document of the supposed Volscian language, the *tabula Veliterna*, is unknown (Antonini 2009), despite a long-standing antiquarian tradition. The only Archaic Italic inscription found in the Volscian territory, on a miniature lead axe from Satricum, employed a late version of the Sabine alphabet, but the classification of its language (as Umbrian- or Oscan-related) is not clear, and it has been usually attributed to the Umbrian family especially thanks to the evidence supposedly provided by the *tabula Veliterna*. If the latter was really found in Velitrae, we should accept that linguistic and archaeological boundaries did not completely overlap.

VII

Clear-cut conclusions about the formation of specific ethnic identities in the central Italic area are not possible, at least from evidence currently known. A wide region cutting diagonally through the Italian peninsula, from Picenum to southern Campania, was characterized in the Archaic period by a number of archaeological facies, easily distinguishable from each other through material assemblages and burial customs (at least where archaeological research has developed enough); at the same time, these facies participated in a metallurgical *koinè*, and shared other cultural elements with each other (but usually not with *all* other facies). Epigraphic evidence shows that in this region some (broadly) interrelated Italic languages were spoken: but some caution is required when overlapping languages and archaeological facies, since the southernmost part of the Italic-speaking territory extended far beyond the southern boundary of this *koinè*.

This large region is roughly divided into two areas, whose boundary reproduces almost exactly the divide between Umbrian and Oscan linguistic areas, with the only possible exception of the Volscian language (see above, §6). Further subdivisions are clear enough as archaeological facies are concerned, but language and identity are quite another matter. In the southern area, later history was heavily conditioned by the emergence of the Samnite federation, which developed into an ideological and identity-laden point of reference for every human group there. Evidence for the power of Samnite identity is provided by archaeology, history, and, above all, epigraphy. Samnite/Campanian Oscan is unique in pre-Roman Italy in not having any local variety, neither in dialect, nor in script, nor in epigraphic habit; this exceptional feature betrays the heavily political significance of this language and of its epigraphic use.

In the northern area, the Sabines probably underwent significant developments in terms of identity at a very early time. This is proved not only by their pervasive presence in early Roman history (which could be the product of later antiquarian speculations: see especially Smith 2014), but also by archaeological and epigraphic evidence. Despite the fragmentation of historical Sabina into more archaeological facies, its frontiers are very sharply defined, at least in the Tiber valley, where more data are available. To the south, Eretum and Crustumerium clearly belonged to com-

pletely different worlds, despite the absence of geographical boundaries between their territories (for an overview of Crustumium, see Attema, di Gennaro and Jarva 2013, Attema, et al. 2016, and the various papers collected in *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale* 113, 2012, with references). This is true also on the northern side, between Magliano and Ocrinum, whose archaeological facies differ almost in every feature. It is precisely the absence of clear geographical boundaries that attests that the emergence of the Sabina, as the region inhabited by human groups recognizing themselves as Sabines, was a prominently political phenomenon. This region, paradoxically, was shaped by sharper morphological divides between its various subregions than along its external boundaries, cut arbitrarily across plains and river valleys. The use of distinctive writing systems (one of them, belonging to the “south Picene” series, attested at present by four inscriptions only, one of them still unpublished) betrays a sense of contrastive identity towards neighboring human groups speaking languages, and employing scripts, closely related to those of the Sabines.

In the area historically attributed to the Vestini, characterized by three different archaeological facies, whose boundaries persisted until at least the late second century BC (Benelli and Rizzitelli 2010, 115–119), some exchanges of vase forms began to occur in the late Archaic period. Some table amphorae of the Fossa-Bazzano facies, belonging to the later, ovoid, type, reached the area of the Vestini *transmontani* (Benelli and Weidig 2007, 19, with references). A characteristic *kyathos*, developed in the Archaic period in the coastal area, moved the other way round: the distinctive impasto *kyathoi* found at Fossa in late fourth and third-century tombs must have derived from this form, as they lack any possible ancestor in local pottery (Benelli and Rizzitelli 2003, 325 and fig. 1). Unfortunately, the absence of grave goods between the mid-fifth and the late fourth centuries BC makes it impossible to understand when exactly this vase form migrated from the *transmontani* to the *cismontani*. These few elements could betray the existence of a network of cultural exchanges between two geographical areas which were both historically attributed to the Vestini, but, at the same time, were characterized by two archaeological facies completely different from each other: a divide which persisted for a very long time. It is possible that this network was the consequence of the emergence of a political identity, which did not evolve into a cultural unity. But every conclusion is necessarily no more than pure speculation, without much support from the evidence.

In my opinion, the *foedera* with Rome were the major factor in defining political boundaries between the various peoples of central/northern Abruzzo (Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Vestini). After initial defeats, all these peoples, between 304 and 302 BC, found a very early accommodation with the emerging superpower of central Italy. Thereafter, they remained consistently on the Roman side during all the wars fought in the Italian peninsula, and contributed to many overseas campaigns, their exceptional valor repeatedly noted by Roman historians. After the settlement of the citizenship issues that sparked the Social War, when the alliance was broken for the first time, the various communities of central Abruzzo continued to serve as

the primary source of recruitment for highly praised soldiers, now enlisted in the legions as Roman citizens. Most of the municipal magistrates and local magnates of early Imperial age Abruzzo seem to have started their public life thanks to distinguished army careers. The Praetutii followed quite another path. Their territory did not receive a *foedus*, but underwent direct annexation by Rome, together with Sabina, following the campaigns by Curius Dentatus in 290 BC. Two colonies were subsequently founded on expropriated lands, and the local population was finally received into full Roman citizenship by 241 BC. Since most of the mentions of Abruzzese peoples in historical sources are related to their exploits as soldiers, it is no surprise that the name of the Praetutii is by far the less common among them, because they served in the legions, and did not constitute separate auxiliary units. Groups living in the regions south of central Abruzzo underwent another, quite distinctive, historical development, characterized by the emergence of the Samnite federation, which provided a strong political identity, though preserving local differentiations between the various subregions: a feature that allowed one of its components, the Frentani, to detach themselves from the federation in the late fourth century to follow the political path of central Abruzzese peoples.

Given the long survival of late fourth-century *foedera*, which lasted unchanged until the Social War, it is reasonable to suppose that they exercised considerable influence in forging perceived identities. *Foedera* set with extreme precision the amount of troops which every community was bound to provide – at its own expense – to the Roman army; therefore, the inhabitants of every single village or town needed to know exactly to which unit they were requested to contribute. Consequently, these arrangements froze the political map of the region as it was in 304/302 BC. This does not mean that the peoples of central Abruzzo were a Roman creation; but lack of correspondence between cultural and ethnic (= political) boundaries seems to suggest that the latter may have shifted through time, and that a wider political identity as a “people” should have been always weaker than local identities, supported by long-lasting traditions reflected in distinctive material cultures. Even two centuries of stability were not enough to establish uniform cultural patterns inside the territories attributed to the various peoples. Archaeological facies seem therefore not related to the existence of political entities: the emergence of the peoples which composed the map of pre-Roman central Italy is consequently impossible to understand directly from archaeological evidence alone. We can affirm that strong local cultural identities did exist at least from the late seventh century onwards, and that exchanges between these areas probably intensified in the late Archaic period. What all this meant in terms of ethnic and political identity is open to debate.

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I Ethnicity and ancient Italy

In ancient accounts of Rome's conquest of Italy, various *ethne* and *populi* are said to inhabit the peninsula. First are the Latins and Etruscans, Rome's closest neighbours, and also the Sabines, who were credited with a pivotal role in Rome's origins. Next come the Hernici, Aequi and Volsci, followed by the Samnites and Lucanians, who between them controlled much of central and south Italy and were a force to be reckoned with. The Samnites' neighbours in central Italy (Marsi, Marrucini, Paeligni, Vestini, Frentani) were also noted for their warlike disposition. Other *ethne* were considered more amenable towards Rome, such as the Umbrians and Campanians, although the latter were seen as treacherous. The extreme ends of the peninsula were also said to be inhabited by other *ethne*. In the far south, the poleis of Magna Graecia had long been in contact with the neighbouring Bruttians, Lucanians, Daunians, Messapians and Iapygians. To the north there were the Veneti and the Gauls, and the Ligurians along the Tyrrhenian coast. We hear stories about how these different peoples originated, how they related to each other, and how they possessed distinctive socio-cultural features. The Samnites were said to descend from the Sabines, and the Lucanians and Bruttians from the Samnites. Many considered the Etruscans luxurious and of eastern origin, while the Sabines were seen to embody the ideals of austerity and piety that were cherished by the Roman Republican aristocracy (see Farney and Masci in this volume for more on the Sabine reputation in the late Republic).

This familiar image of pre-Roman Italy as a mosaic of ethnic groups is not without its problems. To begin with, the narratives that convey this image date from the late Republic onwards: they are at least 200 years later than the period that they describe, and rely on sources that are themselves late and complex (Oakley 1997–2005, I.72–99). The ethnic territories and boundaries that the Greco-Roman authors describe are based on the much later division of Italy into eleven regions during the reign of Augustus. Images of the Italian *ethne* and their “distinctive” features are largely the product of how Greeks and Romans perceived Italian communities (Dench 1995, 29–32, 67–68). We have very few surviving texts written by the Italians themselves before they all became Roman citizens in the first century BC. This raises some challenging questions: to what extent did the Italian “peoples” of the ancient narratives exist as such, and to what degree did Italian communities perceive them-

selves as ethnically distinct? How useful is the Augustan image of Italy divided into numerous *ethne* for understanding community organization and collective membership in the pre-Roman period? Ethnicity was surely important, but it was also one of several levels of membership to which people could subscribe, alongside groupings that were defined according to place of residence, socio-economic status, gender, age, and so forth. In the case of the Latins and Etruscans, for example, any sense of shared ethnicity had to compete with strong civic identities that existed on a local level, given that these *ethne* were made up of independent city-states with well-developed ideas about their own distinctiveness (Cornell 1997, 9–10). As regards those areas of Italy where urbanisation seems to have been less intense, such as Samnium, there has been a tendency to assume that ethnicity was the only really important form of collective identity (La Regina 1981), although recent studies have been suggesting otherwise (Scopacasa 2015). On the other hand, the classical descriptions of Italian *ethne* will have had some basis in reality – which raises the question of what were the deeper processes that allowed these communities to converge in the manner that we hear about in the sources.

This chapter addresses some key questions, themes and problems concerning ethnicity in ancient Italy in the first millennium BC – with a focus on the last four centuries BC, when we have an especially rich blend of archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources. Different aspects of ethnic identity will be discussed in turn, namely: self-categorisation, territory and boundaries, culture, politics, and memory. We will conclude with a brief discussion of the role of ethnic identity in the political unification of Italy in the first century BC.

II Defining ethnicity

Scholars of the ancient world generally follow the anthropological definition of ethnic groups as formed by people who consider themselves, and are considered by others, to belong in the group. Ethnic membership can be grounded in a number of criteria, which include the belief in shared descent from common ancestors, as well as perceived cultural similarities, a sense of shared history or past, and a shared homeland which the group may either inhabit in the present or project onto the past (Weber 1968, 389; Smith 1986, 22–30; Eriksen 1993, 12; Tullio-Altan 1995, 19–32; on the ancient world, cf. Jones 1997, 56–65; Hall 1997, 19–26; 2002, 9–19; Bradley 2000; Dench 1995, 22–23; 2005, 8–12; Farney 2007; Luraghi 2008, 6–14; Derks and Roymans 2009; Bourdin 2012). Some scholars distinguish between the ethnic categorisation of people by outside observers (the so-called “etic” view of ethnicity), and how people perceive and identify themselves, which is called the “emic” perspective. The construction of ethnicity involves a contrast with “others” or outsiders as well as inward-looking processes (Malkin 2011, 93).

There are some important differences between the modern anthropological concept of the ethnic group, and what ancient authors mean when they speak of *ethne* or

populi in the context of pre-Roman Italy. The *ethnos* was a rather broad concept in antiquity as it could describe any group of beings with features in common, including plants and animals (Morgan 2003, 9–10). In the case of people, the *ethnos* was a group whose members were seen to possess shared origins, normally from mythical ancestors, as well as a shared territory and cultural similarities (Hall 1997, 25–26; Luraghi 2008, 7). In a narrower political sense, the *ethnos* was a union of communities that acted as a larger political entity under a sense of shared ethnicity, such as the Thessalians and the Aitolians (Morgan 2003; Graninger 2011; Aston 2012). The idea of the *ethnos* as a union of *poleis* is already present in Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.5.11; cf. Hansen and Nielsen 2004; but Hall 2006, 50 notes that the term *ethnos* was also applied to individual *poleis* such as Athens). Bearing in mind the differences between ancient and modern understandings, the anthropological definition can be used to conceptualise the groups that are described as *ethne* in ancient texts, since they fit the definition of “ethnic group” in current anthropological literature (Cornell 1997).

III Ethnic naming

Sometime in the late second century BC, a monumental inscription was set up at the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante in Samnium. It was written in the local language (Oscan) and was one of many inscriptions that referred to the building works at the site. The text is highly fragmentary, but one of the surviving sections includes a reference to a *safinim sak[araklum]*, which roughly translates as “the cult place of the *safin*- people,” presumably the sanctuary itself (*Imagines* Terventum 18). We know that the name *safin*- was already three centuries old by that point, as it occurs previously on a group of fifth-century BC gravestones found in nearby Abruzzo. From a linguistic point of view, it is likely that the Oscan word *safin*- is related to the Latin ethnic *Samnites*, and may therefore have been the name by which the “Samnites” called themselves (La Regina 1981, 131–133; Tagliamonte 1996, 8–9).

Thanks to inscriptions like these, we know that the ethnics mentioned in the Greco-Roman narratives (e.g. Samnites, Lucanians, Campanians, Umbrians) did have some connection with the names that Italian communities called themselves. At around the time when the name *safin*- emerged in central Italy, a bronze bracelet from a nearby locality featured an inscribed text with the expression *ombriēn acen*, which is very likely the local version of the ethnic “Umbrian” (La Regina 1981; Bradley 2000a, 24). Further south in Campania, the city of Capua issued a series of coins in the late fifth century BC with the legend *kampanos* (*Imagines* Capua 1; Fig. 1). A later coin issue dating to the Hannibalic war (218–202 BC) has the Oscan legend *loukanom* in Greek script (Rutter 2001, 129 no. 1449). Some of the *loukanom* coins have a Punic standard, and were probably issued by the Carthaginians as pay for their allies in south Italy (Isayev 2007, 24–25). As Isayev notes, the ethnic *loukanom* did not apply to all of the “Lucanians” as they are described in the Classical sources, but only to those communities that supported Hannibal instead of Rome. Another



Fig. 1. Silver didrachm with the legend *kampanon*, c. 415–405 BC (after Rutter 2001, nos. 477–478)

third-century coin issue from Larino includes the term *frentrei* (Rutter 2001, no. 621). This may well be the Oscan name of the “Frentani,” who occupied the Adriatic coast of central Italy according to Strabo (*Geog.* 5.4.2). A bronze tablet from a sanctuary near Rapino in coastal Abruzzo, also from the third century, includes a reference to a *tota marouca* (*Imagines Teate Marrucinatorum* 2). This is probably the local name of the community that is described in Greco-Roman texts as the *ethnos* of the Marrucini (Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.2).

The Rapino inscription is especially important for its use of the Italic word *tota*, which loosely translates as “community.” The term also occurs on the fifth-century gravestones from Abruzzo, in the expression *safinas tutas* (“the community of the safin-”). So can the *tota* be seen as the Italian equivalent of the *ethnos*? Perhaps, although the term is used with reference to very different types of social organization. While in the Rapino inscription and the Abruzzo gravestones the *tota* appears to mean supra-local groupings rather than specific settlements, in Campania the term is clearly used with reference to individual city-states such as Capua (e.g. *Imagines Capua* 24). Therefore, while the *tota* may have occasionally taken on features associated with the *ethnos*, it was an essentially malleable concept.

What is important to stress is that the ethnic names in the epigraphic record seem to indicate conscious expression of ethnic affiliation. These inscriptions suggest that Italian communities deliberately joined together at various points during the last five centuries BC to form larger collectives that were probably meant to act cohesively. Yet these sentiments of ethnic cohesion existed alongside civic, gender, status, and age identities, all of which varied in importance, and became more or less salient through time (see for example Scopacasa 2015, 30–41, on the situation regarding the Samnites). It is in view of the interplay between these different levels of membership that the study of ancient Italian ethnicity should be framed.

IV Territory and boundaries

One of the main features of ethnic groups is the idea of a shared territory (Hall 1997, 2; Luraghi 2008, 10). This can either be a territory that is actually occupied by the group or an idealised ancestral homeland which is projected onto the past. Although many of the ethnic groups in Greece were not geographically cohesive, they were believed to have originally come from particular geographical regions, as was the case of the Ionians and their putative homeland in the northern Peloponnese (Hall 1997, 52). On the other hand, territorial boundaries tended to be clearer in cases where the ethnic group acted as a political entity, such as the leagues or federations that joined together under a sense of shared ethnicity (cf. below). But even in these cases the boundaries changed depending on which communities were included in the federations at any given moment. For example, Olympic victor lists suggest that there were changes in the boundaries of the Thessalian ethnic confederacy, as different communities are mentioned as “Thessalian” at different points in the third and second centuries BC (Graninger 2011, 84 on the inclusion of Larissa Kremaste in the Thessalian league in the 170s BC).

Unfortunately, in Italy we have no such evidence. When discussing the territories and boundaries of ethnic groups in the pre-Roman period, most of our information comes from literary texts that were written much later, from the first century BC onwards, when the geography of Italy had changed as a result of the political integration with Rome. Authors such as Strabo and the elder Pliny provide detailed accounts of the various “peoples” that inhabited the peninsula, but these descriptions primarily refer to Italy as it was organised in the first century AD (see Roller in of this volume for more on Strabo). Pliny in particular seems to draw on the eleven regions that were created in the Augustan era. Each of these regions was named with reference to particular *ethne* (e.g. *Samnium*, *Lucania et Bruttium*, *Latium et Campania*). Some of the Augustan regions overlap with earlier ethnic and linguistic boundaries, as is the case of Region IV (*Umbria*) (Bradley 2007, 316–317); this suggests that the descriptions in Pliny and Strabo are to some extent indicative of ethnic boundaries that developed in the pre-Roman period. On the other hand, some of the Augustan regions included areas that were associated with different pre-Roman peoples (e.g. Region II, *Latium et Campania*), while others do not seem to respond to ethnic criteria (e.g. Region VIII, *Aemilia*) (Bradley 2007, 316). This is not to say that there was no territorial or geographical dimension to ethnic groups before the Augustan era. Rather, the main point is that these groups were not static but changing, which makes it difficult to try and search for precise borders.

This mutability of ethnic boundaries is reflected in the ancient historical texts themselves. Apart from Strabo and the elder Pliny, earlier authors such as Polybius and Livy were not really clear about where one Italian *ethnos* ended and another one began. This comes across in the way that these authors apply the same ethnic identifier to different communities at different points in their narratives. A good example

concerns the Samnites and their neighbours, the Frentani and Hirpini. The Frentani were said to occupy a stretch of the Adriatic coast of central Italy, while the Hirpini were situated in what is now eastern Campania. Both of these groups are described as separate *ethne* in their own right. Yet Strabo also asserts that the Frentani and Hirpini were Samnites, and Livy often seems to include them in the broader category of “Samnites” in his narrative of the Samnite Wars (Frentani: Plin. *HN* 3.43.99, 3.43.105–7, Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.2; Hirpini: Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.12; Plin. *HN* 3.43.99, 3.43.105). With regard to the Hirpini we even have a narrative tradition that describes their origin as Samnite colonists who were led by a wolf (Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.12, Fest. 93L). Rather than mere inconsistency, this “unstable” use of ethnics in Livy and Strabo can be seen as a proxy indicator that ethnic boundaries shifted over the last four centuries BC (Isayev 2007; Scopacasa 2015, 23–25). It is plausible that connections between the communities described in our sources as Frentani, Hirpini, and Samnites were variously emphasised or played down depending on the context, and on whether or not there were people interested in asserting such links. Hence the fact that Greco-Roman authors describe these peoples as both joined together and as separate *ethne*. If we broaden the scope to include all of south Italy and Sicily, we see that Samnite identity possessed a great deal of elasticity, being also applicable to groups whom our sources otherwise characterise as Lucanians (Strabo *Geog.* 6.1.3), Mameritines (Fest. 150L), and Campanians (Livy 4.37, 4.44, 4.52; Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.3–4). Samnite identity appears to have been regarded positively by the Greeks in the fourth and third centuries (Dench 1995, 54), which might explain why so many communities in south Italy seem to have been interested in asserting links to the Samnites at that time.

Ethnic boundaries were permeable, and their relevance depended on the context. Evidence pertaining to the seventh and sixth centuries BC offers vivid examples of the permeability of ethnic boundaries in Italy, and of how ethnic membership could be of little consequence in certain social milieus. The stories about Demaratus are a case in point. At some stage in the seventh century BC, this Greek aristocrat from Corinth arrived in the Etruscan city of Tarquinii with a company of followers. There he married a local woman and fathered the man who would eventually found the Tarquin royal dynasty in Rome (for the different versions of the Demaratus story cf. Polyb. 6.11a.7, Livy 1.34–35, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.46–49, Strabo *Geog.* 5.2.2, Plin. *HN* 35.43.152). Demaratus’ trajectory suggests that, in the Archaic period, the Mediterranean was criss-crossed by long-distance networks through which aristocrats were able to circulate with ease, moving wherever opportunities led them (Isayev 2017). Any ethnic boundaries that may have existed between those who participated in these networks were not strong enough to deter movement (Isayev 2017; Bourdin 2012; Lomas 2000, 88; Cornell 1995, 163–165; and Ampolo 1976–1977 for discussion of the epigraphic evidence for elite mobility across political and ethnic divides in Archaic Latium and Etruria). Ethnic groups interact differently with each other through time; whenever this interaction becomes confrontational, ethnic boun-

daries are more likely to take on a rigid territorial significance, as an expression of group interests that are perceived to be under threat (Bourdin 2012; cf. below).

V Ethnicity and culture

In 343 BC, the city of Capua in Campania decided to assist a neighbouring people, the Sidicini, in their struggle against the Samnites. As a result the Capuan army was twice defeated in battle. According to Livy (7.29–30; cf. Oakley 1997–2005, II.285–286), the Samnites went on to prepare an assault on Capua itself, at which point the Capuan ambassadors begged Rome to intervene. In appealing to the Roman senate, the ambassadors describe the Samnites as a completely barbarous and violent people who had nothing in common with Capua or other Campanians. The Samnites are portrayed as bloodthirsty brigands who would stop at nothing to seize the wealth of Campania (Livy 7.30.1–7). Livy's Capuan ambassadors stress the contrast between ferocious Samnites and placid Campanians, so as to portray these two peoples as having wildly incompatible lifestyles and cultural values. But, although Samnites and Campanians were probably emphasising their separateness as they confronted each other in 343 BC, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence shows that communities in Samnium and Campania shared a number of cultural features by that point, as they had for centuries. They all spoke Oscan, minted similar coins, and relied on compatible political structures and institutions such as the *tota* and the *meddiss* (La Regina 1981; Letta 1994). Their basic cultural attitudes towards death and burial were also quite similar, such as the overriding preference for supine inhumation in individual graves (Scopacasa 2015, 71–72). They were all familiar with the forms of ritualised wine drinking and banqueting that are now described as the “Etruscan” version of the symposium (Scopacasa 2015, 96–103), and tended to worship the same deities, such as Jupiter, Heracles and Mefitis. Yet despite these socio-cultural similarities, the Campanians were clearly able to see themselves as being worlds apart from the Samnites.

This episode illustrates the deeply complex relationship that exists between culture and ethnicity. On the one hand, cultural similarities support the construction of ethnic identity as they afford a basis for the feeling of belonging and group solidarity to crystallise (Smith 1986, 22–30; Tullio-Altan 1995, 19–32). However, the specific cultural features with which ethnic groups identify may vary considerably (e.g. Patterson 1975, 306; Orywal and Hackstein 1993, 598–600; cf. Luraghi 2008, 9 on ancient Greece). The mere existence of cultural similarities between people does not automatically create a sense of sameness and identity, ethnic or otherwise (Bentley 1987). Conversely, some people may seem culturally heterogeneous to an outside observer, but still see themselves as members of the same ethnic group. Barth (1969) used various ethnographic examples to demonstrate that people's perception of their ethnic identity often has very little to do with cultural similarities or differences that can “objectively” be seen to exist between them (Barth 1969, 14; cf. also Smith 1986,

27; Eriksen 1993, 12; Jones 1997, 126). In other words, what matters is not so much whether cultural similarities exist between people, but whether these cultural similarities are considered relevant to, or indicative of, ethnic identity in the eyes of the group.

As regards the ancient world, key passages in the written sources shed some light on the types of cultural features that could be considered indicative of ethnic identity. The best-known example is the passage in Herodotus (8.144) where Greekness (*to hellenikon*) is said to be defined by a shared language and shared forms of cult and worship (for different readings of this passage, see Raaflaub 2002, 167). Hence a great deal of attention has been paid to the role of language and religion in the construction of ethnic identity in classical antiquity. Particular emphasis has been placed on how the various aspects of religious practice may have helped to articulate ethnic membership and belonging (e.g. Stek 2009, 51–52 on central Italy). As regards ancient Italy, worship in shared cult places seems to have been a crucial means of ethnic self-definition – such as the yearly festival of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount, where the Latin cities asserted the ethnic bonds between them (Cornell 1997). Nevertheless, the actual cultural practices that constituted religious worship – such as the deities who received cult, the artefacts that were offered as votives, and the architectural features of temples – were evidently not characteristic of, or exclusive to, particular ethnic groups. Instead, the archaeological record shows broad-ranging cultural trends in religious practice throughout the peninsula. Jupiter and Heracles were worshipped in different regions; votives in the shape of body parts and organs were a common feature of central Italian sanctuaries between the fourth and early first centuries BC (Glinister 2006). And, from the third century BC onwards, much of the peninsula saw the construction of monumental temples that followed the latest Hellenistic architectural models (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 99). All of these cultural trends cut across ethnic communities that developed in Italy during this period – which brings us to the difficult issue of ethnicity and material culture.

VI Approaching ethnicity through material culture: challenges and opportunities

Material culture plays a major role in the way that people express ethnic identity, such as distinctive styles of clothing or vessels associated with distinctive eating habits (see below). However, contrary to traditional assumptions that dominated archaeology for much of the twentieth century, material culture assemblages do not necessarily reflect ethnic groups of the past (Jones 1997, 106–110). The realisation that “pots do not equal people” has led some scholars to conclude that “... there can be no archaeology of ethnicity among societies that have left us no [written] record” (Hall 2002, 24).

It is certainly risky to try to discuss ethnicity on the basis of material culture remains alone. For a long time scholars believed that material culture assemblages in pre-Roman Italy reflected the ethnic groups mentioned in the much later accounts of Livy, Strabo and Pliny (cf. Bradley 2000b, for a discussion of this problem and ways forward). This view is now giving way to more nuanced approaches. Sian Jones (1997) offers an interesting alternative by proposing that ethnicity, although subjective and situational, is grounded in lived experience and social practice. Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977), Jones suggests a "middle path" approach that uses archaeological evidence as a way of reconstructing ancient *habitus* – i.e. the lifestyles, values and cultural dispositions of ancient groups, which will have served as a grounding for the construction of identity. Other scholars start from the premise that material culture plays a key role in people's conscious expression of their own ethnicity. People may signal their ethnicity through certain types of clothing and apparel, or by using specific types of pottery that are associated with distinctive eating and drinking habits, to name a few examples (Shennan 1994). By focusing on archaeological "micro-contexts," scholars have sought to identify the active manipulation of artefacts as ethnic identity markers by individual social agents. A good example is Yntema's (2009) analysis of an elite grave from the early second century BC at the site of Mesagne near Brindisi in southeast Italy. The grave belonged to an adult elite male, whose grave goods suggest a wide range of connections spanning both the regional and the Mediterranean level. Yntema argues that the individual in the Mesagne grave probably expressed his ethnic belonging in terms of traditional family links to the Brindisi region, as suggested by the presence of a large dining set composed of locally-made pottery vessels, some of which were probably family heirlooms. Although Yntema's study demonstrates the potential of micro-level analysis, there remains the problem that ethnic markers are subjectively chosen: we can never be certain as to which artefacts were used as ethnic badges and which were not.

It is in view of this problem that Emma Blake (2011; 2014) argues for an "interactionist" approach to ethnicity through archaeology. Her premise is that ethnicity is grounded in social networks, through which the members of the ethnic group communicate and interact. She proposes that the networks underpinning ethnic groups can be identified in the material record by examining the material traces of communication between sites (Blake 2011, 205; 2014). Blake demonstrates her approach with a case-study of late Bronze Age Etruria and Latium, where she identifies two social networks that were regionally defined, the "proto-Etruscan" and "proto-Latin" networks. These will have been groups of people interacting closely enough so as eventually to support the rise of Etruscan and Latin ethnicity later in the first millennium BC. From a similar perspective, Fulminante (2012) bases her study of Latin ethnicity on the premise that ethnic boundaries are marked simultaneously (or "redundantly;" Emberling 1997, 318) in different contexts, such as domestic, cultic, and funerary, by means of a range of artefacts. She therefore proposes that in order to investigate an-

cient ethnic groups, it is vital to adopt a multi-scale approach that combines different kinds of evidence.

VII Language

In the late third or early second century BC, the poet Ennius stated that he had “three hearts” (*tria corda*) because he spoke Greek, Oscan and Latin (Gell. *NA* 17.17.1). Ennius’ statement draws attention to the fact that language could be an important identity marker in ancient Italy, and that it was probably tied to ethnic membership on some occasions. As is the case with material culture, context is essential in order to determine when and where this might have been the case. One telling example refers once again to the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante in Samnium. By the late second century BC, this sanctuary was being called the “cult place of the *safin*-/ Samnites,” which suggests that it became the focal point of Samnite identity building in the tense years leading up to the Social War (La Regina 1976; Stek 2009, 51–52). The choice of Oscan as the language of the publically-displayed inscriptions at Pietrabbondante may have been part of a bigger ideological showcase, in which Oscan functioned as a marker of Samnite identity. It seems significant that the only (pre-Roman) Latin inscription thus far recovered at Pietrabbondante occurs on a roof tile, and was therefore not intended for public viewing (cf. Adams 2003, 125; Scopacasa 2015, 282–285).

However, although language could be used to mark ethnic boundaries in certain contexts, language differences were not ethnic markers in themselves (Hall 1997, 180). We have relatively few indications that people in ancient Italy attached ethnic significance to their speech patterns. The evidence we have for attitudes to language and dialect concerns mainly Rome and Latium, where it seems that language was primarily associated with local/civic rather than ethnic identity. We know from Plautus that in the late third and early second centuries BC, people in Latium were keenly aware of the differences between Latin dialects, to the point where these differences could be seen as indicative of cultural stereotypes and used for comic effect. The clearest example is the case of Praenestine Latin, which is portrayed as laughably inferior to Roman Latin (Plaut. *Truc.* 687; cf. Dench 1995, 74). Despite the lack of evidence, such an awareness of dialect variation almost certainly existed throughout Italy. This seems particularly likely as regards the vast swathe that was inhabited by Oscan speakers. The Oscan language and alphabet are attested in most of south Italy between the fifth and first centuries BC, including Samnium, Campania, north Apulia, Lucania, and Bruttium. This area probably housed a broad spectrum of dialect variation, and linguistic differences may have been used as a means of articulating a whole range of local and supra-local identities.

VIII Cultural stereotypes

Although we know that Italian ethnic groups were not static entities with clearly-defined cultural features, certain cultural stereotypes became associated with some of these groups in Greco-Roman literature. From the third century BC onwards, the Sabines were generally seen as worthy and pious (Dench 1995, 85–94; Farney 2007, 97–112), while the Samnites were often cast in the role of hardy and warlike barbarians (Dench 1995, 98–103; Scopacasa 2015, 41–48). The proverbial luxuriousness associated with the Etruscans led many to believe that they were of Eastern (Lydian) origin (Keyser 2011, 48). The “decadent luxury” stereotype was also associated with the Campanians and the Umbrians, the latter being also regarded as a very ancient people (Bradley 2000a, 20–22). Looking closely, we see that many of these images are not so one-sided: the Samnites could also be regarded in a more positive light as austere and worthy allies, and even the Sabines were not completely free from the stigma of the opulent barbarian (Dench 1995, 87–90). Much depended on the context in which these ethnic stereotypes were employed, and for what purposes.

In some cases the archaeological record appears to explain why certain stereotypes became associated with particular *ethne*. For example, the tendency for communities in Samnium to invest more wealth in public rather than private contexts probably accounts for some of the ancient stereotypes of the Samnites as an austere people (Dench 1995, 130–153). But rather than a one-way process where Greek and Roman observers simply projected their own images and preconceptions onto “passive” Italians, the Italians themselves engaged actively with the outsiders’ views, and re-signified these images according to their own needs, interests and cultural repertory (cf. Farney 2007, 33 on how ethnic groups actively respond to outside perceptions of themselves). Aristocrats from Sabinum, for example, actively capitalised on their positive identity in the Roman imagination, by emphasising their piety and austerity through such media as coinage (Farney 2007, 80–88). The Sabine example shows how ethnic identity could be used as a tool for political lobbying amongst the newly-enfranchised aristocracies from Etruria and Sabinum in the third and second centuries BC. This brings us to the topic of how ethnicity tends to be closely intertwined with politics.

IX Ethnicity and politics

“It is politics that defines ethnicity, and not the other way round” (Derks and Roymans 2009, 1–2). In the Greek world, ethnic identity was often used as a means to consolidate the political union of communities into what we might call “federal” groups (Morgan 2000, 2003; Graninger 2011). The same is true of ancient Italy, where many ethnic groups seem to have operated as large-scale, ‘federal’ political organizations (Herring and Lomas 2000). Ancient writers seem to have thought of

Italian ethnic groups as political formations just as city-states were, the main difference being one of scale. It is significant, for example, that Livy uses the same word – *fines* – to refer to the boundaries of city states such as Rome (1.11.1) and of *ethne* such as the Samnites (8.2.8; cf. also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.10; Bourdin 2012, 459). This is consistent with the fact that Diodorus (12.31.1) describes the Campanian *ethnos* as having been “set up” (*sunistemi*) in a specific year (438 BC). Diodorus’ phrasing suggests that he saw the Campanian ethnogenesis as a political event, where the leaders of individual communities came together to negotiate a union.

There were many reasons why ethnic leagues or federations were formed. One of them was the need to regulate disputes, competition and warfare between neighbouring polities. States joined forces to defend themselves more effectively from common enemies, or to pursue aggressive imperialist agendas. Because most of the surviving narratives give us the Roman point of view, we are normally in the dark about the dynamics and interactions inside the various Italian ethnic leagues. There are, however, a few exceptions, such as Livy’s references to the internal affairs of the Latin League. As noted above, the Latin cities that formed this league expressed their shared ethnicity at the yearly festival of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount (*feriae Latinae*), where each city received a share of sacrificial meat (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.57, 8.18, 9.1; cf. also Cornell 1997; Fulminante 2012, 98). The sense of ethnic commonality among the Latin cities was clearly strong enough for them to act cohesively at key junctures, such as when they went to war against Rome in 340 BC (Livy 8.6).

However, ethnic leagues did not always function the way they were supposed to. In the Greek world, league members often quarrelled amongst themselves instead of cooperating, because of internal rivalries and disputes over status. Sometimes the more powerful member-states attempted to use the league as a means of furthering their own imperialist agendas, generating dissent within the group (Buckler and Beck 2008, 12–23; Aston 2012, 263 argues that diplomacy and foreign policy making will have been much more complex in ethnic leagues than in individual *poleis*). That similar things happened in Italy is suggested by brief references in Livy to episodes of tension within the Latin League, as well as by problems in the Etruscan league in the late fifth century BC. On two occasions in the early second century BC, Livy notes that the festival on the Alban Mount had to be celebrated twice in the same year, because certain communities complained that they had not received their due share of the sacrificial meat (32.1.9, 37.3.5). Sometimes the tension could escalate to the point where communities in the same league adopted different courses of action with regard to warfare and foreign policy. For example, Livy (9.20.1–3) notes that in 318 BC, in the middle of a major war between Rome and the Samnite league, “many Samnite communities” tried to negotiate a peace treaty. It could be that the members of the Samnite league did not agree entirely as to what should be done at that point, and that some of them broke off and took the diplomatic initiative on their own. This image of internal dissent is consistent with the archaeological record of Samnium in the fourth century BC: the widespread fortification of settlements during this

period suggests there must have been some degree of hostility between neighbouring towns, to the point where they had to protect themselves from each other, while asserting their power by making their fortifications conspicuous in the landscape (cf. Bispham, et al. 2000 on the Samnite settlement of Monte Pallano). That said, the Samnite *ethnos* does come across as a lot more cohesive, stable and successful than any union that may have been attempted between the Etruscan city-states, for example. We hear about twelve Etruscan cities joining together to form a league, which met periodically at the shrine of Voltumna near Volsinii (e.g. Livy 4.23). However, these communities never seem to have functioned as a cohesive political entity, even though they may well have possessed a sense of shared ethnicity (Eckstein 2006, 123; but cf. Livy 4.23.4–24.2 for an episode when the twelve Etruscan cities *almost* went to war together).

An overview of the epigraphic record confirms that any sense of shared ethnicity had to compete with strong local identities, not just in the more urbanised Tyrrhenian regions but throughout the peninsula. References to ethnic names appear to be in the minority in the epigraphic record, when compared to the number of references to local identities connected with particular cities and towns. Coins are especially notorious for including references to towns and cities rather than ethnic groups (cf. Lomas 2000 and Yntema 2009 on southeast Italy; Scopacasa 2015 on Samnium; Isayev 2007 on Lucania; Bradley 2000a on Umbria). But this does not necessarily mean that local identities were more important than ethnic affiliation in everyday life. Coin legends referring to individual towns and cities might simply reflect the fact that the issuing authority needed to be named, and not that people valued their town identity over their ethnic affiliation. That said, the strong emphasis on local identities in the epigraphic record helps us see how ancient authors use ethnic categories in an extremely sweeping manner, glossing over a multitude of independent local communities. A good example is offered by the Iguvine Tables from Umbria (Bradley 2000a, 181). These bronze tables prescribe a communal purification ritual at the town of Iguvium, instructing the community to spurn their nearest neighbours such as the town of Tadinum (VIb. 53–4) – which, however, may have been able to claim Umbrian identity just as much as Iguvium. This example brings us back to the nested character of identities, namely, the fact that people were affiliated with different groupings at the same time, and were able to activate different levels or “layers” of their own identity depending on the context (cf. Derks and Roymans 2009; Rajala 2014 and Scopacasa 2014 apply the concept of nested identities to Latium and Samnium respectively).

X Competing allegiances

This nested character of identities has an important bearing on the degree to which ethnic membership influenced behaviour and action. Barth (1969, 17) proposed that “ethnic imperatives tend to be absolute,” in the sense that membership in an ethnic

group tends to determine basic aspects of social interaction, such as the people with whom an individual is allowed to interact. From this perspective, ethnic identity constrains a person's behaviour just as much as gender and rank might.

Recent work, however, has shown that ethnic identity is situational, and even though our sources are scarce and ambiguous, this was probably also the case in ancient Italy. Communities that belonged to the same *ethnos* were autonomous enough to pursue very different foreign policies when it suited them. This comes across at certain points in the ancient narratives, particularly as regards the Second Punic War. We find unusually detailed accounts of this period in Livy and Polybius, both of whom reveal how individual cities and towns in Italy were divided as to their policy towards Rome after Hannibal's victory at Cannae in 216 BC. As Michael Fronda (2010, 2; also see Fronda in this volume) has argued, the Roman defeat at Cannae created a political vacuum which enabled Italian communities to decide upon their own foreign policy for the first time in several decades, and in some cases over a century. Individual communities were torn between pro-Roman and pro-Carthaginian factions, and it is not always clear what determined the success of either faction in each case. Political, economic, and cultural factors weighed in, including long-standing alliances and rivalries with neighbouring states, and the resources, manpower, and political clout that either faction could command in each community. Developments in south Italy are especially important for showing that membership in the same *ethnos* did not ultimately determine allegiance, but rather broad-ranging aristocratic networks that crossed ethnic boundaries. Any sense of common "Hirpinian" ethnicity that may have been shared by the inhabitants of the town of Compsa was apparently not strong enough to keep the local Mopsii family from supporting Rome while Statius Trebius leaned towards Hannibal (Livy 23.1.1–4; Isayev 2013).

XI Ethnicity and the non-elites

Ethnicity is often a means to mobilise large groups of people in view of political agendas, since the feeling of ethnic commonality can foster a sense of shared interests on a broad, supra-local level (Barth 1969, 12). In many instances, it is the ruling elites who coordinate this process. According to Wenskus (1977), the political elites are the main keepers of ethnic traditions in a society, and are ultimately responsible for constructing a sense of shared ethnicity, which is imposed onto large and potentially heterogeneous populations. The role of the elites in ethnic identity building was also addressed by Tullio-Altan (1995), who proposed that non-élite socio-economic groups have their own distinctive take on ethnic membership. Based on ethnographic data, Tullio-Altan argues that ideas of shared homeland and origins tend to be more popular among lower social strata, whereas the elites normally favour criteria pertaining to language, shared historical experience, and shared cultural norms of behaviour.

Whether or not this framework is useful with regard to ancient Italy, one question that deserves fuller treatment is how ethnicity was constructed and expressed in the everyday lives of ordinary people – as has recently been pointed out by Elisa Perego, who stresses the need to focus on ethnicity as it relates to marginal communities, isolated rural settlements, and other places that were outside the main centres and networks of power (Perego 2013, 2014). Was ethnicity mainly an elite construction, and if so how did the non-elites respond to it? Can we detect forms of resistance to imposed ethnic identification from the top-down (cf. Perego 2014)? Much remains to be done here, but we do know that there were certain spheres of social practice outside elite circles where the construction of ethnicity took place. One good example concerns military service and soldiering. During the numerous wars of the fourth and early third centuries, military levies became yearly affairs in many parts of Italy (e.g. Livy 10.38 on Samnium). This probably played an important role in the formation of ethnic identities, especially among the males who constantly fought together under the same ethnic banners. Service in the Roman army may have promoted a similar type of ethnic integration, since Italian allies served in their own separate “ethnic” units and under their own commanders. In the Hannibalic war, for example, we hear of a Samnite contingent under the command of a Samnite general, a Numerius Decimus from Bovianum (Livy 22.24).

XII Origins and memory

Notions of shared origins are a key element in the ethnic group’s sense of cohesion and distinctiveness. This means that the construction of ethnic identity relies heavily on ideas about the past, which is something that sociologists have termed “collective memory” (Assman 2011). The “collective memories” that underpin ethnicity generally involve putative or notional kinship, that is, presumed kinship bonds that unite group members and connect them with putative shared ancestors. In the Greek world, notional kinship was expressed in the form of mythical genealogies such as the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (Hall 1997, 42–44), but could also exist as a more diffused sentiment of shared descent (Malkin 2001, 10–12).

Studies on the Greek world have masterfully explored how the expression of ethnic identity walked hand-in-hand with the construction of collective memory. A case in point is Nino Luraghi’s work on the Messenians. Luraghi argues that Messenian ethnic identity was constructed in the fourth century BC, when the state of Messene was created in the west Peloponnese after the Spartan defeat in 369 BC. The members of the new state identified themselves as Messenians who had returned from the exile into which their forefathers had been cast centuries before, as a result of the Spartan conquest. As Luraghi argues, the main purpose of this story was to generate a sense of shared heritage among the members of the newly-created state, while legitimising their claims to the land through their alleged descent from the original inhabitants (Luraghi 2008, 25, 105–106).

In Italy the link between ethnicity and memory will have been just as rich and complex, but the lack of written sources prior to the second century BC makes it very difficult to approach this topic. Understandably, attention has focused on late-Republican Rome, which is by far the best-documented context. Scholars have explored how the retrospective accounts about the city's origins and early development (i.e. the Regal and Republican periods) served as foundation myths for the unified Italy of the Augustan era (Dench 1995, 80–107). One important aspect of these accounts is their assertion that Rome was born out of a multiethnic venture, which primarily involved Latin, Sabine and Etruscan families (Farney 2007, 3; Dench 2005, 93–117; this multiethnic scenario is likely to have been in place by the Archaic period: cf. Ampolo 1976–1977; Bourdin 2012; Isayev 2017). This is consistent with the fact that later Imperial authors describe the Sabines and Etruscans as being of one blood with the Romans on the eve of the Social War (Flor. 2.6.1–7; Farney 2007, 4–5). The idea of mixed ethnicity was central to the articulation of Roman identity in the late Republic and early Empire, when it became necessary to construct an image of unity between Rome and Italians stretching back into the distant past (e.g. Cic. *Balb.* 31; Tac. *Ann.* 11.23–24; Dench 2005, 21–25, 93–151; Scopacasa 2007, 33–39). In view of this Farney (2007) examines how Italian aristocratic families who received Roman citizenship advertised their Etruscan, Sabine and Latin ethnic identities to their own advantage. As these families were integrated into the Roman citizen body in the third and second centuries BC, they soon found themselves having to lobby for votes and compete for public offices in the city. In order to boost their credentials, these aristocrats manipulated the cultural stereotypes that were associated with their ethnicity in the Roman imagination. Such strategies, however, are not necessarily indicative of how these individuals identified themselves outside the sphere of Roman politics (Farney 2007, 33–34).

It is more difficult, but by no means impossible to examine how other communities in Italy made use of the past in order to substantiate, maintain or transform their own ideas about ethnic membership. We are given occasional glimpses of this phenomenon in the Greco-Roman narratives. Livy, for example, refers to an episode in the early third century BC when the Samnites got together and participated in a ritual which was taken from the “old religion of the Samnites” (Livy 10.38). The purpose of the ritual was to assemble a legion of elite soldiers that might defeat the Romans for good. Here we have an example, albeit biased and indirect, of how communities in pre-Roman Italy may have resorted to ideas about a shared past and ancestry as a means of articulating a sense of shared ethnicity (cf. Coarelli 1996 on the probability that much of Livy's account of this episode is authentic). According to Livy (10.38.6), the priest conducting the ceremony emphasized that the ritual was the same one that the Samnites' ancestors had performed just before they seized the city of Capua from the Etruscans (with reference to the alleged conquest of Capua by the Samnites in 423 BC: Livy 4.37.1–3). It is hardly surprising that this example refers to a conflict situation: it is often in moments of stress that communities feel compelled to assert more rigid distinctions between in- and out-group.

XIII Ethnic genealogies in central Italy

There was a whole cycle of myths that accounted for the origins and connections between communities in central and southern Italy. They are known as the “sacred spring” narratives (Strabo *Geog.* 5.3.1, 5.4.12, 6.1.6; Fest. 436 L; Varro *Ling.* 7.29.1–7; Gell. *NA* 11.1.5; App. *Sam.* 1.5; Paul. Fest. 437 L). One of the best-known versions tells of how the Samnites were descended from Sabine colonists. The story begins with the Sabines wishing to ease the hardship that resulted from constant warfare with the Umbrians. To gain divine favour, the Sabines dedicate to Ares all the children that had been born in the previous spring (Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.12; Salmon 1967, 167 n. 6). Upon reaching adulthood, these sacred individuals leave their Sabine homeland and settle elsewhere, under the sacred guidance of a bull (see Di Fazio in this volume).

The Samnites were not the only people in Italy who were perceived to originate from the Sabines in this manner. A similar narrative tells of how the Picentes also descended from Sabine migrants. In their case the guiding animal was a woodpecker (Latin *picus*), which may have accounted for their ethnic name (Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.2; Plin. *HN* 3.110; Dench 1995, 185). Ovid (*Fast.* 3.95–96) notes that the Paeligni also possessed Sabine origins, and in other versions of the sacred spring myth the Samnites are themselves the progenitors of other south Italian *ethne*, such as the Lucanians and the Mamertines of Messana.

There are culturally distinctive elements to the “sacred spring” narratives that make them uniquely Italic (Dench 1995, 206). They do not follow the pattern of Greco-Roman origin myths, which normally involve eponymous founding ancestors and civilizing heroes. As myths of origin, these narratives are unlikely to reflect real historical migrations, as was once believed to be the case: there are serious problems in trying to map such mythical stories onto the archaeological record (Dench 1995, 186–199). What is important to stress is that the sacred spring narratives functioned on more than one level. While these stories firmly integrated individual *ethne* in broader mythical genealogies, they also described the process through which these *ethne* became distinct from each other. As Dench puts it, the sacred spring narratives could have been used to stress the closeness as well as the distance between the communities of central and south Italy. These were flexible myths that allowed for contrasting interpretations, and were probably used to support different identity discourses (Dench 1995, 199). This very ambiguity points to the dynamism with which people in ancient Italy were able to articulate their belonging to different levels of community.

XIV Conclusion: Italian identity and Rome

Roman perceptions of Italian communities were to a great extent shaped by the forces that the Romans encountered as they expanded throughout the peninsula (Bradley 2000a, 117). This accounts for the predominance in the historical record of images of Italians as unified *ethne*, since this was the main condition in which they interacted with the Romans in the wars of the fourth and third centuries BC. However, because these communities were able to function together successfully along ethnic lines does not mean that ethnic identity was the main type of collective organization in pre-Roman Italy. Ethnicity was one of several levels of corporate organization and collective identification; the interplay between these different “layers” of identity through time constitutes an intriguing object of study.

There came a point when many communities in Italy began to articulate a broader identity for themselves as “Italians.” To some extent, this “pan-Italian” identity developed in connection with Rome’s expansion. The establishment of Roman hegemony in the Mediterranean in the early second century meant that Rome’s Italian allies could tap into the trade networks of the Hellenistic world. The presence of Italian merchants operating together at trade hubs such as Delos (founded in 166 BC) made it possible for a “pan-Italian” awareness to emerge. The fact that Italian merchants from different parts of the peninsula found themselves having to cooperate with each other, under the same rules and regulations, must have had a bearing on the fact that these individuals began to identify themselves as “Italians” (*Italikoi*) in the epigraphy, rather than as “Samnites,” “Campanians” or “Latins” (cf. Hatzfeld 1912; Roselaar 2012). This phenomenon appears to have been rather similar to what occurred centuries earlier among the Greek merchants at Naucratis in Egypt (Malkin 2011, 93; Demetriou 2012). Traders from various different Greek cities who were based at Naucratis were treated as a homogenous group by the local Egyptian population. Likewise, the merchants at Delos, who hailed from different parts of Italy, were perceived as a cohesive group by the outlying Greeks, and in turn took up this overarching identity for themselves.

This new notion of “Italy” and “Italian” arguably became the rallying cry of the Italian insurgents during the Social War of 91–87 BC (Pobjoy 2000; Bradley 2007). By the end of the war, after the Italians had received Roman citizenship, there would presumably have been little need for communities to carry on raising the old ethnic banners which had been so important in the preceding centuries. Yet the literary sources suggest that the old ethnic names did live on well into the imperial period (Bradley 2007). Even as late as AD 69 we hear of Samnites, Marsi and Paeligni aiding the emperor Vespasian during the succession crisis (Tac. *Hist.* 3.59). In what sense the old ethnic identities lived on in this later phase, and the degree to which they may have related to or drawn on the memory of the old *ethne*, are questions that remain to be explored further.

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Nicholas Zair

Languages of Ancient Italy

I Introduction

In the first part of this chapter I give a brief description of the epigraphically attested languages spoken in Italy in the first millennium BC, beginning with the Italic and Celtic language families, followed by Greek, Messapic, and then the non-Indo-European language, Etruscan (all dates are BC unless otherwise specified). Lastly, I cover Ligurian and North Picene, whose linguistic affiliations remain unclear (on the fragmentary languages of ancient Italy, see Marchesini 2009). Where it is not obvious from the name of a language to which peoples the languages are attributed, these are given in brackets after the name of the language. Only groups with chapters dedicated to them in this book are included; this does not mean that a given language did not include speakers from other groups. Furthermore, there was doubtless more linguistic diversity than we are aware of, since the evidence has not survived. For the less well-attested languages it is important to note that a language's name is often strictly conventional, and based on knowledge from historical sources that a particular group lived in the area where inscriptions have been found, rather than on any direct evidence for the group speaking that language. Some “languages” treated here might be better considered to be dialects of each other (in particular Latino-Faliscan). In the second part of the chapter I discuss the ways in which the languages of Italy came into contact, and how this affected the languages, with particular reference to the effect of Greek and Latin on the other languages.

It is conventional to use bold when quoting words taken from texts written using the local alphabets of Italy (ultimately derived from the Etruscan alphabet), and italics for the Latin and Etruscan alphabets. Forms which are unattested but are hypothesised to have existed are preceded by an asterisk, and are put in italics. When individual letters are being discussed, they are put between angled brackets: < >; (non-reconstructed) sounds are put between square brackets: [].

II Italic languages

The majority of languages in ancient Italy are members of the Italic family of Indo-European, of which the two main branches are Latino-Faliscan and Sabellic. A num-

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Nicholas Zair: Peterhouse, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, CB2 1RD, UK. Email: naz21@cam.ac.uk

ber of shared linguistic innovations characterise Proto-Italic, for example, the development of a gerundive (future passive participle) in **-nd-* (e.g. Oscan **sakrannas** = Latin *sacrandae* “which are to be consecrated,” Umbrian *pihaner* = Latin *piandī* “which is to be propitiated”), a present subjunctive in **-ā-*, and the development of the Proto-Indo-European voiced aspirate consonants (consonants accompanied by a strong puff of air) into fricatives (consonants whose production involves a continuous, disrupted flow of air). Latin *faciat*, Oscan **fakiiad**, Umbrian **faċia** < **d^hakyā-* “(s)he may do” is an example of both these last two features. On the relationship between these languages see Rix (1994, 2003), Meiser (2003, with the comments of Clackson 2005), Clackson and Horrocks (2007, 65–74). A possible third branch of Italic is Venetic, which shares some traits, notably the same treatment of the voiced aspirates, but conclusive evidence is lacking (see de Melo 2007, with references).

A **Sabellic** language family (also called Sabellian or Osco-Umbrian) is clear from shared innovations by the daughter languages, such as **k^w* > *p* (Oscan, Umbrian, South Picene **pis**, Volscian *pis* “who” < **k^wis*) and the spread of the originally *i*-stem genitive singular in **-eys* into the *o*- and consonant-stem noun paradigms. However, the further relationships between the languages are unclear: an earlier tendency to posit Oscan and Umbrian groups is not tenable, and we should probably see the attested languages as members of a longstanding dialect continuum, with language contact playing a large part in their development. On this topic see Clackson (2015a), with copious references to earlier literature. The following languages are included in the Sabellic group: Marrucian, Marsian, Oscan, Paelignian, South Picene, Sabine, Umbrian, Vestinian and Volscian (perhaps also Hernician and “Pre-Samnite,” whose status is, however, uncertain).

The most complete and recent editions of the Sabellic texts are Rix (2002) and Crawford (2011). In this paper, references to Sabellic inscriptions will be given according to the numeration of Crawford, whose readings are sometimes quite different from those of Rix. The standard grammars of the Sabellic languages remain von Planta (1897) and Buck (1928), which are still useful on Oscan and Umbrian, though they are quite out of date in some respects, as are the handbooks of Bottiglioni (1954), Vetter (1953), and Pisani (1964). These are supplemented by more recent works on particular aspects of the grammar: Meiser (1986, on Umbrian historical phonology, but including much on Sabellic more generally), García Castillero (2000), Tikkanen (2011) and Dupraz (2012). Untermann (2000) is an etymological dictionary, Wallace (2004a and 2007) introductions to the languages.

A small number of inscriptions in the Latin alphabet, from in and around Chieti, attest to **Marrucian**. The longest is the bronze legal tablet from Rapino (Teate Marrucinatorum 2), from the third century BC, which includes the phrase *totai / marouca lixs* “a law for the Marrucian people.” Although in general the language is phonologically conservative, it is perhaps closest to Volscian. It shares with Volscian both loss of final **-d* (*-si* “may it be” < **syēd*, perhaps *taa* “let him take” < **tāād*), which is otherwise found in Umbrian and Vestinian, and the perfect marker **-tt-* (*am{.}atens* “they took”), which is also present in Oscan and Paelignian. The ablative singular of

consonant stems is *-e* (*agine* “by their pronouncement (?)”), as in Umbrian and perhaps Paelignian, but not Oscan; unfortunately, the ablative singular is not attested in Volscian. Unlike Volscian, however, Marrucinian shows the same merger of both front and back vowels as in Oscan and Umbrian.

There are five **Marsian** dedicatory inscriptions (Marsi 1, Maruuium 1, Maruuium 2, Supinum 1, Antinum 1), written in the Latin alphabet, and dating from the fourth-second centuries BC. Like Umbrian, Volscian and Vestinian, Marsian shows monophthongisation of diphthongs (i.e. the development of a sequence consisting of a vowel followed by [w] or [y] to a long vowel, e.g. *iouies* “of Jupiter” < **-eys*), and like Umbrian, Volscian and Paelignian, palatalisation of stops before **-y-* (i.e. change in position of the tongue towards the palate, as in *Martses* CIL 1².5 < **martyois*). As CIL 1².5 demonstrates, Latin was already spoken by the Marsi in the late fourth century, and several of the inscriptions show signs of Latin influence (e.g. the nominative singular family name – the *gentilicium* – *cumnios* rather than expected *cumnies* in Antinum 1); in fact Supinum 1, from about 200 BC, which reads *c. cisiedio / aplone / ded(ed)* “C. Cisiedius gave this to Apollo,” could be entirely in Latin rather than in Marsian.

Oscan (Bruttii, Campani, Lucani, Samnites, Sidicini, and perhaps Volsci: see Volscian) is known from several hundred inscriptions found over much of southern Italy. It is used in more domains than any other Sabellic language, with genres of texts including legal texts and treaties (notably Bantia 1 and Abella 1), official building inscriptions, *leges sacrae* (Teruentum 34), curse tablets, dedications, funerary monuments, coin legends etc. The earliest certainly Oscan inscriptions come from early in the fourth century BC; the latest at Pompeii may perhaps be from the first century AD, although this is uncertain (McDonald 2012, 53–54). There is a small number of sixth and fifth-century inscriptions from Campania (Stabiae 1, Stabiae 2, Nola 6, Nola 7, Nola 11, Nuceria Alfaterna 6, Surrentum 2, Surrentum 3), considered by Cristofani (1993) to be “Palaeo-Oscan,” but they are connected by Rix (1997, 2002, 5–6, 2003, 167–169) with other early Sabellic inscriptions from Lucania such as Nerulum 1, Blanda 1 and called “Pre-Samnite.” The Campanian inscriptions, however, could also be considered Oscan, and the name **urugieis** “of Orcius (?)” seems to show the insertion of a vowel between two previously adjacent consonants (epenthesis), an Oscan feature (see Crawford 2011, 16–17, Capua 35, and Clackson 2015a, 26–27 on the problems in attributing these and other inscriptions to a single “Pre-Samnite” language).

Compared to the other Sabellic languages, Oscan is phonologically fairly conservative, with few signs of monophthongisation of diphthongs or loss of final consonants, although it shares with Umbrian and Marrucinian the complete merger of **-ē-* and **-i-* and **-ō-* and **-u-*. Morphologically, apart from the **-tt-* perfect shared with Paelignian, Volscian and Marrucinian, Oscan also shows innovations in the spread of the original *o*-stem ablative ending in **-ōd* to the consonant stems, the generalisation of the primary over the secondary passive endings, and the creation of accusative plurals in *-ss* (on which see Rix 1986; Clackson 2015a, 31–32). Over the

roughly four hundred years of the attestation of Oscan, some phonological changes can be identified, such as the development of **di-** [dj] to **i-** [j] at the beginning of a word, e.g. genitive singular **diuvia[s]** “belonging to Jupiter,” accusative plural **iú-viass**. There are also several dialectal differences (Rix 1996b), including the absence of vowels inserted into consonant clusters around Capua, and the “desonorisation” of final **-d* in Lucania and Bruttium, e.g. *pocapit* “whatever” beside **púkkapíd**.

Paelignian is known from some sixty building, dedicatory and funerary inscriptions, the majority from Superaequum, Sulmo and Corfinium. They date from the second and first centuries BC, and are written in the Latin alphabet. Paelignian, along with Marrucinian and Vestinian, is often supposed to be particularly close to Oscan (the group is sometimes called “North Oscan”). Paelignian is, like Oscan, generally conservative phonologically (e.g. in the preservation of diphthongs), and does seem to share both phonological (vowel epenthesis, e.g. *salauatur* “Saluator”) and morphological (the third singular secondary passive ending in *-ter* in *upsaseter* “it should be built,” perfect in **-tt-* in *coisatens* “they took care”) innovations with Oscan (but note that the perfect is apparently shared also with Volscian). However, many of the clearest similarities with Oscan are found in an inscription (Corfinium 6) whose language is rather different from that of the other inscriptions. It is unclear to what extent the differences should be put down to the use of (hyper-) archaisms or (hyper-) Oscanisms in this text, or to the influence of Latin in the others (for a summary of suggestions see Clackson 2015a, 22). Paelignian may show the same retention of the distinction between **-ē-* and **-i-* (but not **-ō-* and **-u-*) as in Vestinian and Volscian, against Oscan (and Umbrian) (Jiménez Zamudio 1986, 121–129). The two longest texts, Corfinium 6 and Corfinium 11, show clearly poetic features, such as alliteration and formulaic language, shared with other languages of ancient Italy (Dupraz 2005, 2006; Poccetti 2007).

South Picene is known from twenty-three (twenty-four in Crawford 2011) inscriptions dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries (on the dating see Crawford 2011, 12–13). The inscriptions, almost all monumental funerary stelae, were found in the territory of the Picentes, the Praetuttii, Vestini, Paeligni, Marrucini and Sabini. Prior to the edition of Marinetti (1985), readings, and hence scholarly literature, were very unreliable due to problems in the interpretation of the South Picene alphabet; the value of some infrequent signs is still not certain. Much of the structure of the language is broadly understood (see particularly Adiego Lajara 1992), although there is still considerable debate as to the meaning of individual words and phrases, as can be seen from the discussions of e.g. Adiego (1990); Eichner (1993); Weiss (2002); Vine (2006); Martzloff (2006, 2007a, 2007b). A characteristic of the South Picene inscriptions is their “poetic” structure (Watkins 1995, 131–134; Eichner 1988–1990; Dupraz 2006). Common features include alliteration and the splitting of constituents. Analysis of the meter, however, has been very varied (see Mercado 2012, 293–312).

The linguistic remains found in – or assumed to have come from – **Sabine** territory are exiguous, and their attribution to the Sabines themselves uncertain. The

evidence consists of a handful of late seventh-sixth century BC inscriptions, most of doubtful reading and interpretation (Caere 1, Sabini 1, Sabini 2, Forum Nouum 1, Forum Nouum 2), and one second century inscription (Aueia 1). The early inscriptions share an alphabet (or similar alphabets?), and some or all of these may be linguistically Sabine (see e.g. Rocca 1996, 2001, and note the comments and bibliography at the inscriptions in Crawford 2011), although Rix (1992a, 1996a, 2002) considers them “Palaeo-Umbrian.” Aueia 1 was probably found in Vestinian rather than Sabine territory (Segenni 2007). The only other evidence comes from glosses of words attributed to the Sabines by Roman authors (a list is found in Conway 1897, 1.352–363; for a description of the language on the basis of the glosses, see Negri 1992). But these attributions are not necessarily reliable (Negri 1996, 213–214).

South Picene may in fact be Sabine (Marinetti 1981, 1985, 32–40; Adiego Lajara 1992, 21–24; Crawford 2011, 10–13); apart from the weak support of a couple of lexical similarities between South Picene words and “Sabine” glosses, the main evidence comes from the use of the adjective **safino-** “Sabine” (with expected Sabellic *-f- < *-b^h-* in the middle of a word compared to Latin *-b-*) as a self-reference in several South Picene inscriptions (e.g. **oidom : safinús : estuf : eœlsít ... meitims : safinas : tútas ...** “This the Sabines here set up ..., a memorial of the Sabine people ...” Interamnina Praetuttiorum 1). However, it must be borne in mind that many of the Sabellic-speaking peoples referred to themselves with some derivative of the root **sab^h-* (cf. Oscan **safinim** “Samnium;” and see Rix 1957), so the fact that (some) speakers of South Picene referred to themselves as **safinús** = Latin *Sabini* does not necessarily mean that they are to be identified, either linguistically or socio-politically, with the Sabini mentioned in Roman sources.

Umbrian is one of the best-attested Sabellic languages, being preserved primarily in seven bronze tablets from Iguvium (modern-day Gubbio) known as the Iguvine Tables. Tables I–Vb7, from between the late third to the mid-second centuries BC, are written in the Umbrian alphabet; Vb8–VII, from the end of the second or start of the first century, in the Latin alphabet. Tables VI and VII contain a later version of the material found in I, with considerable amounts of additional information. The later tablets demonstrate developments in the phonology of Umbrian, in particular the development of [s] to [r] at the end of words (cf. nominative plural **prinuvatus** beside *prinuvatur*). The Tables contain details of the rites and procedures of a priestly college, the Atiedian Brothers. Prosdocimi (1984) and Rix (2002) provide editions of the Tables. For commentaries and discussions of the texts see the manuals dedicated to the Sabellic languages, as well as Poultney (1959), Ancillotti and Cerri (1996), Porzio Gernia (2004), Weiss (2010 – on tables III and IV); Ancillotti (2004) provides a useful list of publications on Umbrian, subsequent to which note Ancillotti and Calderini (2009), Sisani (2009) and Agostiniani, Calderini and Massarelli (2011). The remaining attestations of Umbrian consist of around forty inscriptions from elsewhere in Umbria, dating from about 400 BC to the first century, written in variants of the Umbrian alphabet, and in the Latin alphabet. A further handful of inscriptions dating from the seventh and sixth centuries (Caere 1, Sabini 1, Forum Nouum 1,

Forum Nouum 2) may be “Palaeo-Umbrian” inscriptions – this is particularly likely for Caere 1, which reads **setums : míom : face** “Septimus made me,” and shares with later-attested Umbrian loss of final **-d* in **face** < **faked* and **-p-* in the sequence **-pt-* in **setums** (see above under **Sabine** for bibliography on these inscriptions).

Vestinian is attested in a small number of dedicatory and building inscriptions, of the third-first centuries BC, written in the Latin alphabet. It is difficult to categorise linguistically due to lack of evidence, especially since several inscriptions show signs of Latin influence, but the diphthong **-ey-* was monophthongised to *-e-*, and final *-d* was lost in **face** < **faked* “made.” Long **-ō-* had become [u:] (*dunom* “gift” < **dōnom*); all instances of **-ē-* are spelt <e>, which may suggest that the front vowels had remained distinct, as in Volscian and Paelignian. On the linguistic evidence for Vestinian, particularly with regard to the shift to Latin, see Dupraz (2010).

The sole evidence for **Volscian** (see also above, under **Oscan**) is a bronze tablet, found in Velitrae (Velletri), containing a *lex sacra* of four lines (Velitrae 1). On the language of this inscription see in particular Rix (1992b) and Antonini (2011); also Wallace (1985a, 1985b). It shares features such as monophthongisation of diphthongs with Umbrian, Marsian and Vestinian, (e.g. *sepis* “if anyone” < **swai pis*) and others with Oscan, Paelignian and Marrucinian (apparent perfect marker in **-tt-*); like Paelignian and Vestinian, but not Oscan, Umbrian or Marrucinian, it still distinguishes between **-ē-* and **-i-*. However, Crawford (2011, 40–41, Velitrae 1) argues that the tablet was brought from elsewhere, and identifies Oscan as the language of the Volsci, since there are a handful of Oscan inscriptions from the area (Casinum 1, Aquinum 2, Aquinum 3, Aquinum 4, Aquinum 5, Atina 1). Rix (1992b, 38–39; 2002) sees a fifth-century text from Satricum (Satricum 1) as being “Palaeo-Volscian,” but compare the reading and interpretation of Crawford (*Imagines* Satricum 1), who sees the language as Latin.

There is a small amount of evidence for other Sabellic languages. In addition to the Faliscan and Etruscan inscriptions found in the Ager Capenas (see below), there are also inscriptions which seem to be Sabellic or have Sabellic elements (Capena 2, Capena 3, Capena 5); some included by Crawford (2011) seem to be definitely Faliscan (Capena 6; Capena 4 could be Faliscan or Sabellic, as could Cap 390 in Bakkum 2009, 563). On these inscriptions, see Bakkum (2009, 562, 576); Capena 1 is considered Umbrian by Rix (2002), but the reading and meaning are uncertain. Apart from a number of very short inscriptions on vessels (*Imagines* Anagnia 2–12), there are three inscriptions in the Latin alphabet from Anagnia attributed to the **Hernici**, dated to the seventh, sixth-fifth and fourth centuries BC (Anagnia 1, Anagnia 3, Anagnia 14 respectively). Although the language is treated as belonging to the “Oscan” group by Rix (1998, 247–251; 2002), in fact the remains are too scanty for certainty. Triantafyllis (2011) even argues that Anagnia 3 is actually a Latin inscription, although it seems more likely to be Sabellic, as the other inscriptions are. On the fifth century “Pre-Samnite” inscriptions from Lucania, see the references above under **Oscan**.

Latin and Faliscan share innovations such as a future in **-b^he/o-* (e.g. Faliscan **carefo** = Lat. *carebo* “I will lack”). There has been much discussion of whether Faliscan is a separate language from Latin, or simply a (rather divergent) dialect of Latin. Due to the absence of good evidence for either early Latin or Faliscan, it is difficult to come to a firm conclusion, and much of the argument hinges on the difficulty of defining “dialect” as opposed to “language” (Joseph and Wallace 1991; Bakum 2009; Willi 2009, 576–584).

More than three hundred **Faliscan** inscriptions have been found, most in the Ager Faliscus, but some from the Ager Capenas. The earliest inscriptions date from the seventh-sixth centuries BC, and the vast majority from the fifth-third centuries. Inscriptions from after the war against the Romans of 241–240 are relatively few, and Faliscan appears to stop being written down in the first half of the second century. Most inscriptions are written in the Faliscan alphabet; after 241 – earlier in Capena – the Latin alphabet begins to be adopted. At various times the Agri Falisci and Capenates were in close contact with speakers of Sabellic languages, Etruscan and Latin, and inscriptions in all these languages are also found in this area. The main edition of Faliscan inscriptions is Giacomelli (1963), now supplemented and somewhat replaced by Bakum (2009), the first part of which is a thorough discussion of the linguistic history and system of Faliscan, and the second part an edition of all possibly Faliscan inscriptions.

Latin was originally the language only of Rome and Latium. For the earliest period, it is not always easy to tell whether an inscription is Latin or another language, but we have around twenty inscriptions which might date from the seventh to the fifth centuries (Hartmann 2005). These inscriptions were found all over Latium, with only a handful from Rome itself. Numbers of inscriptions begin to increase from the third century onwards, reaching the thousands by the end of the Republic. The republican inscriptions are collected in *CIL* 1², with a large selection in *ILLRP*. On aspects of the language of the early inscriptions see Wachter (1987) and Vine (1993). From the evidence available to us, it is clear that Early Latin differs considerably from the standardised educated Latin evidenced by official inscriptions and manuscript texts of the Classical period. Changes which took place in the course of the history of Latin include loss of final *-d* after a long vowel (e.g. *med* > *mē* “me”), change of *-s-* to *-r-* between vowels (e.g. *iouesat* > *iūrat* “swears”), monophthongisation of diphthongs (e.g. *iouxmenta* > *iūmenta* “beasts of burden”) and various changes to vowels which were not in the first syllable of the word (e.g. *numasioi* > *Numeriō*). Morphological changes include the replacement of the first declension genitive singular in *-ās* (e.g. *vendias* “of Vendia,” preserved in *paterfamilias*) with *-āi* > *-ae*, and the replacement of *-d* as a 3sg. secondary ending by *-t* (e.g. *esed* → *eset* “may be”).

Characteristic of Early Latin is the apparent co-existence of variant forms of the same morphological category, for example reduplicated *fhefhaked* “made” in the seventh century inscription *CIL* 1².3 beside *feced* (> Classical *fēcit*) in the early sixth century *CIL* 1².4, *steterai* (*CIL* 1².2832a) “they set up” as a by-form of expected *-ēre*, second declension genitive singular in *-osio* (cf. Sanskrit *-asya*) in *CIL* 1².2832a in place

of *-ī*. To what extent such variation was dialectal is currently unclear due to the restricted evidence; a possible instance may be the development of the Indo-European voiced aspirates **-d^h-* and **-b^h-* to *-f-* in the middle of a word in some varieties (as in Faliscan, if this is to be considered a Latin dialect). It is implied by Festus (Paul. Fest. 157L; Adams 2007, 174–175) that this was a characteristic of Praenestine Latin, and a bowl from Minturnae (modern-day Garigliano) may show the same feature, if *trifos* “three” (ablative singular) is read rather than *tribos* (Vine 1998, 261; Hartmann 2005, 147–153). Morphological variation was not restricted to the very earliest stages of Latin, nor was it a characteristic of less-educated speakers: the third declension genitive singular in *-us*, later to be replaced by its variant *-is*, is attested in the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (CIL 1².586) of 186 BC. Although much of the evidence for morphological variation disappears towards the end of the Republic, some was retained even in standard Classical Latin (e.g. the variant endings of the third plural perfect in *-ēre*, *-ērunt* and *-ērunt*). On the question of variation in republican Latin see chapters 2 and 3 of Adams (2007).

From the second century, the notion of “correct” Latin crystallised, although definitions, and whether particular features were or were not “correct,” were up for discussion (Clackson 2011b). As a consequence, it is possible to talk of a distinction between standard (Classical) Latin, based on the language of an educated, Roman, elite, and Latin which was divergent from this standard in some way. Traditionally, much stress has been laid on the concept of “Vulgar” Latin, which has sometimes been seen as an entirely different variety of the language, the parent of the Romance languages. In recent times, great increases in sources of Latin written by non-elite speakers has made it clear that the relationship between “Standard” and “Vulgar” Latin is complex. Not all speakers of sub-elite Latin would have spoken in the same way, and the way they spoke would have been influenced by education, geographical and social origin, whether they were native speakers of Latin, and personal attitude toward the “standard.” Some speakers may have striven to speak “correctly,” sometimes leading towards features such as hypercorrection – for an example of class-based mockery of hypercorrection see Catullus 84; others may have made no effort to speak “standard” Latin. It is important to note that differences in spelling between educated and uneducated writers do not necessarily imply differences in speech. There is not necessarily a firm divide between “Vulgar” and elite Latin: as in modern languages many variants would have been available to all speakers – one of the characteristics of confident speakers of the “standard” will have been their ability to shift between variants according to the register they were aiming to use. On the social variants of Latin and the features of “Vulgar” Latin see Väänänen (1981), Hermann (2000), Clackson (2011c), and Adams (2013).

The research on Latin is, naturally, immense. Recent introductions to the history, development and use of Latin include Clackson and Horrocks (2007) and the articles in Clackson (2011a). The standard work on the historical grammar of Latin is Leumann (1977); see also Weiss (2009). The most up-to-date etymological dictionary is

de Vaan (2008), somewhat replacing Ernout and Meillet (1985) and Walde and Hofmann (1938–1954), but note the criticisms of Vine (2012).

Venetic is known from about 350, mostly short, inscriptions found in northeast Italy; the greatest number come from Este, where there was an important temple of the goddess Reitia, but inscriptions have been found as far afield as modern-day Austria and Slovenia. The inscriptions are largely dedicatory and funerary, and date from the late sixth to the first century, the Latin alphabet being used rather than the Venetic alphabet in a few later inscriptions. Wallace (2004b) is an introduction to Venetic. The standard handbooks, with texts and grammar, are Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967) and Lejeune (1974); see also Untermann (1980), Marinetti (1999) and Lomas (in this volume).

III Non-Italic Languages

The **Celtic** languages are a widespread Indo-European family, spoken in ancient times in north Italy, Spain, France, Germany and the Low Countries, Asia Minor, Britain and Ireland (for more on Celtic languages and epigraphy, see Haeussler in this volume). Editions of the Celtic texts of Italy can be found in Morandi (2004) and Stifter, Braun and Vignoli (2014); the latter is an online resource also containing much linguistic information on Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish, along with very full references. Eska (2004) is an introduction to the Continental Celtic languages, including Lepontic and Gaulish. The precise relationship between Lepontic, Cisalpine Gaulish and Transalpine Gaulish (spoken in modern-day France and Germany) remains unclear due to lack of evidence; Eska (1998) sees Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish as a single dialect, slightly different from Transalpine Gaulish, while Uhlich (1999, 2007) sees Lepontic (and possibly Cisalpine Gaulish) as a separate language from (Transalpine) Gaulish.

Lepontic is known from around 150 inscriptions from northern Italy and modern-day Switzerland. The inscriptions date from the sixth to the first centuries, and are primarily dedicatory or funerary, or marks of ownership on pots. The vast majority are very short, consisting of (often fragmentary) names.

About ten **Cisalpine Gaulish** inscriptions have been found, most in the very north of Italy, but one in Todi in Umbria. Apart from a legend on a coin of the fourth or third century BC, all inscriptions are from the second or first centuries, being funerary, dedicatory, or names of owners scratched on pots. Two of the longest texts are “biversion bilinguals” with Latin.

Messapic is known from around 600 inscriptions from the Salentine peninsula in modern-day Puglia dating from the sixth to the first centuries, in a version of the Greek alphabet. The language is Indo-European, but is not closely related to any of the other languages of ancient Italy (Orioles 1991). Most of the texts are funerary inscriptions and contain only names; a few longer texts are hard to understand. Mes-

sapic texts can be found in *MLM*; for introductions to Messapic see also de Simone (1991, 2009), Lambole (1996, 427–431), and Fortson (2010, 467–468).

The **Greek** colonisation of Southern Italy, starting in the eighth and seventh centuries, resulted in several Greek dialects being spoken in Italy: predominantly Ionic and Doric (Laconian and Achaean), and North-West Greek, although subsequent Athenian colonisation may have led to the use of Attic in some places (on the Greek dialects, see Colvin 2010). In the early period, the colonies used the same dialects as their mother cities; however, both hostile and peaceful contacts between the cities led to a reduction in the use of Ionic in Lucania and Bruttium in favour of Doric (perhaps especially the Doric of Tarentum); Ionic was probably retained only in Velia. Around the Bay of Naples Ionic was probably spoken until the adoption of the Koine (Bartoněk 1975). In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, inscriptions from the south begin to show influence from the Koine, but inscriptions in Doric or with Doric features are still found in the first centuries of the first millennium AD (Consani 1996). A convenient and searchable corpus of Greek inscriptions from Italy can be found at <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions>. In addition to the editions of inscriptions included there, note also Dubois (1995–2002) and Del Monaco (2013).

Etruscan is a non-Indo-European language, whose only known relatives are the sparsely attested Raetic (northern Italy and Austria; Schumacher 2004) and Lemnian (on the island of Lemnos, in the Aegean). Apart from Latin, it is the best attested language of ancient Italy, with more than 10,000 inscriptions known from around 700 BC to the first century AD, although the majority of these are very short. Most inscriptions come from Etruria, although at various times there were also Etruscan speakers in Latium, Campania and northern Italy; inscriptions have also been found in Corsica, southern France and Tunisia. A range of inscription types are known, including dedications, funerary monuments, proprietary inscriptions, etc. The small number of long texts includes the Tabula Cortonensis (Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000; Wallace 2008, 197–213), a third-century legal document, and the Liber Linteus, a religious calendar written on linen and subsequently used to bind a mummy in Egypt. Recent introductions to Etruscan include Steinbauer (1999), Rix (2004), Wallace (2008) and Agostiniani (2013). The ongoing *editio maior* of Etruscan inscriptions is *CIE*; the standard edition is Rix (2014), with *ETP* being an online edition of subsequently published texts.

Given its status as a (near) language isolate, Etruscan cannot be understood by means of the comparative method. Instead, contextual evidence and comparison between inscriptions must be used. A minor source of information is glosses of Etruscan words by ancient Greek and Roman authors, many of which, however, are unreliable. Bilingual inscriptions, such as the Etruscan-Phoenician Pyrgi Tablets, and late Latin-Etruscan bilinguals are also of use, although the Pyrgi Tablets are not direct translations. Large numbers of loan-words from Greek and the Italic languages also provide clues to the linguistic system of Etruscan. Since most Etruscan inscriptions are short, and their contents are deducible from context, some aspects of Etrus-

can, such as phonology and case morphology, are quite well understood. Lack of evidence restricts the picture of other aspects, such as the verbal system and syntax; the lexicon, unsurprisingly, is very limited. The longer texts are much harder to understand than the shorter ones.

Since Etruscan is attested over a 700-year span and over a fairly large geographical area it is possible to identify both dialectal variation (on which see Wallace 2008, 41–42; van Heems 2011) and change in the language over time. One of the key developments is the loss of almost all vowels in the middle of words, as demonstrated by borrowings such as *elχsntre* from Greek Ἀλέξανδρος, *menrva* from Latin *Minerva* (or from another Italic language), which took place in the first half of the fifth century, and which can be used as a dividing line between Archaic Etruscan and Neo-Etruscan.

IV Languages of Uncertain Origin

Ligurian is the name given to the language of the ancient Ligures. The evidence for this language is exceedingly slight, however, consisting of a small number of glosses in Latin and Greek sources (see the collection at *PID* 2.158–165). Some place and personal names attested in ancient sources from the area of the Ligures may reflect Ligurian (Untermann 2006). On the problems of analysing Ligurian see Clackson (2015b, 3–6).

Four inscriptions on stone stelae (Morandi 1 = *PID* 343, Morandi 2 = *PID* 344, Morandi 3 = *PID* 345, Morandi 4), three fragmentary, from slightly to the north of the area traditionally attributed to the Picentes, represent the evidence for so-called **North Picene** (description and discussions in Morandi 1988–1989; Agostiniani 1999, 2003). The inscriptions are generally dated to the sixth or fifth century on the basis of the archaeological context and the epigraphy of Morandi 2. The language of the inscriptions is not known, although it may be Indo-European (Poultney 1979); attempts have been made to see it as Sabellic (Harkness 2011) or Celtic (de Ligt 2007), and individual words have been seen as borrowed from Greek or Etruscan (Durante 1978). It is not certain that all the inscriptions share the same language; this is usually assumed on the basis of their apparent geographical closeness, the similarities of the alphabets, and a single shared word (*šoter/šotriś* Morandi 1, and *šoteri* Morandi 3). Agostiniani (1999, 141–142; 2003, 120–124) has argued that all but Morandi 2 may be fakes.

V Language Contact

Contact between the languages of ancient Italy, and bilingualism and multilingualism among inhabitants of the peninsula, was clearly common. “Bilingualism” is here used in the broadest sense of a speaker having (some) knowledge of more

than one language, without necessarily being “fluent” in, or being a native speaker of, both languages (on the usage of “bilingualism,” and issues and problems in studying bilingualism in the ancient world see Adams 2003; Mullen 2013).

The spread of Latin over the course of the second half of the millennium, resulting in the death of nearly all the languages of Italy, will be discussed shortly, but there is plenty of evidence for other types of contact between the languages of Italy. For example, it seems likely that Latin, Faliscan and the Sabellic languages formed a “linguistic area” through widespread contact, leading to the creation of very similar, but not inherited, verbal systems (Clackson and Horrocks 2007, 55–56, 58–59, 64–65). Similarly, the development of an initial stress accent at about the same time in the Italic languages and Etruscan is presumably due to contact between these languages, which is also evidenced by the attestation of loanwords between the languages (Rix 2005). A striking example, if the interpretation of Eska and Wallace (1999) is correct, of the complex linguistic situation in early ancient Italy, is the “Venetic” funerary inscription *Od 7, perhaps from the fifth century BC. Eska and Wallace view it as in fact Lepontic, although the deceased’s father has a Venetic name, and the deceased himself has a “Celticised” Latin name and is described as speaking five languages (**pompeteguaiois** “five-tongued”).

Our evidence for language in ancient Italy begins with the importation of literacy by Greek colonists starting at the beginning of the eighth century. Evidence for linguistic contact involving Greek is clear from the number of words borrowed at an early stage from Greek into other languages. One of our earliest Latin inscriptions (datable from the sixth-fourth centuries BC) reads *Castorei. Podlouqeique / qurois* (CIL 1².2833) “to Castor and Pollux, the sons (of Zeus).” Although the matrix language is Latin, apart from *-que* the other three words are borrowings from Greek. Loanwords from Greek are by no means restricted to Latin. We find them also in other languages, where – as in Latin – the Greek pantheon seems to have been particularly successful, whence forms such as Oscan **appelluneís**, Vestinian *apellune* (note that the Sabellic languages borrowed the Doric form), Etruscan *Apulu*, *Aplu* “Apollo,” Messapic *damatras* “of Demeter.” Divine names were by no means the only source of Greek loanwords, which are found in many lexical fields, including, for example, building terminology, as in Oscan **passtata** from Greek παστάς “porch” (perhaps via Etruscan, which would explain the representation of Greek *-d-* by *-t-* (Etruscan had no [d], or indeed any voiced stops), and **peristu[leís]** “of the peristyle” from Greek περίστυλον, in which the <u> is written as Y, i.e. a Greek <υ>; presumably the intention was to imply a retention of the Greek vowel [y] in the pronunciation of this word.

Lexical borrowing was not the only result of contact between Greek and other languages. In Lucania and Bruttium, there is ample evidence for contact between Greek and Oscan (Poccetti 2010; McDonald 2015). An example is a fourth century lead curse tablet (Laos 2/Lu 46), which consists of a list of names, all apparently Oscan, some of which have in addition the title μεδεκον (masculine), μεδεκον (feminine) “magistrate” (Poccetti 1993; McDonald 2015, 154–156). Whether the tablet is

written in Greek or Oscan has been a matter of discussion, although Oscan seems the more likely, since the Oscan word **meddiss** is a consonant stem: -ov would then represent the usual Oscan consonant-stem ending; were the word borrowed into Greek we would expect it to appear as μεδδεκα. The spelling of the final nasal with <v> is unique for Oscan and may be due to interference from Greek, since [m] was not acceptable at the end of a word in Greek; alternatively, we could be seeing orthographic influence from Greek in the choice of using <v> to mark the nasal at the end of a word.

Latin and Greek were in prolonged contact throughout much of Roman history. By the Classical period Greek-Latin bilingualism among the educated elite was standard, as demonstrated by evidence for code-switching between Greek and Latin in e.g. Cicero's letters. Latin literature was from the earliest times based on Greek models (the first known work is Livius Andronicus' translation of the *Odyssey*), and Greek was always a strong influence on Latin literary language, as can be seen in calques such as Ennian *altitonans* "thundering on high," based on Homeric ὑψιβρεμέτης, or the adoption of Greek syntactic patterns (e.g. *os umerosque deo similis* "like a god in his face and shoulders," Verg. *Aen.* 1.589, with the Greek "accusative of respect" rather than Latin ablative). Greek influence on the literary language is much discussed (e.g. Coleman 1975; Mayer 1999). Non-literary contact between Greek and Latin is treated at length and *passim* in Adams (2003). Greek was the only language of ancient Italy which avoided total replacement by Latin; there are still small numbers of Greek speakers in isolated villages in southern Italy (although it is not clear to what extent their language is a direct descendant of the dialects spoken in ancient Italy, or whether it reflects the Greek of later immigrants).

VI The shift to Latin and language death

With the spread of Roman power throughout Italy from the fourth century, contact with Latin increased to encompass all languages of the peninsula. Outside specifically Roman political institutions such as colonies and the army, there seems not to have been a language policy in favour of Latin and against local languages. Just as many aspects of the political structures of Roman allies remained, at least at first, so did the use of language, although, as noted by Willi (2009, 593–594), actions like the integration of Italians in the Roman army, and the forced transfers of Italian peoples, would have had the effect of promoting the use of Latin, even without the existence of a specific policy.

Most of our evidence for the imposition of Latin is connected with the imposition of Roman political structures, whose official language was Latin, and the immigration of many Latin-speakers, both of which happened in Falerii Novi after the war of 241 (Bakkum 2009, 42–44), and which led to the loss of Faliscan in the following century. Similarly, direct evidence for suppression of Oscan is only found in Pompeii, where we have evidence of Oscan inscriptions being erased and replaced by Latin

ones (Pompeii 1, Pompeii 27). It could be argued that this was a direct response to the use of Oscan as one of the languages of the allies in the Social War, and hence as a marker of anti-Roman identity. Pompeii was the site of a Roman colony after the war, however, so the replacement of Oscan as an official language by Latin would have been an automatic consequence of this change, and may not have been specifically aimed at obliterating Oscan (cf. the change of the sizes in the capacity-measurement cavities from Greek to Roman measures in the *mensa ponderaria* on which *Imagines Pompeii 27* is written).

In most places, use of Latin at an individual and community level must have been largely driven by calculations about the economic and social advantages of presenting oneself as a Latin-speaker. An example of this kind of decision-making is presumably the basis for the request by Cumae in 180 BC to use Latin for official matters. The evidence suggests a process of language shift, from local languages to Latin, operating at different speeds in different places and different linguistic domains. The essential work on Latin bilingualism is Adams (2003), with Chapter 2 including lengthy discussion of the shift to Latin from the other languages of Italy (see also Wallace-Hadrill 2008, especially 82–96; Willi 2009; Langslow 2012). Due to the relative abundance of available evidence, we will focus here on how this took place among Oscan speakers, but similar processes occurred with other languages (compare, for example, Celtic, on which see Adams 2003, 185–190; Eska and Wallace 2002).

A clear example (*pace* Adams 2003, 120 n. 43) of shift from Oscan to Latin is found in the Lex Lucerina (*CIL* 1².401), a third-century Latin *lex sacra* from north Apulia whose un-Latin verbs of the type *fundatid* have been plausibly explained by Wallace (1988) as being formed with Oscan perfect subjunctive morphemes. This sort of interference is characteristic of imperfect learning by adults, and consequently suggests that the composer was a non-native speaker of Latin. In this area at this time most literate adults must presumably have been expected to understand Latin (unless there was also a translation in Oscan), but we can assume that widespread use of Latin in this area was a fairly recent development, since at least this speaker had not learnt it as a child. We can compare the code-switching between Oscan and Latin in a first century curse tablet from Cumae. It is plausible that “magical” texts may have been one of the domains in which Oscan survived longest, even while it had ceased to be used elsewhere (Adams 2003, 127–133; Langslow 2012, 305–306; for the restriction of endangered languages to particular domains see Crystal 2000, 83); and, if, as seems likely, the absence of expected final *-s* and *-m* in the Oscan words *olu(m)*, *solu(m)*, *fancua(s)* is to be seen as a Latin feature, we have evidence for Latin interference in Oscan, suggesting that the composer of the text had not learnt Oscan as a first language in childhood.

Not all of the evidence for the shift to Latin is clear-cut. It is often assumed that the Tabula Bantina (Bantia 1/Lu 1), a first-century BC legal text, was written in Oscan as a sign of non-Roman identity, despite Oscan being practically moribund (Crawford 1996, 276; Adams 2003, 115–116, with further remarks on Oscan as an anti-Roman statement; Bispaham 2007, 142–147). There can be no doubt that Oscan legal language

in general had been subject to “Romanisation.” But, as observed by Adams (2003, 137–140), the adoption of translations or calques of Latin legal terms or phrases cannot be taken as evidence for the state of the language as a whole. Furthermore, the use of the Latin alphabet hardly suggests a strong impetus to assert a local identity; in general scholars have seen this as a sign that the Bantian elite was by now literate only in Latin. But this neglects the fact that in southern Italy by far the most usual way of writing Oscan was in the Greek alphabet, including into the first century, and there is some evidence for the influence of the Greek alphabet on the orthography of the Tabula Bantina. The Tabula Bantina is one of the earliest examples of the use of <z> in the Latin alphabet: it is most likely that it was borrowed directly from the Greek alphabet, which was used to write both Oscan and Greek in the area. If the writers of the inscription had an active choice between the Greek and Latin alphabets, the adoption of the Latin alphabet begins to look like an act of partial accommodation to a Roman identity rather than of resistance to it.

The epigraphic sources provide fascinating evidence, which has been merely touched upon here, for the processes of negotiation between Latin and the other languages of ancient Italy. However, in all cases apart from Greek the result was the same, with total loss of the languages and their replacement in all cases by Latin; this disappearance takes place in writing between the second century BC and probably the first century AD, although some languages may have continued to be spoken for some time after this.

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Abbreviations

- CIE* = Pauli, Carl, et al. *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*. Leipzig: Barth; Florence: Centro di Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche; Rome: Centro di Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica, 1893–.
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Massimiliano Di Fazio

Religions of Ancient Italy

The study of religions in ancient Italy poses two main questions: the first one pertains to the term “religion,” the second to the concept of “ancient Italy.” The latter problem is tackled in the preface to this book: I only specify that the ambit of this chapter will be mostly confined to central Italy and part of the south, excluding Magna Graecia and the northern areas.

About the term “religion,” the last decades have seen the development of a relevant debate that finds its roots already in the beginnings of the twentieth century (Scheid 2013). Several scholars have recently asserted that “religion” is a meaningless concept before the modern era, a concept basically connected with the spread of Christianity, but hard to conceive in ancient times, when it was rather “embedded” (Beard, North and Price 1998, 43; see Nongbri 2013 with critical assessment). On the other side, scholars have stressed the “colonialist” and evolutionist perspective that lies behind the consideration of Classical religions as less developed and spiritually poorer than modern religions (Scheid 2013, 41–49, 175–191). Such debate, in the end, is likely to depend on the definition of what “religion” means (see Casadio 2010 and North 2014 for thoughtful considerations, and more generally Coleman 2010, 104–109 with overview on the fundamental debate between different approaches by Clifford Geertz and Talal Asad).

In any case, the structure of the present chapter is a consequence of these premises. We shall start with a summary of the main kinds of sources at our disposal, and of the main methodological problems they pose. We will then take as a starting point the debated statement that religion in ancient societies was “embedded” in almost every dominion of human activity through a complex set of interactions (in the sense used by Griffith 2013, 249): we will proceed to trace such “interactivity” between religion and the diverse domains of life, and we will seek to understand if such an approach is valid through examples chosen mainly among the cultures of central Italy. Attention will be focused on general developments rather than on particular points of data: as we live in an era of dictionaries and handbooks, the reader can easily find updated data on, for instance, Etruscan and Italic gods (Radke 1979; Prosdocimi 1989; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* = LIMC). Other important aspects, especially of Etruscan religion (much less of Italic), are thoroughly dealt with in the fundamental *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (ThesCRA), to which we will refer frequently.

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Massimiliano Di Fazio: via Galileo Galilei 19, 01030 Castel S. Elia (VT) – Italy. Email: max.difazio@gmail.com

I The evidence and its problems

A necessary starting point is a brief overview of the problems connected with the nature of our sources, which include literary, material, and epigraphical evidence. Given the eminently cultural nature of religion, literary sources play a crucial role in our attempt to understand rituals and religious practices: let us just reflect on how different our knowledge of Roman religion would be if we did not have the works of Cicero and others. Unfortunately, as is well known, almost all sources on Italic religions come from Greek and Roman authors: such a state of affairs poses problems as to whether they can be considered reliable or not. In fact, in several cases we may have the sense that Classical sources tend to describe Italic religions in terms that are either simplistic or shaped according to pre-conceived frameworks, often coming from Greek ethnography. Were Samnite rituals of war, like the terrifying one described by Livy (to which we shall return later) really so bloody? Did the Etruscans perform human sacrifice? Were the Marsi a people of snake-charmers?

In some cases our knowledge is strongly conditioned by overwhelmingly literary approaches. A clear example is Vergil's *Aeneid*. Aeneas' attempt to settle a new Troy in Latium, fighting against a coalition of Italic peoples, gives Vergil the cue to recall a whole cosmos of ancient and old-fashioned names of heroes and cities. It has been tempting to consider this cosmos as a sort of "handbook" of Italic cultures. As a result, our perception of gods and places can be substantially biased: in fact, there is still debate on the reasons for Vergil's choices of names and places, and we cannot be sure how learned he was about ancient Italy. From the same perspective, we know that under Augustus ancient cults were emphasized and sometimes given new life (Scheid 2005). Among these, a suggestive example is described by Strabo (*Geog.* 5.2.9) and Pliny (*HN* 7.19): the Hirpi were priestly families living still in Augustan times at the foot of Mount Soracte and performing a fire-walking ritual (Di Fazio 2013b). But we must be wary of supposing that they were the descendants of ancient Faliscan priests. In the process of reintroduction of the cult, at least the setting was changed from the ancient place on Mount Soracte to a more recent one in the colony of Lucus Feroniae. It is thus likely that other aspects of this cult had been altered as well, and it would be misleading to use the accounts of Strabo and Pliny in order to reconstruct the ancient ritual. Such a caveat is more broadly applicable.

As far as material culture is concerned, the last decades have seen a substantial increase in our knowledge of Italic cult places and votive artifacts. Nevertheless, it is still difficult for us to move from the material side of such researches toward a better understanding of religious aspects. Many of the inherent problems are connected to the huge question of "Romanisation." Archaeological traces of Italic sanctuaries and temples can prove difficult to detect because they could be differently composed in comparison with Greek, Etruscan and Roman religious spaces and buildings, and consequently they may not be recognisable using traditional interpretive models. As far as we know, most Italic sanctuaries were monumentalised after the Roman

conquest (Torelli 1999), while originally they might have been simple outdoor spaces. It is very likely that structural changes implied changes in the kind of use of the building, in its role, and in other aspects directly connected to the religious sphere. At Loreto Aprutino (inland from modern Pescara in the Abruzzo), a temple has been discovered in recent years dedicated to the goddess Feronia: the building was buried by a landslide during the second century AD, and thus excavators had the rare opportunity to investigate a sealed sacred context. Although the actual material remains of the structure and the cult objects belong entirely to the Roman era, its position and importance for the religious life of the surrounding area led the archaeologists to suppose that a temple existed already before the Roman conquest of the area, in the form of an open-air cult place (see Di Fazio 2013a, 42–43). An analogous situation has been supposed for other cult places, such as the rural sanctuary of Vacri (near mod. Chieti) (La Torre 1997).

Similar problems exist in the study of archaeological findings, as the example of votive materials demonstrates. This kind of artisanal production is among the clearest indicators of ritual activities (Glinister 2000a): they open a window on a too little known reality, that of the worshippers and their personal concerns (especially illness, fertility), but the exact meaning of such objects is still disputed (de Cazanove 2000a; Bradley and Glinister 2013, 177–178). An interesting debate has developed around terracotta votives: according to some scholars, these can be considered among the indicators of Roman presence, as they recur quite regularly where colonies had been settled; but this view is not unanimously shared (see Strazzulla 2013). It is becoming clear, though, that the equation “bronze objects: Italic = terracotta objects: Roman” is definitely not a valid principle (Strazzulla 2013). Furthermore, the wooden votive statues exceptionally preserved in the sulphurous waters of the Lake of Ansanto (de Cazanove 2003) remind us of all the productions in perishable materials (wood, textiles) that surely played an important role in religious life but have not survived. We also need to bear in mind that metal objects were frequently melted down and reused, and thus some chronological debates can be quite heavily skewed (Biella 2015). As a result, we can still assume that adequately investigated ritual contexts are few and far between. One of the most important and better investigated votive deposits, in the acropolis of the Latin and Volscian town of Satricum in southern Latium, is still debatable as far as its interpretation is concerned (Bouma 1996; Smith 1999). What is expected in this field is not only new discoveries and investigations on cult places and votive deposits, but an improvement in the theoretical and interpretative frameworks to be applied in the use of such findings as historical evidence (see problems and new directions in Rowan 2011).

The importance of epigraphic evidence is self-evident: inscriptions give us the genuine voice of Italic cultures. We have plenty of inscriptions of religious pertinence – not only a huge quantity of short dedications on artefacts, but also sacred laws, calendars, and other religious texts that are among the most important written texts known from ancient Italy. Documents such as the Iguvine Tablets and the Agnone Tablet, for example, provide a rich and complex image of Umbrian and Oscan

religious systems. This is in contrast to the relative simplicity of material culture, reflecting probably the different purpose of the two kinds of evidence: public and official (the inscriptions) vs. private (Bradley 2005, 137–138).

Two main problems arise with epigraphic documents. Most of them date from the Hellenistic age on, and thus they may reflect a later state of things, when Romanisation was incipient or already in progress. Furthermore, we still have problems in understanding these voices because of our inadequate knowledge of Italic languages. The recent major collection of these inscriptions (Crawford 2011) provides an extremely important study resource; nevertheless, some of the readings proposed there have proved controversial, since readings and interpretations can diverge substantially. An example is provided by the set of Latin inscriptions from ancient Abruzzo, in the area of the Paeligni, referring to an *Anaceta Cerria* (with some variations). The debate concerns whether *Anaceta* should be interpreted as a theonym (the Italic goddess Angitia in her aspect of *Cerealis*), or rather the name of a priestess of the goddess Ceres (Buonocore and Poccetti 2013). On the Tyrrhenian side things are not easier. A small lead axe was found during the 1980s in a child's tomb on the southwest necropolis of the already-mentioned settlement of Satricum. The short inscription on the axe, in characters akin to south-Picene writing and in an unclear language, is commonly considered to be one of the very few examples of Volscian language. The first reading of the text found the equivalent of the Latin words *Lucius* and *aedilis*, giving thus a political meaning to the inscription; a more recent proposal sees in the same terms the word **Iuventus*, to be interpreted as “a young man,” belonging to those associations with youth that were often placed under divine protection (Calderini 2012). These examples show how different the readings and interpretations of Italic texts can be.

II Religious “interactivity”

According to our sources, then, religion is at the forefront of the formation of ancient communities themselves – or, rather, in what the ancient communities imagined was their formation process. Several cultures had the notion of a mythical ethnogenesis, at whose beginning was a religious act or a religious hero. Etruscan culture had an elaborate tale about its own beginnings; the original version is unknown to us, but it can be tentatively reconstructed through the reports of later sources (for more on this, see Turfa in this volume). Two main figures act in this story: Tages, a prophet of divine status, who revealed the *disciplina* (the set of rules and precepts of Etruscan religion) to Tarchon, a farmer or a hero who later founded the league of twelve cities. This story confirms the impression we have of the importance of religion in Etruscan politics, or better the idea that in later times the Etruscans (those of Tarquinia, predominantly, as Tarchon is clearly connected with this city) chose to reconstruct about themselves *a posteriori*, according to the mechanisms through which a community elaborates on its cultural memory (Di Fazio 2011). The ambiguous roles of Tages

and Tarchon, gods or divine ancestors, is an aspect of a wider problem related to the role of ancestors in ancient cultures (see Whitley 2002 for a critical assessment).

When we move our attention to the rest of Italy, this reconstruction mainly follows a common pattern known as the *ver sacrum*, the “sacred spring” (de Cazanove 2000b with collection of sources). In times of great adversity, the whole yield of a spring (or of the whole year) – humans, animals, plants – was “consecrated” to a deity; the animals were made sacred, people were expelled (although, originally, people are said to have been sacrificed as well). Some Italic cultures attributed their origin to the migration resulting from a *ver sacrum*, in which part of a tribe moved following a “totemic” animal that gave its name to the new people: the Picentes by a woodpecker, the Hirpini by a wolf; these animals had a special relationship to Mars. The Sabini were occasionally called *sacrani* after a *ver sacrum*. The historical value of such traditions is still disputed (Farney 2007, 206 ff.; see also Scopacasa, and Farney and Masci in this volume). Some scholars suggest that they may preserve the memory of historical movements of peoples, which likely occurred in remote times. Others have emphasised the repetitiveness of the cliché, arguing that these traditions are nothing other than an attempt by Italic cultures to reconstruct their past using the historical and mythological tools provided by Greek ethnography (Dench 1995, 183 ff.). In his account, Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.16) reports that the custom was not only common among the Italic tribes but was known to the Greeks as well. It is worth remembering that the same plot of *ver sacrum* can be found in Herodotus’ well-known tale of the arrival of the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) from Lydia (1.94), although without the characteristic Italic “totemic” animal.

The evidence makes it clear that religion affected the ways in which ancient communities decided to organise and structure themselves. We have several examples of political power given or granted by the gods. In the Roman context, Servius Tullius is a clear case. In the Etruscan world Thefarie Velianas, the ruler of Caere, emphasised that his power had been given to him by the goddess Uni-Astarte, as stated in the Pyrgi Tablets (see Turfa in this volume). More generally, the available data seem to support the idea that rulers and magistrates derived their authority from divine power. This is quite clear in Etruscan culture: a rich iconographical tradition shows figures dressing as magistrates and carrying symbols of power (axe, sceptre) (Lambrechts 1959). The most ancient example up to now is the procession shown on an extraordinary artefact, the Verucchio Throne, a wooden throne exceptionally preserved due to the particular characteristics of the land in the area of Verucchio (near Rimini). On the throne (late eighth-beginning seventh centuries), among other scenes, two processions are represented, one presumably connected to the husband and the other to his wife (Bruni in *ThesCRA I* 2004, 21). Such iconography is found through the centuries, and finds perhaps its most important moment in the Archaic age with the reliefs of the so-called Roma-Veii-Velletri mouldings, showing the procession of figures holding various symbols. Indeed, there has been a lively debate on whether the figures in these reliefs are magistrates or divinities.

An interesting case for our approach concerns the role of priests in ancient Italy. In Etruscan religion, a key role seems to have been played by classes of priests (*cepen*) often organised in *collegia*. It is not always easy to distinguish between priests and magistrates, as in the case of the *maru* (de Grummond 2006, 34). On the other side, Etruscan priests, especially the *haruspices* (*netsvis* in Etruscan), seem to have had a very specialist knowledge (*Etrusca disciplina*); this would imply that they had a specific role in their society (Haack in *ThesCRA V* 2006, 68–70). Unfortunately, most of our information comes from later times, when *haruspices* were regularly present in Republican political life (Santangelo 2013): a simple projection of such information on earlier times would probably be misleading. Interestingly, some sources (later, again) seem to point out a hereditary dimension for these priests and religious knowledge: during the Roman sack of Veii (396 BC), the youths appointed to carry away the statue of Juno were reluctant because, by Etruscan usage, it was only the priest of one particular *gens* who was allowed to touch it (Livy 5.22.4–5). For the rest of Italy our knowledge is far less adequate. Priests are mentioned in our sources here and there, but we know nothing beyond the basic fact of the presence of personnel in charge of ritual acts. An aged man, Oвий Pacius, conducted the bloody rituals of the Samnites before the battle of Aquilonia (293 BC), taking that form of service from old rituals of the Samnite religion (Livy 10.38; for more on this episode, see Scopacasa in this volume). Sacred prostitution is often noted in Etruscan (sanctuary of Pyrgi) and Italic (bronze inscription from Rapino) religious systems, but its actual existence is still controversial (Glinister 2000b).

Gods were also thoroughly involved in one of the main aspects of politics, war. The Roman world provides useful examples. The *fetiales* were priests in charge of rituals for declaring war on the enemy (Santangelo 2014). Literary accounts report that this custom was taught to the Romans by the Aequiculi, a people settled along the Anio River. The question is very complex, but in any case it suggests a perception of these rituals as very ancient. The religious side of war seems also to be apparent in the ceremony of triumph. There is an intense debate especially on the problems of the origins of the Roman triumph from Etruscan or Oriental cultures, and on the supposed equation between the *triumphator* and Jupiter; at any rate, the religious side of this ceremony seems to be indisputable (see Beard 2007, 225 ff. with a more nuanced approach). From the same perspective we can consider the ritual of *evocatio*, through which Romans sought to adopt the god or goddess of the enemy, trying thus to deprive the enemy of its most powerful weapon, the protection of gods (Orlin 2010). In other Italic cultures we have no clear evidence for similar rituals, which could have been a Roman peculiarity (Lacam 2010, 161–166). Among other evidence, the most striking is the phenomenon of groups of warriors bound to each other and a leader by a sacred oath (Torelli 2011). An impressive description can be found in Livy (10.38): before the battle of Aquilonia, as we have already mentioned, a collective ritual took place under a linen tent, under the guidance of a priest. Here, young Samnite warriors swore upon their life to fight until death. A painted representation of a

similar ritual is perhaps shown on a wall painting of a tomb in Capua dated to the first half of the third century BC (Graf in *ThesCRA* III 2005, 241–242 n. 22). A similar procedure of military recruitment, a *lex sacrata* (groups of men bound together for a military undertaking), seems to have been known also to the Volscians and Aequi (Livy 4.26.3 for 432 BC; cf. 9.39). One of the most interesting documents of archaic Latin is the *Lapis Satricanus*, found in Satricum and dated to the end of the fifth century. Here, a group of *suodales* of a *Poplios Valesios* signs a dedication: this is a religious *sodalitas*, under the name of *Mamarte* (Mars) (Bremmer 1982). Oscan inscriptions from Pompeii, Capua and other cities inform us about the *vereiia*, a form of society of young warriors (Tagliamonte 1989): second century inscriptions from Cumae (*Imagines Cumae* 4 and 4 *bis*) explicitly state a relationship between the local *vereiia* and Jupiter Flagius and (supposedly) *Dius Fidius*, who are likely to be the same god. Such groups of young warriors bound together under the leadership of a charismatic leader, often compared to packs of wolves and somehow marginalised by their community, represent a known phenomenon with Indo-European roots (Bremmer 1982).

From the top of society (kings and magistrates) we can come down to lower classes. Some sanctuaries in ancient Italy seem to have played the role of *asyla*, places in which a fugitive slave could obtain freedom (Mastrocinque 2012). The most intriguing case is the *lucus* of Feronia near Terracina. There, according to a rather obscure passage of Servius (*Aen.* 8.564), there was a stone chair: the slave who sat on it was freed once raised (Di Fazio 2013a, 62–63). The information, probably drawn from Varro, is not very clear, though, and the ritual has a strong Greek flavour. Nevertheless, the temple of Diana on the Aventine Hill in Rome, ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius, had a similar role in protecting slaves (Fest. 460L).

This strange ritual leads us to a last point: the intersection of the sacred and the law. These two areas show frequent overlap in Italic areas. The obsession towards the rigid and exact accomplishment of ritual acts in Etruscan, Umbrian, and Oscan cultures is clearly stated in several sacred laws, where we frequently find the need of repeating a whole set of ritual acts when even one part of them was performed incorrectly. Religion and law seem to have overlapped even in the use of similar vocabulary, modalities, and formulas (Lacam 2010, 232 and the essays collected in Tellegen Couperus 2011). The most striking representation of these interactions is probably the domain of oath. *Per Iovem Lapidem*, “by Jupiter the Stone,” was the strongest guarantee of oaths in early Roman religion (Richardson 2010), and analogues seem to be found in other cultures of ancient Italy. *Sancus*, known also as *Semo Sancus*, of Sabine origin (August. *CD.* 18.19), seems to be the counterpart of the Roman *Dius Fidius*: he had a shrine in Rome on the Quirinal Hill since the fifth century (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.49.2 and 9.60) (Graf in *ThesCRA* III 2005, 244–246).

When compared to the information about public cults and ceremonies, the private side of religion is much less known. A reason is surely to be found in the inadequacy of our knowledge about ancient cities and settlements (de Grummond in *ThesCRA* VIII 2012, 26–31 for Etruscan domestic cults; Osanna 2012, 71 for similar

problems in southern Italy). Another relevant question is the ambiguous nature of “private” in ancient Italy: between public and private, in fact, lies the clan-structure, whose relationship with the other two levels we still have many difficulties in understanding (Smith 2006). If religion is a social construct (Asad 1983), every ambiguity about society is inevitably reflected in the religious sphere. Anyway, religious rites followed the whole lifespan of an individual from the beginning to the end, marking especially the crucial moments of human existence like birth, marriage, and death: those moments that, after van Gennep’s famous book (1961), are labelled “rites of passage.”

Etruscan marriage rituals and divinities are known (G. Bartoloni and F. Pitzalis in *ThesCRA* VI 2011, 95–100), but not as well as the Roman ones. Concerns with fertility and reproduction are represented in several divine figures, among which the most impressive is the mother goddess of the Campanian sanctuary of Fondo Patturelli at Capua, represented seated and nursing one or more children in numerous statues from the Archaic Period through the second century. The goddess would appear to be the complex result of interactions between the Italic Ceres, the Etruscan Uni and the Greek Demeter (Cerchiai 2014, 300). We have far more information about death rituals, for the simple reason that funerary archaeology is the sphere that left the most evident and frequent traces. The reader of this book will readily appreciate how important necropoleis are for the reconstruction of ancient societies. Tombs are sacred places in a way: the careful disposition of the dead body and of all the objects placed with it demonstrates quite clearly that deposition was a ritual act, with repetitive and recognisable features. Furthermore, iconographical details enable us to glean some details of these funerary rituals: e. g. the community took part in the procession from the dead person’s house to his/her final resting place, where women put on a kind of theatrical performance, pulling out their hair and tearing at their flesh with their nails (Camporeale and others in *ThesCRA* VI 2011, 140–170). The most interesting examples can be found in Etruscan *cippi* from Chiusi (sixth–fifth centuries), and in painted tombs from Paestum (fourth century); such performance is well-known throughout the Mediterranean (Di Fazio 2009). Celebrations remembering the dead and ancestors, more than theological and cosmological aspects, are what emerge from the material culture of southern Italy, like Puglia and Basilicata; here, unfortunately, the available information is still not adequate to provide a clear picture of religious activity (Osanna 2012).

Religion also provided answers to the great questions of life, through oracles and divinatory practices. The phenomenon is well-known in ancient Italy, and especially in Etruscan culture, where entire sets of books were at the heart of a complex doctrine called the *Etrusca disciplina* (Maggiani in *ThesCRA* III 2005, 52–75), which still in later years the Romans used to look at with the deepest respect (Santangelo 2013). Similar practices are known throughout the rest of Italy: examples of *auspicia*, closely comparable to the Roman ones, are provided by the *Tabulae Iguvinae*. The Ager Faliscus (oracular sanctuary at Falerii Veteres: Livy 22.1.11–12), the Sabinum (oracle of Picus Martius at Tiora Matiene near Reate: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.14.5)

and Samnium (inscribed pebbles for cleromancy, i.e. casting lots, from Saepinum – but the interpretation is doubtful – and Histonium) also seem to provide traces of such beliefs (Maggiani in *ThesCRA* III 2005, 75–78). Nevertheless, the oracular quality of some Italic sanctuaries, especially those in the Sabine area, seems to be more a recurrent topic than something that matches the reality of facts: the presence of an oracle is a sign of the antiquity of the local cult, and a way to forge a pedigree for a sanctuary and increase the sense of devotion. This brings us back to the problem of using later literary accounts in order to reconstruct ancient cult practices.

Public and private spheres probably found an intersection during large meetings for religious festivals and ceremonies. Taking part in these celebrations was a fundamental part of being a Roman citizen, and so we may presume that it was the same for other Italic peoples. Some of these festivals remained popular for centuries after Romanisation. The poet Ovid allegedly took part in the procession for Iuno Curitis at Falerii, which he came to know thanks to his Faliscan wife (*Am.* 3.13): he describes the procession of girls carrying baskets along the difficult roads from the city to the sanctuary of the goddess in the vicinity. Epigraphic documents attest to annual celebrations in Umbria, Campania and Lucania (Lacam 2010, 233ff.). The Agnone Tablet (*Imagines* Terventum 34) recalls a set of steps in a ritual procession, some of which were performed **alttreí pútereípid akenei**, *altero utroque anno* (“in each year of two:” Prosdocimi 1996, 436). Religious calendars such as the Capua Tile (see below) speak of a rich series of festivals and ceremonies. In such festivals, the individual behaviours flowed in the political dimension of sharing a collective identity. These ceremonies often had a relevant economic aspect as occasions for markets and fairs.

Ritual performances included processions and prayers, and music usually had an importance that is now not often appreciated (Jannot in *ThesCRA* II 2004, 391–396 for Etruscan music and religion). The central act of these ceremonies seems to have been the sacrifice: in Etruscan and Italic religions, as well as in Greek and Roman, animal sacrifice (human sacrifice is sometimes supposed by scholars, but proof is still lacking) was a pillar of religious life, and archaeozoology provides some details about this aspect of ancient religion (for Etruscans, Donati-S. Rafanelli in *ThesCRA* I 2004, 135–182).

III Spaces and time

The religious sphere affects both the individual and the collective perception of space and place. We may recall as an example the *templum*, the sacred space defined by a priest for ritual purposes: a place “marked out” as sacred. A simple gesture of the augur could change the nature of a place, and consequently the ways in which that place was perceived and about which it was thought (Gargola 1995, 25ff.). Such aspects are obviously impossible to detect archaeologically. In the rich variety of sacred places (an overview of Etruscan and Italic religious places is edited by Tor-

elli in *ThesCRA* IV 2005, 128–361), the most relevant as far as space is concerned is the place in which the majority of people lived and spent the greater part of their life: the city.

A discourse on cities and religion requires some preliminary thoughts. Ancient Italy, in this regard, divides roughly into two areas: Tyrrhenian ones, in which the urban phenomenon is developed quite early, and the inner areas, where cities are a late or almost unknown phenomenon. Such distinctions have, of course, implications not only for social and political structures, but for religions as well. And, the city itself is a religious phenomenon. The very first act, the foundation of a city, was performed according to precise rituals, as for instance the complex set of traditions about the foundation of Rome: *sulcus primigenius*, auspices, and other ritual acts that the tradition recognised as borrowed from Etruscan religion (Michetti 2013). Recent discoveries in the Etruscan town of Marzabotto, near the Po River, provide an interesting example in this regard: an *auguraculum* has been found on a hill within the city itself (Michetti 2013). The *auguraculum* was an open space where the augurs led the rituals that determined whether the gods approved of whatever undertaking was at hand, from public business to military action (Gargola 1995, 35–36). The *auguraculum* of Marzabotto seems to have played a relevant role in the planning and orientation of the city, which shows thus clearly the religious side of this operation.

A similar point may be made for another religious use of space: cemeteries. The regular planning of necropoleis such as Crocifisso del Tufo at Orvieto or la Banditaccia at Caere seem to illustrate that there was a kind of organisation similar to that of the cities (Steingraber 2013), and suggest a fascinating dualism between the city of the living and the city of the dead. The location and distribution of tomb groups represents an interesting but still unarticulated theme (see recently a collection of case studies in Bonaudo, Cerchiai and Pellegrino 2009). In any case, necropoleis are discussed throughout this book as they often represent the main depository of archaeological data.

Religion thus marked the centre (ideal, if not physical) of a territory, where the city was settled. But in a context in which land organisation and boundaries were not precisely defined, the sacred was used to mark frontiers as well. The evidence – Etruscan and Roman – is instructive in this respect. Etruscans used to mark boundaries with *cippi* placed under divine control: suggestions of territorial control can be recovered through intriguing but later sources, such as the so-called Prophecy of Vegeia, a text preserved in the Corpus of Roman Land Surveyors (also known as the Gromatici or Gromatic Writers) (Camporeale in *ThesCRA* II 2004, 44–45; de Grummond 2013). This prophecy deals with the sanctity of boundaries, and the rules and rituals for marking out land. The text expressly names some punishments for those who moved the boundary stones without permission: such punishments represent a real leitmotif in the ancient world. Parallels can be drawn with the Roman festival of boundaries, the *Terminalia* (Woodard 2006, 63ff.; De Santis 2015). Several scholars have stressed that the main function of religious celebrations

dealing with boundaries was primarily to provide control over them (Piccaluga 1974, 110 ff.). More generally, boundary signs were placed under divine protection, and the fate of those who moved them arbitrarily was to become *sacer* (“sacred,” or able to be killed without religious guilt attaching to the killer).

Looking at the other areas of Italy, our surviving information is rather poor. Here the urban phenomenon was less structured and the role of the city as a marker of central area less strong: boundaries were probably less determined. The Agnone Tablet (*Imagines Terventum* 34) refers to a deity called *Anterstatai*, whose name according to some scholars would imply responsibility for guarding the frontiers, but others interpret this more simply as “the goddess who stands in the middle” (*inter*). In such uncertain context a primary role was surely played by the sanctuary as a meeting-place. It is thus to sanctuaries that our attention must turn now.

A monk living at the beginning of the second millennium AD, Rodolphus Glaber, famously described the Europe of his day as “cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.” Likewise, ancient Italy seems to have been clad in a mantle of sanctuaries, temples and shrines. This phenomenon becomes evident from the Archaic Period onward, while previously cults were performed in natural places, such as caves (Giontella 2012, 21–32). Usually scholars tend to distinguish between urban sanctuaries, within the city walls; suburban sanctuaries, placed not far from the city walls, and the more general (and more problematic) category of extra-urban sanctuaries (Colonna 1985; Glinister 1997). Urban temples are well known of course in societies where urbanism is well structured, as in Etruscan, Faliscan and Latin contexts (Caere, Volsinii, and Falerii Veteres had several temples inside their walls): they respond to the primary and obvious need to have the divinity inside the city, as a form of protection. These temples were often located in a central square or in a high point of the city, but in some cases they were connected to the city walls or the doors (Colonna 1985, 68): doors and walls were sensitive points within a city, and were duly marked by sacred rituals (Camporeale in *ThesCRA* II 2004, 48–50). Suburban sanctuaries are also well known, as in the case of Portonaccio at Veii, Campo della Fiera at Volsinii (Orvieto), and several shrines around Arezzo (Colonna 1985, 98). Extra-urban sanctuaries are a more complex and debated category. We have, on one side, sanctuaries far from cities but placed in easily accessible central places between settlements: the *nemus* (grove) of Diana Nemorensis and *Lucus Feroniae* are perhaps the most famous examples. On the other side, some cult places were situated in wild and difficult to reach places: the marshy waters of the Garigliano mouth, where Marica had her sanctuary (Boccali and Ferrante 2016), and the sulphurous waters of Ansanto Valley, in which Mefitis was placed, and which recalled to the ancients the doors of Hell (Calisti 2006): these seem rather to be placed on the frontiers towards “nothing.” Boundary sanctuaries are often referred as a subcategory of extra-urban (Zifferero 2002): it is a category that owes itself to Greek studies (Stek 2009, 58–65).

In contexts of scarce urbanisation, sanctuaries seem to have played the role of focal points for communities scattered in a territory, such as in the Apennines

(Letta 1992) and in northern Campania around Teanum (Cerchiai 2010, 84). Some sanctuaries had prominent roles as places for meetings between different peoples. *Lucus Feroniae*, one of the major sanctuaries in ancient Italy, was placed not far from the Tiber, at the boundary between *Ager Capenas* and *Sabinum*, a few miles northwest from Rome. Ancient sources describe it as highly relevant not only as a religious place, but as a market and fair place as well (we will come back again to this aspect). The sanctuary, located at the conjunction of the territories of different peoples, was frequented by Sabines, Capenates, Faliscans, Etruscans, and Romans (Di Fazio 2013a, 51–56). Some of these sanctuaries had a more specific political role, a function that sometimes leads scholars to apply the label of “federal sanctuaries,” which seems however not always appropriate. A well-known example is the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Hill, in southern Latium: several sources recall its function as a religious centre for the Latin league. Here, during the *Feriae Latinae*, the Latin peoples offered the common sacrifice of an ox to Jupiter Latiaris (identified in the tradition with the eponymous ancestor of the Latins, *Latinus*: *Fest.* 212L), in the name of and on behalf of all who took part in it. The flesh of the victim was distributed among the several towns whose common sanctuary stood on the Alban Mount (Smith 2014): sharing this meal was a way to confirm their belonging to the Latin League (*Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 4.49.3; *Varro, Ling.* 6.25). Near the Alban Mount lies the most famous sacred grove of ancient Italy, that of Diana on the northern shore of the Lake of Nemi: it was the religious focus of the Latin League (*Cato Orig. FRH* F36). In ancient Latium, the Hernici used to meet at the *Compitum Anagninum* (*Livy* 9.42.6–11), which seems to have been in the sanctuary at Osteria della Fontana near Anagni (Gatti 2008), a cult place already active in the eighth century; in this case, too, Diana seems to have been the divinity of the sanctuary.

In an Etruscan context, a similar role seems to have been played by the *Fanum Voltumnae*, which according to literary sources (*Livy* 4.23, 25, 61; 5.17; 6.2) hosted the meetings of the twelve main Etruscan cities. After recent important discoveries, the *Fanum* seems to have been finally identified in the site called *Campo della Fiera*, below the outcrop of Orvieto, ancient *Volsinii* (Stopponi 2013). Here structures of various periods have been identified, distributed over a very large area (a retaining wall in polygonal masonry, a paved street); many fragments of architectural terracottas, dated from the late Archaic Period to Hellenistic times, indicate the presence of sacred buildings.

In Italic areas the most striking example is the great Samnite sanctuary at *Pietrabbondante*, in Molise (Stek 2009, 39–43). The first building seems to have been a quadrangular with two porticoes, measuring 200 by 200 feet: form and dimension recall the linen enclosure in which, according to *Livy* (10.38), the great oath before the battle of *Aquilonia* took place, as we have already mentioned. Interestingly, the quantity of weapons dedicated in the sanctuary seems to confirm the connection between this sacred place and the Samnite army (Tagliamonte 2012, 101). *Pietrabbondante* was then monumentalised during the third century, and a theatre was added to the previous structures in the second or first century, following a typical Hellen-

istic scheme. An incomplete inscription *safinim sak[arakúlúd* (*Images* Terventum 8, dated 125) seems to suggest that the temple had a federal function as a meeting place for a number of Samnite communities (Stek 2009, 40–41). The Grotta del Colle at Rapino was an important cult place for the Marrucini (Marcattili in *ThesCRA* IV 2005, s.v. *Spelaum*, 8); here the famous inscription of the Tabula Rapolensis (mid third century) was found: the text speaks of rituals performed by, or in the name of, *touta marouca*, which has been interpreted as the Marrucine community (*touta* = *populus*); it is thus possible to assume that the cult place had a political role for the entire Marrucini (*Images* Teate Marrucinatorum 2). A similar question has been posed for the important sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio: the exceptional archaeological record suggests that the place was used for gatherings of Lucanian communities, but this is far from certain (Isayev 2007, 31–41). Unfortunately, we have no firm information about how these Etruscan and Italic meeting places did work, and (notwithstanding modern scholarly opinion) we cannot even be sure that assemblies were held regularly rather than in particular situations of danger: it could perhaps not be a coincidence that literary sources usually speak of such gatherings when Roman armies were on the way.

The counterpart of the sanctuaries in groves along rivers are cult places on mountain peaks. Mountains are often thought of as unfriendly and inhospitable places, but in ancient times they were often important for political, economic and religious reasons (Crawford 2003). In some cases it seems that a whole mountain was perceived as “sacred,” as for the Pentrian Samnites the Matese (*Tifernus mons*) whose slopes were surrounded by a belt of sanctuaries and cult places both on the Campanian and Molisan side (Tagliamonte 2012, 102). We know of many other cult places on top of mountains and hills, especially in the Apennines (Letta 1992; Bradley 1997). Sometimes it seems possible to establish a connection between these cult places and sacred woods in plains below: not only were these places visible to each other (lines of sight were important in the ancient world: Horden and Purcell 2000, 124 ff.), but they may have been connected together religiously as well (Di Fazio 2013, 104–106).

Another typical location for sanctuaries was of course the sea coast. Some of the most important sanctuaries of ancient Italy were connected with harbours: Pyrgi as the port of Caere and Gravisca as the port of Tarquinia on the Tyrrhenian side, and Cupra Marittima in Picenum on the Adriatic side are the best known. The great sanctuary of Cupra had religious as well as social and economic importance: Picenes, Umbrians, Etruscans, Dauni, and, from the end of the sixth century, Greeks also frequented this space for commercial reasons (Colonna 1992). Not by chance, Cupra is the only sanctuary mentioned by Strabo (5.4.2) in the middle and northern Adriatic coast, and Pyrgi is the only one for the middle and northern Tyrrhenian side. Both also had in common a tradition of foreign founders (Pelasgians for Pyrgi, Tyrrhenians for Cupra). In these cases, visits by different ethnic groups to these places are attested by ancient sources and by material culture.

Time, as well as space, was connected to religion. The two longest Etruscan texts preserved contain religious calendars: the Liber Linteus, part of a linen book preserved because it served as part of the wrappings of a mummy (third century) and an inscribed tile from the territory of the city of Capua (fifth century). Notwithstanding our difficulties in fully comprehending these texts, it is possible to discover here precepts and rituals connected to the lunar year (Di Fazio 2012).

Eight golden nails were found together with the famous Tablets in the sanctuary of Pyrgi: as they could not serve to fix the tablets, they have been recently interpreted as *clavi annales*, which would have had the purpose to record the years of Thefarie Velianas' power (Di Fazio 2012). This would find a confirmation in the testimony of Livy (7.3.5), according to which in the temple of the goddess Nortia in Volsinii every year a nail was hammered to indicate the number of years, just like in the Capitoline Temple in Rome. These documents seem to suggest an attention to time and calendars, connected with, or rather controlled by, the religious sphere. A great scholar, Jacques Le Goff, in his studies on the Middle Ages taught us to look at the connections between the control of time and political power (cf. on ancient Rome, Rüpke 2011).

Unfortunately, we do not have the extant evidence for Italic cultures, but some details suggest that at least Umbrian religion had some form of control over time as well (Prosdocimi 1989, 516; Rüpke 2012, 89). Ritual calendars with indications of *dies festi* and dedications of temples seem to have been in use among the Vestini of Abruzzo, as the later (58 BC) *lex aedis Furfensis* seems to show (Bradley and Glinister 2013, 180): the month of the dedication of the temple in Furfo is given in Latin (*Quinctilis*), and also in the local language (*Flusare* = *Floralis*) (Letta 2012, 382). What seems to be no more than an antiquarian habit nonetheless hints at the existence of a local calendar: the month *Flusare* is found in an earlier (second half of the second century) inscription from the same territory (*Imagines Aveia* 1).

IV Economy and religion

Several indices suggest that sanctuaries in the ancient world had an economic role in addition to a religious one (Morcillo 2013). In 384 BC Dionysius I of Syracuse plundered the sanctuary of Pyrgi with the aim of gaining resources to finance his war against the Carthaginians: the raid produced one thousand talents (Diod. Sic. 15.14.3). In 211 Hannibal turned from his route in order to plunder the sanctuary of Lucus Feroniae, which had large reserves of gold and silver (Liv. 26.11): archaeological traces of the plundering have been tentatively identified (Di Fazio 2013a, 52). Worshippers used to place in sanctuaries large quantities of precious items, such as gold, silver and bronze statues as well as other valuable gifts. These goods became part of the assets of the sanctuary, and were managed by the local priests: a similar situation is to be found in later times (Bodei Giglioni 1977; Granino Cecere 2009). The *cippus* of Abella refers to a *thesaurum*, a kind of strongbox, that

was held in the sacred area of the sanctuary of Hercules, and whose management was committed to specific personnel (Prosdocimi 1989, 539; *Imagines* Abella 1): the text is dated to the end of the second century, but it seems likely to be maintaining an older custom. Art, worship and economy seem to overlap when, in 211, after the conquest of Capua, the Roman senate entrusted the pontiffs to decide upon the status of the several bronze statues plundered from the Campanian city, i.e. which of them were to be considered sacred (Livy 26.34.11). Metal objects were periodically melted down and reused, and in some particular situations they could provide money to the local authorities for wars and other enterprises (Biella 2015): in a certain respect, we could reasonably think of these sanctuaries as something rather similar to modern banks. Centuries later, the early Christian “Fathers” would criticise this attitude speaking of “gods for sale” (*venales*: Tert. *Apol.* 13.6).

As already noted, some of the most important sanctuaries of ancient Italy were connected with harbours. Harbours were naturally places for trade, a situation that is often defined by using the Greek word *emporion*. It is however worth underlining that not all the sanctuaries on the sea were marketplaces. The sacred place of Marica at the mouth of the Garigliano River, at the boundary between modern Lazio and Campania, was located in marshes (Boccali and Ferrante 2016): its role as *emporion* has been sometimes taken as a given, but it lacks real definitive evidence (proof of foreign visitors, imported goods, and so on). In other cases, the economic role of a harbour connected with a sanctuary is absolutely made clear by the archaeological record, like Pyrgi, where an astonishing quantity of valuable imported pottery and goods has been discovered (Baglione 2013). In other cases, extraordinary epigraphical documents can reveal useful information: a stone anchor found at Gravisca was dedicated to Apollo by a Sostratos, who may be identified with a famous Aeginetan merchant of the sixth century known to Herodotus (4.152) (Cornell 1995, 111).

In Apennine and Adriatic areas, some cult places seem to show a connection with the transhumance routes and pastoral cycle, often under the sign of the Italic Hercules: San Giovanni in Galdo, Sulmo, Campochiaro, Casalbore and others (Torelli 1993). According to most scholars, these sanctuaries hosted cattle markets and fairs. Others have criticised such views as reflecting clichés about the primitiveness of Samnite society: not all the sanctuaries of Hercules were placed in connection with routes of transhumance and market places (Bradley 2005; Stek 2009, 55 ff.). Another proof that much work is still to be done before we reach an adequate understanding of certain aspects of ancient religion.

V Writing and religion

A common motif of the ancient world is the arrival of the art of writing as a magical and holy event. For instance, ancient legends said that Hercules taught Evander's people the use of letters (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 59), and that the *sortes* (lots) came out of the rocks at Praeneste (Cic. *Div.* 2.85). In the Etruscan world, Tages is said

to have been a wise child who sprang up from the freshly plowed earth and revealed the rules of the *Etrusca disciplina*, which were then written down (Cic. *Div.* 2.23).

We know of several texts, in some cases quite long, concerning religion and the sacred; if we were to consider in the religious sphere funerary inscriptions as well, we would definitely state that most of the inscriptions from ancient Italy have a religious element to them. Indeed, also, votive dedications constitute the most ancient examples of writings to be found in Italy (Maras 2009; see also Maras in this volume). In Roman and Latin culture, the most ancient surviving inscriptions are connected with religion: the *cippus* from the Forum and the Duenos Vase (sixth century), and the Lapis Satricanus (end of the sixth). The two longest extant Etruscan texts, the famous Liber Linteus and the Capua Tile, are both religious texts; so are the famous Pyrgi Tablets (fifth century) concerning the relationship between the ruler of Caere and the Punic goddess Uni-Astarte. As far as Italic areas are concerned, we may recall the Iguvine Tablets, a set of religious prescriptions from Umbrian Iguvium; the Agnone Tablet from Molise (first half of the second century) with ritual prescriptions, probably stored in a temple archive; and the *cippus* from Abella (late second century) in Campania, an Oscan text concerning a dispute about the boundaries of a sanctuary. Literary sources give us interesting information about the importance of written texts in religious ceremonies. During the already cited ritual of the *Legio Linteata*, the priest Ovius Paccius used a text written on an old linen book (*ex libro vetere linteo*: Livy 10.38.6). The custom of linen books for prayers and rituals is well-known throughout all the Mediterranean: in Rome itself, linen books with lists of magistrates were stored in the temple of Juno Moneta (Livy 4.20.8).

The connection between writing and religion is evident in cases in which writing and possibly even real schools for writing were housed in sanctuaries, as in the sanctuary of the goddess Reitia, close to Este in Veneto, where several writing tablets and hundreds of styluses were dedicated (mostly by women) to the goddess between the fifth and third century (Ickler 2013). More generally, the use of writing has profound implications for religion. As Mary Beard has pointed out, “The simple fact [...] that writing becomes used, even by a tiny minority, to define the calendar of rituals or sacred law inevitably changes the nature of the religion concerned” (Beard 1991, 39). Writing is essential in religions with a strong formalisation of the ritual act, and is key to preserving information through time. But writing is also (perhaps even more) crucial in giving to certain acts an aura of holiness and absolute importance, especially in contexts in which writing was not at all widespread: it was an instrument of power, by which priestly classes could help preserve and strengthen their authority. The visual impact of writing, evident in monumental inscriptions, is important in this regard, and helps to explain why some inscriptions from ancient Italy were exposed and written in ways that were not at all easy to be read. On several inscribed pillars of the Archaic Period the writing runs from the bottom to the top, in a vertical direction: according to Cristofani (1990, 58) it could have been a sort of monumentalisation of a text intended to be stored in an archive; thus the

cippi had no real intent to inform readers, but rather were designed to use their magical and sacral power to inculcate respect.

VI The gods in ancient Italy

In a way, deities were omnipresent in the lives of ancient Italians. It is difficult, however, to discern the relationships between native gods and those known from Greek and Roman traditions. We are dealing here with the mechanisms of the so-called *interpretatio*, that is to say the process through which an indigenous god comes to be interpreted through a comparison with a Greco-Roman one. In some cases this is useful, in that it allows them to be more understandable to us; but in other cases, *interpretatio* could alter the original profile of a god, emphasizing some aspects rather than others (Ando 2008).

The overlapping and mutual influence among divine figures can be very intricate. A useful example can be that of Marica, a goddess who was worshipped in a grove in a marshy area near Minturnae, at the boundary between Lazio and Campania, probably as early as the beginning of the seventh century (Boccali and Ferrante 2016). Votive inscriptions are found in Minturnae (*CIL* I² 2438), but also in Pisaurum (*CIL* I² 374: third century). Who was Marica? The archaeological and topographical evidence seems to suggest the profile of a typical goddess of wild nature and healing, although such testimonies are extremely difficult to interpret without literary sources. But the antiquarian tradition is quite complex and contradictory: Marica was equated to Venus (Serv. *Aen.* 7.47) or Circe (Serv. *Aen.* 12.164), but also Diana (Schol. ad Aug. *CD*, 2.23). In Vergil's *Aeneid* (7.47) she becomes a nymph of Laurentum, wife of Faunus and mother of king Latinus: an oddity that already Servius noticed not without annoyance in his commentary.

The case of Angitia, goddess of the Marsi in the Abruzzo region, appears to be similar to that of Marica. The Marsi in ancient sources are known mainly for two aspects: as strong warriors, and as snakecharmers and experts in magic (Letta 2012). Their great goddess Angitia had a relevant sanctuary on the western shore of the lake Fucino, near Luco dei Marsi. Here excavations brought to light a complex with two main phases, of fourth century and of second century (Campanelli 2008, 75–86). We know several epigraphic sources (Buonocore and Poccetti 2013), and a rare (and unfortunately disappeared) statuette of Hellenistic age, showing the goddess with her main characteristic, a snake (Falcone 2011). Such a picture, typical of an Italic goddess, is complicated by a passage of the antiquarian Cn. Gellius (*FRH* F18 = Solin. 2.28), according to whom the mythical king of Colchis, Aietes, had three daughters: Circe, Medea, and Angitia. Circe settled at the Circaeum, Angitia on the Fucine Lake, and Medea in Butrint, but her son ruled over the Marsi. Similarly, Servius (*Aen.* 7.750) knew that Medea, after leaving Colchis, settled in the Fucine area, where she was called Angitia. Such elaboration, using Greek cultural elements in a Roman strategy aimed at depicting the Marsi as wild barbarians, can be clearly

seen in Vergil's *Aeneid* (7.756–760), where the Marsic warrior Umbro is represented as possessing the art of shedding sleep over fierce serpents thanks to herbs and incantations.

A complex combination of influences (Greek, Latin, from Magna Graecia) seems to be active here, such that the original profile of the gods becomes almost unattainable, “buried” as it is under several stratifications. And we should not forget that the web of influences can be even wider. Linguistic evidence suggests that the spread of the cult of Hercules among the Marsi and Vestini of the Abruzzo was mediated through the Etruscans settled in Campania (Letta 2012, 383). As a matter of fact, the Greek hero was quite present in Etruscan and Latin imaginary, especially as a symbol of tyrannical power. On the other hand, he was well-known in the Adriatic area: the huge mass of bronzes with the representation of the hero/god with club, together with other archaeological and epigraphic pieces of evidence (see his main sanctuaries in Samnium, Hercules Curinus at Sulmona and Hercules Ranus at Campochiaro), point towards real differences from the Greek hero (Bradley 2005). Among the main divergences, there is the link with pastoralism that is traditionally considered a feature of the Italic Hercules (but this connection has now been questioned: Stek 2009, 55–58).

What emerges from the examples is that classical gods and mythological figures such as Venus, Hercules, Circe, and Medea were used in the antiquarian tradition as a framework for interpreting and “translating” to a learned public the local indigenous gods. But the different and problematic outcomes of this “translation” (Marica as Diana or Aphrodite or Medea, Angitia as Medea or her sister) suggest that these interpretations could never be complete, because the profile of two gods in two different cultures is always different.

Furthermore, modern accounts of the religions of ancient Italy often underestimate the changes through time and space that these gods could experience. Let us consider, for instance, the case of the goddess Feronia: is it correct to compare testimonies from her sanctuary in Lucus Feroniae, where recent discoveries have provided information going back to the Archaic Period, with data about her cult in first century AD Aquileia (Di Fazio 2013a)? We rather must recognise, first of all, that most of the gods of Italic religions were eminently regional: *topici, id est locales*, as Servius (*Aen.* 7.47) puts it. To say that they were regional, though, does not imply that they could not move across Italy. When we find attestation of the Oscan goddess Mephitis in northern Italy at Cremona (Tac. *Hist.* 3.33; Calisti 2006, 201ff.), we may attribute it to the presence of Oscan peoples among the colonists that settled there in 268; the same can be said about the presence of the Sabine goddess Feronia in Aquileia or Marica at Pisaurum. We should always keep in mind that gods entering in a different and already structured pantheon as the Roman one was, inevitably underwent a process of adaptation and transformation. In the end, gods were social constructs, and thus they changed accordingly.

VII Italic religions in Roman Italy and beyond

This overview corroborates the idea that religion was embedded in every aspect of life. But, it is worth underlining the complete lack of something resembling religious wars in ancient Italy: in fact, while war – since it is connected with death – has had religious aspects since the beginning of humankind, wars for primarily religious causes are a later phenomenon, and all wars that are classed as “religious” arguably have secular (whether economic or political) ramifications (Cavanaugh 2009). Furthermore, religious intolerance seems to be a rather unknown factor. An interesting exception seems to be represented by the episode of the Bacchanalian repression. The Bacchanalia were mystery cults of the wine god Bacchus, based on various ecstatic elements of the Greek Dionysian mysteries. They seem to have been popular throughout the central and southern Italian peninsula since the beginning of second century. Livy (39.8 ff.) reports the deep concern of the Roman aristocracy about these cults, and the subsequent decision to repress them. This led to the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186, of which we are informed not only through Livy but also thanks to the lucky discovery in Calabria in 1640 of a bronze tablet with a copy of the decree. But even in this case, what worried the Roman senate was not the religious aspect. The main reasons for Roman concern are disputed, but like all mystery cults, the Bacchanalia were held in strict privacy, and initiates were bound to secrecy: these aspects could not easily be tolerated by the Roman authorities (Takács 2000). It is thus more likely that the real concern was due to the transgressive social aspects: the cult’s greatest offences were the indiscriminate mixing of freeborn Romans of both sexes and all ages at night. Yet, such argument is often seen as nuanced, because “politics and religion were intertwined” (Takács 2000, 310; see also North 1979, 91): this brings our discussion back to the opening question.

In any case, it seems likely that systematic religious intolerance emerges with monotheism, due mainly to its incompatibility with polytheistic religions (North 1979). Such intolerance, however, seems not to have erased local religions for some time. In the sixth century AD Pope Gregory the Great was compelled to write a reprimenda to Agnellus, archbishop of Tarracina, complaining that he was not able to eradicate the cult of tree-worshippers still active in the countryside of the city (Di Fazio 2013a, 9); it is tempting to connect this cult with the ancient, sacred wood of Feronia. Survivals of ancient religions seem to be detectable here and there over the entire peninsula, even if this is a very venturesome field. The naive American polymath Charles G. Leland, towards the end of the nineteenth century, believed he had found traces of early Etruscan religion still preserved in the Tuscan countryside; but he was more likely the victim of a joke (Di Fazio 2003).

VIII Conclusions

In conclusion, we may borrow the words of an authoritative scholar in the field:

To say that nothing in antiquity was free of religion – not war, disease, erotic love, science, the arts, poetry, or the state; not the landscape, the family, the meat on the table, or the fire on the hearth – is to say not that everything ‘was’ religious, only that religious concerns were a part of all else, and a part that remains – to us, at least – analytically recognizable (Lincoln 2007, 242).

If on one side the overview here presented seems to confirm the idea of religion as something deeply pervasive in every aspect of ancient life, on the other side this same overview shows how many aspects are still unclear, and how much work is still to be done in this field, but with the belief that the improvement of our knowledge of ancient religions is deeply intertwined with the improvement of our knowledge of ancient societies as a whole.

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Saskia T. Roselaar

Economy and Demography of Italy

I The Italic Peoples in the Early First Millennium BC

The economy of all Italic peoples, throughout the period covered in this book, was primarily based on agriculture and pastoralism. However, trade with people from other regions of Italy and from other parts of the Mediterranean also played an important role in the local and regional economies of Italy. These trading contacts had important consequences for the cultural developments of the Italic peoples, as will be shown elsewhere in this volume.

At the start of the first millennium BC trade gradually gained a more important role in the economy of the Italic peoples. An important item of trade were metals, which formed one of the attractions of Etruria and Latium for peoples from overseas, especially the Euboean Greeks and Phoenicians. The first important permanent settlement for trade between the Italic peoples and overseas visitors was the emporium of Pithekoussai, established by Euboeans in the middle of the eighth century. Not only Greek, but also Phoenician, Syrian and Egyptian artefacts have been found on the island, attesting to the international attraction of trade with the Italic peoples. Greek goods, such as wine and the associated pottery, travelled up the river valleys into Latium, Campania and Etruria via a small number of distribution centres, for example Veii, Capua and Pontecagnano. These goods included Ionian, Corinthian and Laconian vases, which were probably exchanged for agricultural products, timber, salt and metals from Italy. The Phoenicians also established regular trade contacts with the Etruscans in the eighth century, as attested by oriental items found in the tombs of Etruscan elites (Turfa 1986, 66–67; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Ridgway 1992). The foundation of more Greek colonies on the coast in the seventh and sixth centuries (e.g. Naples, Dikaiarcheia, Cumae, Poseidonia, Pyxous and Velia) created more distribution centres from which Greek pottery could be taken inland to Campania and further into Italy, especially through the river valleys (Turfa 1986, 69–70; Camporeale 2004; D’Agostino 2006, 212, 232–233).

Not only Etruria was affected by these contacts: at Francavilla Marittima in Calabria, en route to Pithekoussai, a sanctuary visited by Euboean Greeks was established in the mid-eighth century, leading to the use of Greek wine and oriental jewellery by the local inhabitants (De la Genière 1988). The import of items from abroad was soon reflected in local products: oriental influence is visible in locally produced items, such as glass beads and vases from Praeneste and sculpture and bucchero vases from Etruria (Turfa 1986, 66–67; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Riva and

Saskia T. Roselaar: Broerhuisstraat 6, 2611 GD, Delft, the Netherlands. Email: saskiaroselaar@gmail.com

Vella 2006). Local fine wares quickly imitated the imported prestige goods of the elite for a larger market (Turfa 1986, 71–72; Camporeale 2004, 50–51; D’Agostino 2006, 222). Etruscans and other Italians not only adopted Greek material culture, e.g. artistic styles and weapons, but also cultural elements such as athletic games, cults, clothing, the symposium and the alphabet. We know very little about the social relations behind this industry, for example whether artisans worked independently or were commissioned by an Etruscan or Greek patron. Workshops were perhaps organized around a master craftsman, with production first aimed at the elites – probably working on commissions from individual patrons – and then expanding to the rest of the market with a more standardized repertoire (Smith 1998, 39–40).

The Etruscans themselves were also very active in trade. Already from the tenth century Etruscan objects appear in the western Mediterranean, at first armour and weapons, followed by statuettes, metal and pottery vessels. Such contacts are attested, for example, by donations of Etruscan and other Italic fibulae, weapons and armour in Greek “international” sanctuaries (Naso 2011). Trade also took place with northern Europe through a small number of distribution centres, for example Verucchio, an Etruscan settlement on the Adriatic coast, which from the eighth century onwards served as a centre for the amber trade with northern Europe (Forte 1994). Punic merchants enjoyed monopolies on the trade in territories under their control, so there is little evidence for Etruscan exports to these areas. In Carthage itself, however, *bucchero*, bronzes and Corintho-Etruscan vases have been found, and Motya on Sicily has many *bucchero* vases, as do other Punic colonies (Turfa 1986, 78). Naturally, not all these items were transported by trade activity; some may have been personal belongings of traders, diplomatic gifts, votive gifts or funerary deposits (Gran-Aymerich 2013, 391–399).

Foreign interest in Etruria remained high for several centuries: in the temple at Gravisca, founded ca. 600, the material record reveals contacts with Egypt, Corinth, Aegina, Athens and Lydia, while Pyrgi shows evidence for Carthaginian and Phoenician traders. The temples at Pyrgi were rebuilt ca. 530–510 in a Hellenizing style, probably through influence from Cumae (Cristofani 1996, 63; Fiorini 2005). Of course the total volume of trade was still small, since subsistence agriculture was still the most important economic activity for all Italic peoples.

All this trade had significant consequences for the social structure of the Italic peoples: in Etruria the early first millennium BC was characterised by a change in settlement patterns from small villages to larger towns, which would eventually develop into the great Etruscan cities. At the same time more social stratification appears to have occurred, with a clear elite being visible in the eighth century. These elites exchanged items of status, such as weapons, with the people of southern Italy and Sardinia. Similar displays of wealth display in the form of extremely rich elite graves (the so-called “princely tombs”) or of palace-like residences occurred in many areas of Italy, e.g. Latium, Etruria, Umbria, Picenum, Campania, Samnium and Daunia, in the eighth and seventh centuries (Bartoloni, et al. 2000; D’Agostino 2006, 206–208). The wealth displayed in such contexts may have been partially

gained from trade, but social status cemented itself through the control of land, worked by dependents from the lower classes or through tenancy systems; slaves are not yet attested in large numbers at this time. Trade allowed the elite to acquire imported prestige goods, in order to display their status within their communities (Smith 1996, 152).

In the late seventh and sixth century patterns of wealth display change in some parts of Italy: in Latium the focus shifts to rural sanctuaries and monumental public buildings, suggesting a greater availability of wealth for a larger part of the population (Winter 2009). At least this indicates that communities became eager to express a collective identity, rather than display the status of individual members of the elite. However, this does not mean that society in the whole of Italy became more equal. For example, the economy of Samnium has been seen as mostly based on pastoralism, which would not have allowed the elite to gather great amounts of wealth (Salmon 1967). However, pastoralism cannot exist separately from agriculture, for which ample evidence exists in Samnium; in any case great wealth can be gathered from pastoral activities. Furthermore, finds of drinking cups show that here, as elsewhere, a wealthy elite existed, which emphasized its status by symposiastic activities (Barker and Suano 1995; D'Agostino 2006, 212).

Etruscan trade reached its apogee in the sixth century. Several locations in Etruria were production centres of high-quality bucchero pottery, which was exported in the early sixth century to Iberia, Sicily, Sardinia, Cyprus, and Carthage, and in fact to nearly every major Mediterranean site. Bucchero and Etruscan bronze objects appear for example in the graves of Hallstatt princes in Gaul, together with Greek pottery, presumably both transported by Greek merchants. The return goods were probably amber, tin and iron. Greeks also eagerly bought Etruscan bronze utensils and works of art in the sixth and fifth centuries, which were exchanged for Greek pottery from Rhodes, Corinth, Ionia, Laconia and Attica, found in great numbers in Etruria. The ports of Adria and Spina on the Adriatic were established in the fifth century especially to handle imports from Greece as well as exports from Italy. Marzabotto and other Etruscan settlements in Cisalpine Gaul further distributed imported items from Etruria to Illyria and Transalpine areas. Spina itself became wealthy enough to have its own treasury at Delphi (Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.7). An important export product was wine, which was transported to Gaul for about a century from the latter part of the sixth century BC (Bats 1992; Shefton 1995; Gran-Aymerich 2013). The Grand Ribaud F wreck of ca. 500 carried more than 1000 Etruscan amphorae, while the Giglio wreck of ca. 580 BC contained a Corinthian helmet and Greek pottery (Bradley 2013). Other Etruscan products, such as bronze vessels and fibulae, even reached Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. This trade mostly occurred through middlemen; the Etruscans were not always in direct contact with the end users of these items.

Treaties served to safeguard international trade relations: Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.5.10–11) refers to “the Etruscans and the Carthaginians and all those who have agreements with each other ... They have contracts concerning imports ...” The first Roman-Carthaginian treaty is dated to 509 by the sources (Polyb. 3.23.4; Just. *Epit.* 43.5.10). Al-

though its reliability has been disputed, the volume of trade was already considerable, so the treaty may have in fact existed (Serrati 2006). Imports from the eastern Mediterranean already reached Rome in ca. 500 BC, as shown by a cup from Paros found in the Esquiline cemetery. The votive deposit at Sant'Omobono of the sixth and fifth centuries has yielded many Greek, Phoenician, and Etruscan items (Gilotta 1992; Brocato and Terrenato 2012).

Eventually Etruscan trade declined from the early fifth century through a combination of factors: the foundation of Massilia in ca. 600 BC, which created competition for Etruscan merchants, the Greek victory at Cumae in 474, which established Greek supremacy at sea, and the Gallic invasions of Italy in the early fourth century (Turfa 1986, 76). Trade between the various regions of Italy, on the other hand, increased, as shown by finds of artefacts from northern Apulia along the Adriatic whole coast (Riva 2007, 100; Scopacasa 2015). On the other hand, some trade contacts within Italy became less important: the greater number of imported Greek vases in southern Italy caused the decline of Etruscan *bucchero* pottery in Campania and Lucania in the fifth century (Johannowsky 1988). These close contacts with Greek colonies in southern Italy became closer, at the expense of those with Greece itself (Turfa 1986; Cristofani 1996, 155–166; Smith 1998, 44).

As for agriculture, important innovations in the seventh century were the introduction of the vine and olive into Etruria and Latium. Since these crops require stability of tenure over land, as well as large initial investments, this points at the development of a stable and wealthy elite, producing for the market. For their daily subsistence most people depended on what they grew themselves, which in most cases was a mixture of different types of wheat, legumes, fruit, and vegetables, with the addition of small animals such as sheep, goats and chicken (Bradley 2013).

Demographic developments in the early first millennium are difficult to determine, but it seems that the tenth century BC was a period of rapid population growth, with more habitation sites appearing in most parts of Italy (Barker and Suano 1995, 160; Scopacasa 2015). Another period of demographic growth occurred in the sixth century; again, we see a rise in the number of rural sites, as well as the growth in the number and size of (pre-)urban settlements (Barker and Suano 1995, 176).

It is clear that from the seventh century BC onwards the Italic peoples were part of a trade network that spanned the Mediterranean. Of course the volume of trade was still relatively small and most people were not involved in this kind of activity; the economy was and remained based on agriculture, mostly for subsistence. However, the elites of the Italic peoples gained control of international trade and accumulated considerable wealth, with which they bought into cultural expressions of status shared by an international elite.

II The Fifth to First Centuries BC

Between the early fifth and mid-third century the Romans gradually conquered the whole of the Italic peninsula. This had an enormous impact on the economy of the Italic peoples, especially because the unification of the whole of Italy into one political unit took away many obstacles for trade and created new possibilities for manufacture and trade. Nevertheless, the overall structures of the Italic economy changed little: the economy remained based on agriculture and pasturing. Settlement patterns in most cases remained the same, with some exceptions. Social structures also remained in place: local elites usually remained in control of the economic resources, although the individuals could change, since some local leaders lost their lives or power, while those loyal to Rome profited from the new political situation (Terrenato 1998).

A standard picture of the developments in the Italic economy has for many decades dominated scholarship on the Italic economy in the Republican period. This, in brief, assumed that the Romans confiscated large tracts of land from the Italic people as *ager publicus*, some of which was used to settle colonies of Roman citizens and Latins, while the remainder ended up in the hands of the Roman elite, who used it to establish large slave-staffed estates for commercial agriculture. This would have led to the expulsion of small farmers from the land, the depopulation of Italy, and the creation of an urban proletariat by the late second century BC (App. *B Civ.* 1.7–8; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8; Toynbee 1965, 2.9–14, 177–179). The role of the Italian allies – meaning people from Italy who did not possess Roman citizenship – in the economy of Italy has often been considered in two mutually exclusive ways. Either it was assumed that the economy of Italy experienced a severe setback after the Roman conquest: land owned by Italic people was taken as *ager publicus*, depriving them of a valuable asset and thus marginalizing their role in the economy. On the other hand, it has been recognized that this reconstruction is greatly exaggerated, since archaeological surveys have shown that small farmers did not disappear, even in the regions of Italy that were involved the most in commercial agriculture, e.g. Latium and Campania. Furthermore, in most areas of Italy there is little trace of depopulation, although settlement patterns did change (see below).

It is also time for a re-evaluation of the role of the Italics in the economic developments that occurred after the conquest of Italy by the Romans (Roselaar forthcoming). It has long been recognized that Italic people were active in business throughout the Mediterranean, in a great variety of the activities: agriculture, pastoralism, manufacture, trade and banking activities were all carried out on a large scale by people from Italy, with or without Roman citizenship. The different Italic peoples played different roles in the economy of Italy as a whole in the post-conquest period, but most experienced continued prosperity in agriculture, manufacture and trade.

As for overseas activities by Italic peoples, references in the literary sources to the overseas presence of Italics are endless, attesting to their spread all over the east-

ern Mediterranean from the early third century onwards (e.g. Livy 29.1.16, 40.18, 40.42.4–5; Polyb. 1.83.7–10, 3.28.3; App. *Pun.* 5). The reason for this is not always given; when a reason is stated, however, they are usually identified as merchants. Many Mediterranean regions attracted Italian interest; Sicily was one of the first areas where a significant presence of Italics has been attested. The Entella Tablets, dated to the late fourth or early third century, attest the presence of Campanian mercenaries, who had settled here in 404 (Diod. Sic. 14.9.8–9; Loomis 1994). Most people were attracted to Sicily by the grain trade: the island had fertile soil for grain, which could be sold on the market in Italy, and good pasture lands. Cicero's *Verrines* show that many Romans active in the exploitation of Sicily came from the south of Italy, e.g. from Puteoli and further down the Tyrrhenian coast (*Verr.* 2.5.32, 145, 194). Italic people started to arrive in Africa in the second century; during the Third Punic War and Jugurthine War a large number was present in African towns such as Carthage and Cirta (App. *Pun.* 92; Sall. *Iug.* 26.1, 63.1, 64.5). Iberia was another area of interest to traders from Italy, especially because of its gold, silver and lead mines (Diod. Sic. 5.36.3).

Trade relations with the Greek East had already existed for many centuries, mostly mediated through the Greek colonies in Italy, as we have seen. From the fourth century we see Italic people moving toward the eastern Mediterranean. The largest influx of people from Italy into the East took place after 167, when the Romans declared the island of Delos a free port. Roman and Italic merchants came here to trade in slaves, perfumes, precious stones and spices. Large numbers were also active in banking and money lending (Strabo *Geog.* 14.5.2; Plin. *HN* 13.4; Plut. *Sull.* 24.4; Hatzfeld 1912; Rauh 1993). Italians and Romans not only came to Delos, but also to many other Greek and Asian cities. The spread of Italic migration became clear in 88, when Mithridates of Pontus attempted to kill all Romans and Italians in Asia and Greece: murders were carried out in Ephesus, Pergamon, Adramyttium, Kaunos, Tralleis, Chios and Kos, and many other locations. The number of Italics and Romans abroad is brought out starkly by the notice that Mithridates killed 80,000 of them, even if the number is exaggerated (App. *Mith.* 22–3, 46–7; Kirbihler 2007, 22). However, these setbacks did nothing to stop the Italic interest in the East: in the first century Italic people appeared in a larger number of places than before (Müller and Hasenohr 2002).

There has been some debate about the status of the Italic people in the East: some scholars think that most of them were from central Italy, especially Rome and Latium, and therefore Roman citizens. This would mean that economic opportunities were indeed monopolized by the Roman conquerors of Italy (Wilson 1966, 87–88, 108–110). However, when studied in detail it becomes clear that people attested in the East came from many parts of Italy. Many people mentioned their home towns, which included Naples, Cumae, Velia, Petelia, Heraclea, Locri, Tarentum, Ancona and several towns in Apulia (Hatzfeld 1912).

Italy also produced a variety of crops and manufactured goods which were exported through the Mediterranean in the middle and late Republic. The most popular

items for export were wine and olive oil, transported first in Greco-Italic and later in Dressel 1 amphorae; both are important markers for trade routes in the Mediterranean. Greco-Italic amphorae were produced in Sicily and Magna Graecia in the late fourth and early third centuries and have been widely distributed along the Italian, Iberian and French coast and on Sicily, but also in Greece, Syria, Sardinia, Africa, the Black Sea area and at Berenice (Olcese 2005/2006, 65). It has been suggested that the quick spread of Greco-Italic amphorae was due to production increase after the Roman conquest of Italy, and that production was controlled by elite Romans (Olcese 2005/2006, 63–64), but this is not necessarily the case. Some amphorae carry stamps with the names of their producers, who can be traced to the Oscan-speaking area of Italy, which for the most part did not have Roman citizenship, for example Trebius Loisius and M. and C. Lassius from Pompeii (Heurgon 1952). The production locations of these amphorae are revealing with regard to the role of Italians: they were made in many locations on the western coast of Italy, for example Sinuessa, Cosa (Latin colonies), Pompeii (an allied town) and Fundi, a *civitas sine suffragio* which received full Roman citizenship in 188 (Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 25–29; Olcese 2005/2006, 68–71). Clearly the status of a town did not matter very much when it came to exploiting economic opportunities.

Dressel 1 amphorae developed out of Greco-Italic amphorae in the mid- to late second century. They too were produced at many sites in Italy, e.g. in the Ager Falernus, near the Vesuvius, around Minturnae and Sinuessa, in Terracina, Cosa, Grosseto, Fundi, Circeii, at Pontiae and in Bruttium – again, the citizenship status of a town made little difference. It seems that the change from Greco-Italic to Dressel 1 amphorae was caused by an increase in production and standardization of production; certainly at this time the amount of exported wine increased enormously (Manacorda 1981, 13–16). These amphorae are attested at many sites in the Mediterranean, especially Gaul, but also Iberia, Morocco, Sardinia, Sicily and Delos (Empereur and Hesnard 1984, 31–32).

Lamboglia 2 amphorae were produced on the eastern Italian coast from Venetia to Apulia between the mid-second and the mid-first century, areas which mostly did not have Roman citizenship, again indicating the involvement of Italic people in their production. These were found on the eastern and western coasts of the Adriatic, at Delos, Athens, Alexandria, Ephesus, in southern Gaul and at Magdalensberg in Austria (Manacorda 1981, 11–13; Empereur and Hesnard 1984, 33). The production of these amphorae started when eastern Italy was consolidated by the Romans, but this does not mean that the production of the wine and the transport vessels was in Roman hands. In fact this type of amphora appeared more than a century after the conquest by Rome, which suggests that its production was not directly related to the Roman conquest, but rather to new economic developments in the second century BC. The involvement of local people is indicated by the fact that typically Apulian names, such as Das(i)mi(us) and Dasius, were stamped on Lamboglia 2 amphorae, as were the Oscan names Deci(us) and Ofi(lius) (Paci 2008, 317–320). Again it

seems that Italic people were closely involved in exploiting the economic possibilities of their own regions.

Another important export product of Italy was pottery, of which many different types have been found throughout the Mediterranean. Teanum Sidicinum, an allied town, was an important production location in the late fourth and early third centuries; this pottery was sometimes inscribed in Oscan by various members of the family of the Berii (Morel 1980, 90–91). Another producer was Plator, whose Messapian name suggests that he was an immigrant to Teanum (*Imagines* Teanum Sidicinum 25). Again, it seems that non-Roman producers could take full advantage of new economic opportunities available to them.

Black-gloss pottery was produced in Italy from the mid-fourth century – possibly derived from techniques imported from Greece in the fifth century – at first in Campania, Latium and Etruria, but its production spread quickly to the rest of Italy and the western Mediterranean. Many rural sites produced their own pottery, suggesting that the export market involved mostly standardized products from a limited group of production sites. The first type exported on a large scale were the products of the *atelier des petits estampilles*, a style made in a number of workshops around Rome and in Etruria. This pottery was found in many locations in central Italy, but also in Carthage and southern France, and already shows the morphological standardization that might be associated with production especially for the export market (Roth 2013). Some styles of pottery seem indeed to have been made for commercial purposes; these were called, in earlier scholarship, Campana A and B. From ca. 225 BC until the mid-first century these were produced in large quantities in Latium and Campania; the main areas for export were still Gaul and Iberia (Pedroni 2001, 64–81). It is now clear that these products were not made by one large workshop, but at a variety of sites, leading to heterogeneity in the final products (Di Giuseppe 2012). Campana B pottery – more appropriately termed B-oid, since the internal variation in this group is large – appeared in the early second century. Some large production sites were located at Arrezzo, Volterra, Jesi, Cales and possibly Rome, which made mass-produced items with little artistic pretension, with standardized shapes and decorations to facilitate quick production. It is likely that the makers, probably slaves, worked in larger workshops with no interaction between producer and final consumer.

Thus, on the one hand the Campana B-oid pottery attests to a growing cultural *koine* in Italy: many local types of pottery were either replaced or supplemented by imported wares produced according to a standard design, which then also began to be copied locally. Thus a certain level of standardization existed, in which local producers mixed local features with elements of pottery that were spread over a large part of Italy. Again, however, the spread of this *koine* was not directly caused by Roman conquest; as we have seen, already in the sixth century some elements of culture were shared by most Italic peoples. Moreover, the various styles of pottery were not spread from Rome: the main production centres were in Etruria and Campania, so that black-gloss pottery can no longer be considered an indicator of “Romanization,” as earlier scholarship assumed. On the other hand, it is important to note the

limits of the “globalization” of taste, since many local forms of pottery still existed and potters were free in their choice of shape and fabric, as well as introducing their own innovations (Morel 1980; Roth 2007, 40–64, 103–106; 2013, 88–93).

Commercial agriculture and manufacturing were not the only economic activities the Italic peoples engaged in. It is likely that transhumant pasturing and the processing of wool were a very important source of income. This took place especially in the more mountainous regions of Italy; literary sources attest to the production of wool in many areas, such as Apulia, Samnium and Campania (Plaut. *Truc.* 3.1.5, *Pseud.* 145; Varro *Ling.* 9.39; Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.12; Plin. *HN* 8.7.191; Polyb. 2.15.2; Vicari 2001). Evidence of textile production, such as fulling workshops (*fullonicae*), has been found in the Apennines, e.g. at Saepinum and Larinum (Coarelli 1996). Some farms show evidence of animal husbandry, for example at Moltone di Tolve in Lucania, which has large stables and shows evidence of wool working (i.e. loom weights). It controlled a transhumance route and had architectural terracottas with decorations of sheep (Isayev 2007, 73–76; Fracchia and Gualtieri 1998/1999, 298–304). It is possible, although difficult to prove, that many of the monumental rural sanctuaries in Samnium, built in the second century BC, were partially financed from transhumant pasturing (Dench 1995, 118–125; cf. Bradley, 2005, 138–140). Certainly the image of Samnium as a backward region should be dismissed when faced with the sanctuary at Pietrabbondante, which was fully *au fait* with the latest innovations in Hellenistic architecture.

From all this it is clear that many people from all over Italy were involved in commercial agriculture, pasturing and manufacturing. Therefore the effects of the Roman conquest of Italy can be reconstructed in a rather different way than is often suggested: instead of the Roman elites monopolizing the economic opportunities of Italy, Italic peoples continued exploiting the land as they had done for centuries.

On the other hand, there were also many important transformations in the Italian economy as a whole: Archaic period trade routes were interrupted and the economy of Italy was reconfigured around the city of Rome, which became the most important market. This reconfiguration was visible in the landscape, e.g. the new roads which connected many areas directly to Rome, but also left some areas out of the new economic network. These changes may have been responsible for the change in the settlement patterns that are visible in some parts of Italy. For example, southern Italy in the fourth and third centuries saw the creation of large hill forts surrounded by villages. This has often been seen as a response to Roman aggression, but it could equally well have been motivated by developments within the Italic peoples or be seen as part of a general Mediterranean development (Stek 2013, 342). In the later fourth and third century many of these hill forts disappeared and settlement became organized in (pre-)urban communities, with isolated farms at some distance from the main centres. This development is especially visible in Lucania, but can also be identified in parts of Samnium and Apulia. Some sites, such as Cersosimo in Lucania, boast rather large, Hellenized buildings, apparently erected by the local elites, who were engaged in some kind of commercial production. After the Second Punic

War, however, this urban development was cut short, and the local economy seems to have reverted to agricultural production in small villae (Isayev 2007; Osanna 2011). Perhaps in some regions disloyal local leaders were punished by the confiscation of land, or perhaps these regions became less attractive for commercial production because of their disconnection from the most profitable markets in the peninsula through the changes in trade routes. The Roman conquest, although it created many new economic opportunities, was therefore not a positive experience for all Italic peoples.

In short, in many ways, the Roman conquest of Italy brought the Italic peoples new economic opportunities: it brought in wealth from the wars fought together with Rome, opened up new markets and made the sea routes more secure, created a monetary system that was in use throughout Italy from the early second century onwards, and set up a legal system that could solve disputes between individuals from different Italic peoples. In this way the unification of Italy and parts of the Mediterranean under a single dominant power had eradicated many of the previous barriers to trade; Rome's conquest lowered transaction costs and promoted trade over longer distances. Yet it is important to emphasize that Italic producers acted independently of Rome and that direct influence from Rome on the economy of the Italic peoples was small: Rome did not actively encourage production and mercantile activities on the part of the Italics. It was happy to offer them protection, but played only a very limited role in the creation of these economic networks. Rome functioned as a market for Italian products, but was not the only market; Italians were certainly able to make their own decisions within the new economic framework (Roselaar forthcoming).

III Economic and demographic developments in the second century BC

In the second century the Roman state developed rapidly from a city-state to an empire spanning the Mediterranean. This brought unprecedented opportunities to the peoples of Italy, not just the Romans but also the Italic peoples, as we have seen. However, it is still often assumed that many Roman citizens became impoverished, since the Roman elite monopolized the land and established large slave-staffed farms, leaving the poor without jobs. This reconstruction focuses especially on the Roman poor and has little to say about the Italic peoples; the traditional picture suggests that many lost their lands, but, as we saw above, there is little evidence of widespread poverty in Italy.

This debate is closely connected to academic ideas about the demography of Italy in this period. The ancient sources state that poor Roman citizens were reluctant to raise children, leading to a decline of the Roman free citizen population. As for the demography of Italy as a whole, it has often been argued that the Second Punic War

caused serious damage in the south of Italy, leading to the depopulation of this area (Livy 28.11.8–11; Cass. Dio 9.40.27; Polyb. 23.15.1). It is, however, unlikely that the Second Punic War would have had such long-term consequences. On the contrary, overall conditions were ideal to support a quick increase in population: the amount of land available, not just *ager publicus* but also land abandoned during the war, had increased significantly. Therefore, most people were able to find sufficient land to support themselves, and the number of people in real poverty must have been low. This led to an increase in labour productivity per head and an overall increase in living standards for the majority of people. This may have lowered the age at first marriage, since men could more easily establish their own farms, instead of being dependent on their paternal estates. All this encouraged rapid population growth in the decades immediately after the Second Punic War (Rosenstein 2006, 236–241).

Equally important were the wars fought in the east: enormous amounts of money were brought into the country as booty or indemnity payments from the defeated states (Livy 39.7; Vell. Pat. 1.9.6; Plin. *HN* 33.17.56). The increased contacts with the east also allowed for more trade contacts with the new provinces, as we saw above. It is often argued that military service had negative effects on small Roman farmers, since those owning a small farm could not work the land while they were away, and when they returned found their land neglected and were forced to sell it (Livy 2.23.5–6, 5.10.6–9; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.22.1, 6.26.1; Sall. *Iug.* 41.5–8; Toynbee 1965, 2.95). However, service in the army in this period was clearly a very attractive option for many Roman citizens: they received a daily wage, large donatives after successful campaigns, and often a plot of land when they were discharged. Military service and its material rewards may be expected to have led to increased welfare for many Roman citizens, and are likely to have been a stimulus for population growth. Italic allies could at least profit from booty and donatives, if not from land distributions (Rosenstein 2004, 80–93).

Farmers who lost their land could support themselves by wage labour; there is ample evidence to show that the temporary labour of free men was essential for large estates, especially for such seasonal work as harvesting, but many other tasks could be done by hired labourers as well (Cato, *Agr.* 1.3, 2.6, 4.4, 13.1, 14–16, 21.5, 22.3, 135–7, 144–5; Varro, *Rust.* 1.16.4, 1.17.2–3; Suet. *Vesp.* 1.4; Garnsey 1980). Cities also offered many employment opportunities, especially during the first half of the second century. However, job opportunities declined in the later second century, at least in the city of Rome itself (Coarelli 1977, 7–18). Military service, another opportunity for wage labour, also became less attractive in the late second century, since especially in the Iberian wars the chance of profit was small and the chance of dying great. References abound to evasion of service, desertion, and lack of morale for the later second century (Polyb. 35.4.4–5; Livy, *Per.* 48.17; App. *Hisp.* 49; Toynbee 1965, 2.92–99; Rosenstein 2004, 53–54).

Therefore, adherents of the traditional picture of population decline have found support in the census figures for the second century. From a maximum in 164/163 the

censuses of the later second century show a continuous decline, until in 131/130 the reported number of citizens was 25,000 lower than it had been thirty-three years before. There is less evidence for the population of the Italic peoples, but Polybius 2.23–4 gives some figures for men available for service in 225 BC. Even though the interpretation of this passage is difficult, it is clear that Roman citizens were in the minority in Italy. On the basis of these figures, Brunt argued that the total number of free men, women and children in Italy in 225 BC was 4.5 million. The census figure of 28 BC, four million (*RG* 8.2), would mean the free population had shrunk by about 0.5 million in 200 years (Toynbee 1965, 1.438–479; Brunt 1987, 77–79, 138–145).

A new interpretation of the census figures postulates that the stagnation of the census figures was caused not by an actual decline in the number of free Roman citizens, but by the increasing under-registration which occurred in the later second century. The census became more unreliable because it failed to record the population growth which was actually taking place. Support for this thesis has been found in the census figure for 125/124, which shows an increase of about 75,000 compared to the census of six years earlier. This most likely resulted from the inclusion of a part of the citizen population which had not been counted in earlier censuses. Thus the censuses between 167 and 131 simply failed to record the rise in population (Brunt 1987, 78–81; de Ligt 2004, 754; Rosenstein 2004, 156–157; Hin 2013). The most obvious cause of this under-registration was the increased proletarianization of the small farmer: many men who had been *assidui* at the beginning of the century had now become too poor to be counted as such. While in theory *proletarii* were also counted in the census, they were of less interest to the censors, and were therefore counted less thoroughly. However, the census figures were still close enough to the real situation that they were seen as reliable by Roman politicians such as the Gracchi. Combined with the competition for land in central Italy, creating more landless people in the city of Rome, and the difficulties of recruiting soldiers, they had no choice but to conclude that the population was declining; the distribution of land would be an adequate solution for this problem (Roselaar 2010, 227–228).

Although it is now accepted that the second century was a period of population growth, scholars do not agree on the rate of growth. Debate is caused mainly by the Augustan census figures and their relation with the figures for the second century. Lo Cascio suggests that the Augustan census figures represented only adult males, as earlier Republican censuses had done. This would mean that the total Roman citizen population had grown from about two million in 225 BC to at least twelve million in 28 BC, and thus experienced extremely rapid growth (Lo Cascio 1994). However, there are severe problems with this “high count” scenario (Scheidel 2008). First of all, to achieve such growth, the population must have had an average growth rate of about 0.5–0.8 per cent per year over a period of 200 years (Rosenstein 2004, 146). This is very high for preindustrial societies, and it is unlikely that such a growth rate was sustained over such a long period. Moreover, it would have been difficult to feed all these people with the produce of the Italian countryside: to feed a population

of only five million in 133 BC, more than 50 per cent of the surface of Italic arable land was needed (Jongman 2003, 112–116).

A new scenario has been proposed by de Ligt. This scenario agrees with the “low count” theory in that during the second and first centuries the population experienced only limited growth. However, de Ligt believes that Brunt’s estimates of the number of people in Italy in 225 BC are too high. Whereas Brunt assumed the population of Italy amounted to 4.5 million people in 225, an estimate of 3.5 to 4 million may be more realistic (de Ligt 2004, 734–738; 2012). If in the Augustan era approximately one million citizens lived outside of Italy, the total becomes five million citizens in 28 BC, which would mean a slow but steady population growth over the two preceding centuries. However, the “low count” scenario is not free from problems either. If, for example, the agricultural situation of Italy was so prosperous in the Republican period, coupled with large amounts of incoming wealth, it is possible that population growth was quicker than the “low count” suggests. It is also possible that the Republican census figures do not only record adult males, but also include other parts of the population, e.g. women *sui iuris*. This creates possibilities for a “middle count” (Hin 2013).

We must emphasize that pressure on the land was not felt equally in all regions of Italy. Commercial production was limited to areas located close to markets, but the size of the Italian market for agricultural goods was quite limited, since most rural inhabitants still produced their own food. Only 20,800 km² of land were needed to produce the grain, wine, and oil to feed the whole urban population of Italy, or about 20% of all arable land in peninsular Italy (Jongman 2003, 112–116). Archaeological evidence shows that second-century villae were usually quite small, so that large slave-staffed estates must have been less important in the second century than was previously assumed. As a result of these new insights, the number of slaves in Italy should also be reduced. Earlier estimates put the number of slaves as high as two to three million in the early Empire (Toynbee 1965, 2.170–174), but recent estimates for the number of slaves in Italy are much lower (de Ligt 2004; Scheidel 2005).

It is likely, therefore, that Italy as a whole experienced only limited population growth, but these people were not spread out evenly throughout the peninsula. It is certain that the city of Rome experienced rapid growth in the second century, especially through immigration, but other towns also grew in this period, especially in central Italy, e.g. Puteoli, Minturnae and Capua. It is likely therefore that central Italy experienced higher population growth rate than the rest of Italy. In the first decades of the century the growth of the population in central Italy was mitigated by the establishment of colonies in the periphery (Rosenstein 2004, 145). However, after colonization stopped in 173 BC, people moving to central Italy from other parts of the peninsula had no opportunities to leave again. Furthermore, in central Italy the increase in the number of farms producing for the market was higher than elsewhere. Therefore, accumulation of land in the hands of the elite is likely to have occurred, especially in central Italy. Thus, even the small population growth of the “low count” scenario may, in combination with increased competition for land, have been suffi-

cient to cause the process of proletarianization described in the sources, at least in central Italy (Roselaar 2010).

IV The Gracchan Reforms

The idea that the free Roman citizens declined in number and well-being reached its culmination in the Gracchan reform. In the period shortly before the Gracchi, opportunities for wage labour became increasingly difficult to find. At the same time the population continued to grow and the amount of land available did not increase sufficiently, which led to a decline in living standards among many small farmers and landless citizens. The social problems identified by the Gracchi were real, but they were limited to a small part of the peninsula.

The solution that the Gracchi proposed was logical, considering their assumption that the occupation of the public land by the rich was the source of the problem: *ager publicus* should be distributed to the poor, who should be given secure rights of tenure on their own plot of land, in order to prevent the rich from taking it away from them. This would in turn facilitate recruitment for the army: by making sure the poor were eager to raise children, the number of soldiers would eventually rise as well (App. *B Civ.* 1.8, 1.27; Rosenstein 2004, 165). The basic facts of the agrarian reform launched by Tiberius Gracchus are clear enough: he proposed a law which limited the possession of *ager publicus* by existing possessors, the *veteres possessores*, to a maximum of five hundred *iugera*, plus an additional amount for their children. All *ager publicus* over and above the limit was to be returned to the state, which would distribute it to the poor. A three-man commission was installed to supervise the law's execution. Although Tiberius was killed during his tribunate, the land commission continued to function until 129 BC (App. *B Civ.* 1.9; Livy *Per.* 58.1–2; Roselaar 2010, 223–255).

During the project Tiberius ran into trouble with the Italians: many of them, especially in southern Italy, had held *ager publicus* for a long time, and had invested much time and money in their holdings. They had assumed that, as long as they were loyal to the Romans, they would be allowed to retain their land (Roselaar 2010, 243–251). However, a distinction must be made between rich and poor Italians. We have seen that many profited from new economic opportunities in the Mediterranean trade networks; some of these may have accumulated land themselves, partially private land and partially Roman *ager publicus*. Such people of course now were afraid to lose the land on which they had built their estates. Many Italian occupiers of Roman *ager publicus* protested to the Roman Senate, but to no avail. It may be thought that the loss of *ager publicus* and the lack of legal protection for Italians holding this land was one of the most important reasons for growing Italian discontent in the late second century BC, and eventually led to the outbreak of the Social War in 91 (Nagle 1973; Roselaar forthcoming).

V Conclusion

It is clear that the Italic peoples had been part of Mediterranean-wide exchange networks from the early first millennium BC, especially with the Greek East. These trade relations continued when Italy was conquered by the Romans in the fourth and third centuries BC: those who remained loyal to the Roman state profited from new economic opportunities created by the expansion of the Roman dominion, such as new markets, safer trade routes and a unified monetary and legal system. In the second century BC both Romans and Italians profited from the influx of wealth and from new possibilities for commercial production, for trade within Italy as well as for export. Combined with population growth this led to an increasing pressure on the land, especially in central Italy. These social problems came to a head in the late second century, but the Gracchan attempts to halt the perceived proletarianization of the Roman people were only partially successful. Eventually the pressure on Italy's land could only be relieved by the establishment of colonies outside of Italy: in the first century BC, under Caesar and Augustus, this became the standard method of providing the people – now including both Romans and Italians, who had received Roman citizenship after the Social War – with their own land.

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Guy Bradley and Joshua Hall

The Roman Conquest of Italy

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of what historians have come to call the Roman conquest of Italy. This is the process by which Roman control was asserted over the peoples and cities of the Italian peninsula, which we can trace back as far as the regal era in Rome, but which is most concentrated in the period from 400 to 264 BC.

I Source perspectives

A key issue in approaching the Roman conquest of Italy is the way our perspectives are controlled by our sources. Greek historians such as Hellenicus were aware of Rome from at least the fifth century (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2). From the late fourth century onwards contemporary Greek historians such as Duris of Samos mentioned events in the conquest of Italy, and in the third century Timaeus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.4) discussed the history of Rome with local inhabitants. These sources are preserved only as brief fragments quoted by later authors, and our surviving sources are much later. There are a variety of sources available, of whom the most significant are Livy, Dionysius, Diodorus, Dio, Appian, Polybius, and Plutarch. The northern Italian author Livy is our most important, writing about the conquest in his first twenty books (although the critical years from 292 to 264, in books 11–20, are sadly lost). Livy probably began writing in the last few years of the Republic before Actium (31 BC), and will have finished his first two decades by around 20 BC (Oakley 1997, 109–110; Burton 2000). Although often stereotyped as an “Augustan” author, Livy’s work is strongly coloured by the environment of the collapsing Republic, and was written from an independent viewpoint respected by, but by no means subject to, the new imperial regime. Furthermore, along with his Greek near contemporary Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose history is less critical as we only have fragments post 440 BC, he represents the only full surviving sample of the rich Republican historical tradition.

The sources lying behind these surviving accounts are myriad, and how they fed into the city’s collective memory is yet to be fully understood. Information was preserved in a wide variety of non-literary forms, including popular storytelling, tales associated with the city’s festivals, buildings, monuments and place-names, dramatic performances of Roman historical episodes and myths, and poetry and *carmina* (banquet songs). This “oral tradition” has often been denigrated as a sort of poorly

Guy Bradley: School of History, Archaeology and Religion, John Percival Building, Cardiff University, Cardiff CF10 3EU, Wales, U. K. Email: bradleygj@cf.ac.uk

Joshua Hall: Independent Researcher. Email: camitlans@gmail.com

anchored and fluctuating body of collective legends common to undeveloped societies, but it could equally well be compared to the “cumulative” or “social memory” of complex societies such as Egypt where information (accurate and inaccurate) was preserved over many centuries in a mix of (oral and written) ways. Written sources were also important in Rome from an early date. Much information was preserved about the state’s expansion and the achievements of its citizens through written “state” records such as the *Annales Maximi* (the Great Annals), the calendar, the census, and the *Fasti*, and through “private” records such as *elogia* and family histories. None of these sources is uncontentious, though it is clear that all could convey reliable information about early Rome; this information includes temple foundations and religious festivals, consuls and other magistrates, priesthoods, wars, triumphs, treaties, colonies, and tribal foundations (and thereby the extension of Roman territory) (Oakley 1997, 38–72). By the time of the earliest Roman historians, such as Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus in the late third century, there was a rich historical consciousness on which they could draw for their source material. For episodes in the later stages of the conquest (the 270s and 260s) they could even speak to some of those involved, who might include members of their own family. The availability and reliability of information for the conquest is therefore challenging, but not the insurmountable problem it is often presented.

A more fundamental issue is that the surviving accounts, and undoubtedly their sources before them, consistently mispresent many realities of the early city and its foreign relations. Livy’s narrative in particular revels in plainly distorting themes: the *virtus* (manliness) of its (mainly masculine) heroes; the piety of the Romans and the gods’ reciprocal support for Rome against its enemies; the use of historical figures as moral exemplars, mainly good though some evil; and the superiority of the Romans to other peoples of Italy, a truth self-evident to ancient authors through Rome’s eventual triumph over all the rest (Tagliamonte 1996, 137). The Romanocentricity of our sources inevitably conditions the way we understand the period, accustomed as we are to using the term “Roman conquest” and adopting the perspective of how it fits into Roman history. Avoiding this is very difficult. Livy provides imagined speeches of Samnite leaders (e.g. 9.1.3–10), but they are critical of Rome only in stock terms and give us little understanding of non-Roman motivations. A more genuine non-Roman viewpoint is hinted at by a Greek critic of Rome cited by Pliny (Metrodorus Scepsius in Pliny *NH* 34.34), who accused the Romans of plundering the Etruscan city of Volsinii for its 2000 statues. Etruscan and Italic historical traditions existed alongside Rome’s (Cornell 1974, 1976; Bourdin 2012, 24). But these are now entirely lost and apart from a few minor traces of influence, such as the so-called Cumaeen chronicle (Zevi 1995; Wiseman 2007; cf. Gallia 2007), their influence on the surviving historical tradition is otherwise difficult to detect. Some material and iconographic reflections of the conflict have been identified speculatively by archaeologists, such as the Francois tomb (Coarelli 1983), but this evidence offers only glimpses, rather than a full outline, of an alternative perspective.

II Warfare before the conquest

Warfare was a constant in central Italy from a very early period. Evidence from the Etruscan cities just north of Rome shows that warfare played an important part in the formation of social identity during the Early Iron Age and was likely an important aspect of life during this period (Iaia 2009–2012; Riva 2010, 74–95). It is impossible to reconstruct conclusively the warfare of this period, but it is likely to have consisted of small scale raiding between neighbouring settlements. That settlements were threatened as part of this pattern of warfare is reflected in the move towards more defensible locations for villages between the Final Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (cf. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 158–72; Cecconi, et al. 2004). Over time the threat to settlements became much more acute which resulted in the destruction of some well before the historical period, such as Marsiliana d’Albegna, Acquarossa, and Murlo. It is unclear whether or not the destruction of these sites was the result of expansive conquest by neighbouring settlements or if they were abandoned for other reasons. Using recent modelling techniques, the possibility that Acquarossa, Marsiliana d’Albegna and Murlo were destroyed by their neighbours has been shown to be likely (Redhouse and Stoddart 2011). The extent of this threat to settlements is reflected by the increasing commonality of settlement fortifications (Becker 2008). Walls protecting at least parts of the larger settlements may date as far back as the eighth century, but extensive fortification of cities is well attested from at least the sixth century (see the collected papers in Camporeale 2008; Cambi 2012). It is possible that siege or settlement oriented military expertise was put to use against non-Etruscans during the period of so-called colonization, but to what extent this was an exercise in conquest is unknown.

Rome itself was involved in warfare from a very early period. Archaeological evidence of arms and armour is present from the Early Iron Age, such as a number of pectorals found in tombs on the Esquiline (Martinelli 2004, 67–69) and a sword (Stary 1981, 142). Spearheads thought to have been dedicated to Vulcan have been found during excavation of the ancient Volcanal and could reflect the importance of warfare to early Roman culture (Carafa 1998, 105–110). This importance may also be indicated by the presumably ancient and poorly understood division of the civic body between *populi* and *Quirites*, the army and the civilian population, although this division may only have existed from the period of the Servian reforms onward (Palmer 1970, 156–160; Smith 2006, 198–202). The nature of the earliest Roman warfare is entirely irrecoverable, but we can postulate a local and small scale nature. From the earliest historical periods, however, we begin to gain some understanding of the nature of Roman war-making.

The historical record is full of references to conquest under the Roman kings. While the sources speak of the conquests of individual *reges*, it must be emphasized that under almost *every* king we hear of wars of expansion. All of these stories, though, may be later inventions, and the historiographical problems of the regal pe-

riod should not be overlooked (Poucet 2000). Nevertheless, Roman expansion along the lines of that described by the historical sources has been corroborated by recent studies. Tentative projections of Rome's territory using "multiplicatively weighted Voroni diagrams" indicate that Rome's control had possibly already reached the part of the coast where Ostia is located by the end of the tenth century (Fulminante 2014, 210). The internal cohesion and strategic nature of this conquest narrative is a double-edged sword, as on the one hand it helps to make sense of Roman expansion and on the other it makes modern scholars question whether or not it was a later invented narrative, as it is so coherent (Fulminante 2014, 112–115; Fulminante in this volume). Yet if the expansion of the regal period was not historical it is suspicious that we do not find this aspect of the narrative under the fifth century instead (Rich 2007, 8–11).

Whatever the actual history of Roman expansion was during the regal period, by the first year of the Republic, or so we are told, the territory directly under Roman control or subjected to Rome extended 100 kilometres south to Terracina. We know of the extent of Roman territory thanks to the preservation of a treaty between the newly founded Roman Republic and Carthage which Polybius (3.22) assigns to the first consuls. The historical validity of this treaty has often been questioned, although many modern commentators now accept the Polybian dating of ca. 509 BC (Walbank 1957, 337–339; Scullard 1989, 517–526). What we see in the historical narrative and in the treaties described by Polybius is that although Rome expanded its control from the foundation until the end of the sixth century, the fifth century was a period in which conquest was almost non-existent.

Conquest slowed during the fifth century. The first major war fought by the new state was against the Latin League, an alliance of her closest neighbours. The culmination of this war was the Battle of Lake Regillus in 499 or 496. Rome won this battle, perhaps through the strength of her cavalry, and had the high ground in negotiating the settlement. The resultant treaty is known as the *Foedus Cassianum* and rather than expanding Roman territory in the region it created a military alliance between Rome and the defeated Latins. As Rome had won the earlier battle, and likely could dictate terms, the treaty is evidence that Roman imperial ambitions were not at the forefront of the new governing class. Expansion in the early Republic more often came through the Latin practice of colonization (Stek in this volume).

In this century a different pattern of warfare emerges from the sources, one which was mostly comprised of raiding and counter-raiding. The earliest raid that we hear of in the literary sources was Caenina plundering Roman lands in response to the so-called Rape of the Sabine Women (Livy 1.10; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.33–4). This episode, however, is riddled with mythological elements, such as the capture of the Sabine women and the taking of the *spolia opima* by Romulus. Sabine stories relating to early Rome have a complicated history, and should be regarded as problematic (Ampolo 1996; Farney and Masci in this volume). The number of raids remembered in the narrative sources is too great to discuss individually here, but we can be somewhat sure that these instances date to the earliest Roman histories. We

can assume that the earliest, no longer extant, historians of Rome saw this as the normal practice of warfare during this period through a comparison of passages from Livy and Dionysius. When a group of Etruscans raided Roman lands during the reign of Romulus Livy (1.15.1) notes that they conducted themselves as if in “a ravaging raid (*populabundi*) rather than standard, just, warfare (*bellum iustum*).” The Romans were keen on portraying the wars they waged as being just (Eckstein 2006, 216–229). Thus, warfare which did not resemble that was considered abnormal, and raiding certainly did not follow the expected processes as reflected by the number of notices in Livy which he points out as not resembling real warfare (i.e. 2.48.5, 3.7.1–2, 3.61.13, 4.21.6–7). It may be of note that Dionysius does not show a preoccupation with this dichotomy (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.53–54). It could show that raiding was seen less as an abnormality by the earlier Roman historians, although as Dionysius was a Greek writing for a Greek audience it may just have been of little concern for his narrative.

This pattern of behaviour has been described as looking more like “brigandage” than “warfare” (Cornell 1995, 309). It is important, however, that this distinction is not held to be so clear cut. Livy’s confusion, for instance, is not grounds for so extreme a comparison. Brigandage carries negative connotations which would not be applicable to central Italy. This practice was a central element to these societies, be they Etruscan, Roman, Volscian, or Aequian, and these raids were communal endeavours, not private thievery. Often in the modern literature we are led to assume that the groups executing raids and the like were probably aristocratic or gentilitial bands led by a strong man or someone of high status within the group (i.e. Rawlings 1999). This is misleading, however, as in the narrative tradition raiding armies are almost exclusively tied to particular states (political units/settlements/ethnic groups) rather than less independent units. We can infer this from a notice in Livy in which we hear that during a dire plague in Rome in 435 there “were no plundering raids beyond Rome’s border or no thought of regular warfare by the senators or plebs” (4.21.6). If the raids that we hear of were actually small scale, familial or “private,” enterprises, would an urban plague have completely halted them?

Agricultural wealth was one of the primary targets of this raiding. Evidence from the Orientalizing period in Etruria shows animals being led by armed figures, which has been interpreted as the results of a successful raid (Jannot 1985, 132). Livy provides a number of examples of cattle being the objective of a raiding party (i.e. 2.51, 64; 3.66; 6.31). Devastation of crops in the fields could also have been an objective of this behaviour, with the pillaging by Lars Porsenna’s troops causing a food shortage in Rome (Livy 2.51). In 388 the Romans attacked the lands of the Aequi with the express purpose of destroying their agricultural resources to hinder future hostilities (Livy 6.4). It is unclear how destructive operations against agricultural resources really were. Although annual raids by the Spartans and their allies targeted Attica, they were never enough to bring Athens into submission and the effects were generally acute rather than terminal (Hanson 1998, 131–184). Raids like this in the Greek world could result in more permanent damage to infrastructure, though. According

to the author of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, during the Theban pillaging of Attica during the Archidamian War even the “wood and tile” of the houses was being carried away (12.4). Although we cannot say for sure that raiding in central Italy resulted in this particular type of destruction, it is quite probable.

Piracy was also a common form of warfare practiced by the inhabitants of pre-Roman Italy. If the association of some groups of the “Sea Peoples” originated in central Italy is correct, as some scholars believe, then this would be the earliest example of Italian seaborne raiders (Wainright 1959; Tykot 1994; Broodbank 2013, 460–472). In historical times, the Greeks associated piracy with the Etruscans (Pallottino 1975, 82–83; Ridgway 1988, 635–637; Haynes 2000, 195–197). The earliest Greek “colonists” in the central Mediterranean were discouraged by the tenacity of Etruscan pirates (Strabo 6.2.2; cf. Diod. Sic. 5.9.4). Piracy was so rampant around Italy that in the fifth century fortifications were built to protect against this threat (Strabo 6.1.5). The western Greeks occasionally took direct action against Etruscan pirates, as was the case in the fifth century when Syracuse sent a fleet under Phayllus to control this behaviour; this fleet eventually sacked Elba, which was settled by Etruscans at the time (Diod. Sic. 11.88.4). The association of piracy with the Tyrsennoi (a Greek term for the inhabitants of western Italy, often the Etruscans) ran so deep in Hellenic culture that a myth arose of a group of these pirates having abducted Dionysus (Hymn. Hom. 7; Eur. *Cyc.* 10–22; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.3; Ovid, *Met.* 3.564–691; Hyg. *Poet., Astr.* 2.17, *Fab.* 134; Nonnus Dion. 31.86–91, 44.231–252, 45.105–168). Although the ethnic term used by the Greek authors does not concretely refer to the Etruscans of central Italy, it is taken to mean as much by most modern authors (Gras 1976; cf. Paleothodoros 2012).

The Etruscans were not the only pirates in the central Mediterranean. Greeks behaved in this same manner. Phocaean settlers on Corsica began to operate as pirates soon after coming to their new home (Hdt. 1.166). Another group of Phocaeans who settled on Sicily preyed on Etruscans and Carthaginians (Hdt. 6.17). The founders of Zankle, on the straits between the mainland and Sicily, were even remembered as pirates (Thuc. 6.4). The most infamous Greek pirates in the Central Mediterranean, though, were the Liparians (Diod. Sic. 5.9; Strabo 6.2.10; Paus. 10.11). Famously, Liparian pirates seized a Roman ship sailing for Delphi in the fourth century (Livy 5.28; Diod. Sic. 14.93.3; Plut. *Cam.* 8.8). Dionysius I of Syracuse used piratical tactics to raise funds to fuel his ambitions which preyed on Etruscan settlements, sacking the port of Pyrgi (Diod. Sic. 15.14.3; Caven 1990, 190–191). The preponderance of this evidence coming from Diodorus Siculus could indicate that there was a strong tradition of piracy preserved in now lost histories of the western Greeks.

Romans are not often associated with this practice, but there is evidence that they did participate. In the treaties between Rome and Carthage in 509 and 348 piracy is one of the cited concerns. Four clauses of the first treaty seem to refer to seaborne raiding, prohibiting the Carthaginians from harming certain Latin settlements, but allowing them to launch hostilities against Latium so long as they did not spend the night. If the Carthaginians were not to spend the night this must be a reference to

piracy. The second treaty explicitly limits where the Romans may sail to practice piracy, which was bounded at Cape Fair. Both parties were allowed to capture each other's allied citizens so long as they did not bring them into one another's ports; again, this seems likely to reference piracy. The only example of a Latin pirate that we hear of, though, is a man named Postumius, who sailed into the harbour of Syracuse in 339 (Diod. Sic. 16.82.3). Although we are told that he led an Etruscan fleet, the name Postumius is not a common Etruscan name, and he was likely of Latin stock. Antium, a Latin city, was noted as participating in piracy alongside Etruscans and it is possible that it was from this town that Postumius led his fleet (Strabo 5.3.5). It is worth noting, as well, that by 339 Antium was a subject of Rome, which may mean that Postumius was a Roman (Bispham 2012).

From the above discussion it should be clear that warfare was endemic to Italy before the Roman conquest. Armed conflict took a number of different forms, from localized conquest to raiding and to piracy. Its roots were deep, dating at least to the Final Bronze Age and continuing throughout the historical period. Arthur Eckstein has described the state system of pre-Roman Italy as anarchic and war prone, with which it is difficult to disagree (2006, 118–147).

III The unfolding of the conquest

Important Dates

396	Conquest of Veii
390	Gauls sack Rome
378	"Servian Wall" around Rome restored
354	Probable treaty between Rome and Samnites
348	Second treaty between Rome and Carthage
343–341	"First Samnite War"
340–338	Major war with Latins; Latins defeated
338	Roman reorganization of Latium and Campania
327–303	"Second Samnite War" including
321	Roman defeat at the Caudine Forks
306	Third Rome-Carthage treaty
301–290	"Third Samnite War"
295	Battle of Sentinum
280–275	Pyrrhus at war with Rome
279/8	Fourth Rome-Carthage treaty
280–275	War with Pyrrhus
279/8	Fourth Rome-Carthage treaty
264	Roman destruction of Volsinii
264	End of conquest of Italy; beginning of First Punic War

The first major centre to be conquered by Rome was its nearest neighbour, the Etruscan city of Veii. The two settlements were a mere nine miles distant from one another, and similar in funerary custom. The city was extremely prosperous in the seventh

and sixth centuries, evident from its cemeteries and monumental sanctuaries. The city site was colossal, at 194 ha (although not all of it may have been occupied). Its territory was rich, and its potential increased by drainage tunnels and roads (Schiappelli 2013, 327–336). Veii came into conflict with Rome over control of the Tiber and routes either side of it into the hills (along the future route of the *via Salaria*), and of routes from Etruria to Latium and Campania. Its vulnerability is emphasised by the city walls built in the late fifth century to counter the threat of Rome, some 6 km long. The war between Rome and Veii is likely historical, although the version of events handed down to us is highly mythologized. The central figure of the war on the Roman side was Marcus Furius Camillus, remembered as one of the most important leaders of Rome in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, and probably a historical figure, although his exploits were exaggerated. The siege supposedly lasted ten years, ending in 396 BC, but this is modelled on the Trojan War, and so should probably not be taken literally. It was clearly a massive operation for Rome, and involved the establishment of military pay for the Roman army for the first time. Veii appealed for help to the council of Etruscan cities, but was refused, according to Livy, because of the Veientine king's impiety.

After the conquest *virgatus* settlers were set upon the land, and the territory was added to that of Rome. This increased Roman territory by about 50%, and opened up control of the lower Tiber valley and route north. What happened to the original population is uncertain. Livy says all the freeborn were enslaved, which would suggest a considerable appetite for slaves already in the Roman economy, although later on he adds that unspecified numbers of the locals (the supporters of Rome) kept their land and were given citizenship (5.22.1, 6.4.4). Four new Roman rural voting tribes were created in 384 BC, suggesting a considerable augmentation in the Roman population. This is to some extent correlated by survey results which indicates a substantial number of sites in the territory remaining in use after 396, as well as considerable apparent abandonment (Potter 1979, 94–95; Di Giuseppe 2005, 8–9). Just as Rome absorbed part of the population, so the cult of Juno which protected the city was also transferred to Aventine (Livy 5.22). Both seem typical of Roman openness at this time.

Six years after the capture of Veii in 390 BC, Rome herself was sacked by a group of Gauls who had come from northern Italy. Like the war against Veii, the events surrounding the Gallic Sack are problematic. The reason given for the attack on Rome is that three envoys had been sent to Clusium to observe the invaders had joined the Etruscan defenders and brought Gallic attention to Rome. While it is not impossible for three members of the Fabian *gens* to have been present for the battle, it seems unlikely that this was the reason for the sack. Whatever the reason for the Gauls to come to Rome, the event is seen as the most devastating episode in early Roman history. The Romans were catastrophically defeated by a Gallic force at the Allia just north of the city. This group seem to be Senones, from the Adriatic coast of Italy. The remnants of the army retreated to Veii, and the Gauls then sacked the undefended city (through open gates according to Livy). The defenders are alleged to have heroically held onto the Capitol right through siege, with Manlius Capitolinus

famously alerted to a Gallic assault by the sacred geese. But Tacitus (*Histories* 3.72) implies that the Capitol was taken. The Gauls left when paid a massive ransom, but this was recovered when the Gauls were defeated either by the Romans or by the Caeretans (in the more plausible version of Diod. Sic. 14.117.7; Cornell 1995, 316).

Later Romans considered this to have been the most serious blow Rome ever received, and it was the only time when the city was captured by a foreign power before the Goth Alaric in AD 410. Livy indeed portrays this as the most calamitous episode of his first ten books, and claims that the destruction of the city meant that all earlier documents were lost, though this is clearly untrue. The psychological blow to the Romans was certainly strong, with 18 July, the day of the Allia, called a *dies atra* (a “black day”) (Degrassi 1963, 208). A special type of levy was hereafter enacted in the event of a *tumultus Gallicus*, a Gallic invasion, when even priests could be called into army and all allies were obliged to send full forces to the aid of Rome (Plut., *Marc.* 3.3). This is known to have happened in 225 BC, for instance, when another huge Gallic force invaded central Italy, but was this time defeated. It is also clear from the very harsh Roman treatment of the Gauls of northern Italy, which began with the expulsion of the Senones from the *ager Gallicus* in 284 (Polyb. 2.19 with a very interesting digression on Roman relations with the Gauls; Williams 2001). But in reality, Rome does not seem to have been hit that hard. Although a destruction layer has now been identified in the centre of Rome (Bernard 2012, 7), the Gauls themselves seem to have been a mobile band, perhaps essentially mercenaries, who were probably only interested in moveable booty.

The Roman recovery after the Gallic sack is symbolised by various factors (Cornell 1995, 318–322). First, we see renewed urban building, most notably with the so-called “Servian wall.” This was created on an 11 km perimeter around the city, encompassing the major defensible heights (Livy 6.32.1). It is debated whether this renews an earlier circuit, unifies it, or creates it from scratch (Cornell 1995, 198–202; Cifani 2008, 255–64; Bernard 2010; Hopkins 2016, 92–96). Colonies were founded again after a slowing of the process in the second half of the fifth century (Cornell 1995, 303, table 7). These were fully fledged cities that governed and defended themselves, such as Sutrium and Nepes in south Etruria in 383 BC, and Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber between 380 and 350. Rome displayed renewed foreign ambitions in the western Mediterranean, renewing its treaty with Massilia (389) and sending a colony to Sardinia, and perhaps Corsica, although the date of the latter expedition is unattested (Diod. Sic. 15.27.4; Theophrastus, *HP* 5.8.2; Torelli 1981; Steinby 2007, 48). These overseas interests are confirmed by the second treaty formed between Rome and Carthage, probably in 348 (Livy 7.27; Polyb. 3.24; Ampolo 1988; Richardson 2008 for the problems of combining these traditions). The text shows that the Romans had a subject area within Latium, and an interest over the rest of it; that both cities were connected by trade; that Carthage was deeply concerned to prevent Roman contact with Sardinia or Africa; but that Roman trade with Carthage and Sicily was welcome. The second treaty also included clauses meant to regulate the practise of piracy between Rome and Carthage. All these factors indicate that Roman power

had recovered, and a renewed phase of expansion from here on led its armies to enter new spheres of activity and to come into contact with new opponents across the peninsula.

In the first half of the fourth century, Roman power was substantial, and its territory already included a substantial tranche across the Tiber and parts of Latium. But most of the major Latin and south Etruscan cities remained independent, and Roman authority did not stretch much beyond a 15 km radius from the city. Rome fought wars with the Etruscans (probably the cities of the south) involving Sutrium, Nepes and Tarquinia from 389 to 386 BC. In 389 Rome defeated the Etruscans at Sutrium, recaptured the city and sold the Etruscan captives. In 388 there was an attack on Tarquinia, and the capture of the obscure satellite settlements of Cortuosa and Contenebra. In 387 the Etruscans recaptured Nepes and part of Sutrium, but they were recovered by Rome, leading to their colonisation in 383. Some thirty years later, from 358–352, there were a series of Roman battles against Tarquinia, Caere and Falisci. This included the brutal tit-for-tat killing of Roman and Tarquinian prisoners, and ended with Caere being given a hundred year truce, and Tarquinia and Falisci forty years. Etruria seems to have remained quiet until 310.

From the mid fourth century, the Samnites became the key enemies of Rome. A long series of wars were fought with Rome. These are conventionally divided into 3 phases, 343–41, 327–303, and 301–290 BC, and called respectively the First, Second, and Third Samnite War. But this is a purely modern designation, not in the ancient sources, who only talk of war against the Samnites as if on and off over the whole period as (Cornell 2004; Grossman 2009). The Samnites also fought in the Pyrrhic War (in the 270s). Occupying the highlands behind Campania, they were portrayed by Livy as serious rivals for supremacy in Italy. Modern scholars have doubted this, and emphasised Roman aggression, but it is clear that Samnium was a large area organised at least in the latter stages of the conflict into an effective political unity (see Tagliamonte in this volume, for discussion). This brought them inevitably against the growing power of Rome in Campania in the mid fourth century. They were certainly a powerful grouping. Polybius' breakdown of Roman manpower when she and her allies were fighting the Gauls in 225 (2.24, probably deriving from a documentary source) shows that the Samnites formed the largest allied contingent after the Latins (some 77,000 men). As this was some time after the land confiscations associated with the Roman conquest it is likely that the Samnites were even more powerful before the wars with Rome.

The earliest conflict between Rome and the Samnites arose because both expanded into Campania in the mid fourth century. This was the region of some of the best agricultural land in Italy, particularly around Capua, whose wealth was attractive to outsiders. The conflict came about in 343 BC because the Samnites began to besiege Capua, the most important city in the region, and its inhabitants, the Campani, appealed to Rome for help. As a city-state Capua looked to another city, Rome, for protection rather than from an upland people; but Rome was also the obvious source for support, given its rising power. Rome accepted in violation of the treaty

which had been formed with the Samnites in 354 (Livy 7.19.2; Diod. Sic. 16.45.8). The resulting short conflict was the first of many major battles between the two, and led to the award of the first of many triumphs (Tagliamonte 1996, 142), but in this case it was rapidly interrupted by a period of internal turmoil and external rebellion for Rome, and the two powers resumed alliance (341).

Soon after this, relations broke down with the Latins and Campanians, who had hitherto been Rome's allies, leading to war between 341–338 BC. This led to an epoch-making change: the Latin League was dissolved after it was defeated. In 338 Rome reorganised the whole area between itself and Capua. This was a complex settlement. It was partly based on earlier arrangements and partly divide and rule, with three status groups created. Some cities were directly incorporated into the Roman state. Some of the more distant communities, including Capua and Cumae in Campania, were given citizenship without the vote (an innovative status). Other cities continued to have status as Latin allies of Rome, such as Cora, Praeneste, and Tibur, keeping their prior rights of *conubium*, *commercio* and *migratio*. In practical terms this gave Rome firm control over two of the richest agricultural areas of Italy (Latium and Campania). These areas were very densely populated, providing a huge new manpower resource. Rome's territory increased from 1,902 to 5,525 km² (Cornell 1995, 351). This gave the Romans the largest supply of military manpower in the peninsula, and allowed them to expand out of this powerbase along the Tyrrhenian coast to control all of the Italian peninsula.

What was symbolically important in this settlement was that Roman citizenship was imposed on communities well away from Rome itself. The members of incorporated city-states (*municipia*) now had citizenship of Rome as well as their own city, a very flexible concept in comparison with Greek notions. The settlement that the Romans imposed after their victory was most important stage for the formation of the system by which land conquered by the Romans would be organised, first in Italy and then the rest of the Roman Empire. The complex pattern created here was to be replicated throughout Italy, and gave the Romans their great base from which to operate.

The next period in the conflict (called the Second Samnite War by modern writers), was provoked in 327 BC by the Roman colonisation of Fregellae. This colony was a new city established in Samnite territory. It must have broken the earlier treaty of 354. The consequent history of the war was one of consistent Roman aggression over a long period. They attacked the Samnites' allies and neighbours, such as the Vestini in 325, and invaded Samnite territory, where most of the battles took place. The only lull is after the so-called Caudine forks in 321, when a Roman army was trapped in narrow valley in Samnium and forced into an agreement dictated by the Samnites (Livy 9.1–11): this prevented the Romans from further invasions and made them abandon their colonies such as Fregellae. The Samnites humiliated the army by forcing it to pass under a yoke made of spears as a symbol of its servitude, and then required that the leaders signed a treaty (rather than massacring them, one option as allegedly put to the Samnite commanders by the venerable Samnite leader Herennius Pon-

tius, Livy 9.3). But this perhaps proved a mistake, as Rome came back strongly, and by 306 its dominance over much of Italy was recognised in a new treaty with Carthage (Livy 9.43).

The third phase of the Samnite Wars was marked by an alliance engineered by the Samnites with the Gauls, Umbrians and Etruscans in an attempt to match the level of manpower the Romans could call on. The high point of the conflict was the battle of Sentinum in 295 BC, probably the greatest battle fought in Italy up to this date. Both of the armies were huge by the standards of the day: there were four legions (about 18,000 men) and at least an equivalent number of allies on the Roman side (perhaps 36,000 in all). Livy presents the opposing forces as heavily outnumbering the Romans, plausibly claiming that 25,000 were eventually killed. A rather less plausible figure comes from Duris of Samos, that 100,000 were killed (Diod. Sic. 21.6.1–2), but it is notable that this contemporary Greek historian thought the battle worth recording in his history, clearly admiring the Roman success, and noting the *devotio* of the Roman consul Decius. Sentinum was later celebrated by temples at Civitalba with a frieze of Gauls being defeated by the gods. This has been interpreted as a Roman allusion to the mythical repulse of the Gauls at Delphi by Apollo, but it could also parallel defeats of Gauls in Italy, such as at Caere in the 380s. It certainly seems to be a Roman attempt to mark the battle as an Italian defeat of the Gauls. Whatever the figures the battle was decisive for the destiny of Italy. In the subsequent years Rome annexed a swath of territory across the centre of Italy occupied by the Sabines (making them citizens without the vote), which seems in part designed to prevent another coalition forming (see Farney and Masci in this volume).

The other major foe in the conquest was Etruria, or more specifically the Etruscan cities, as they seem never to have fully united as an ethnic group. As we have seen, this war began with the conquest of Etruria in 396 BC and was followed by further wars fought with Tarquinia, Vulci, Volsinii and the other great Etruscan centres. The conquest of Etruria was a complex process, marked by different experiences with different cities. There were some brutal massacres: Livy records the tit for tat killings leading to the execution of Tarquinian prisoners in Roman forum. In other cases the situation is different, and the Romans intervened to quell popular uprisings, such as at Arretium in 302 and Volsinii in 264. Rome generally pursued a policy of supporting the aristocracy at the expense of the masses (Harris 1971). Rome also took military action against its immediate neighbours or cities in strategically favourable positions. After Veii, Rome expanded its territory along the Tiber Valley and the Tyrrhenian coast at the expense of Caere and Vulci. In the late fourth century and early third century, the wars between Rome and the Etruscan cities intensified.

Hostilities reopened in 311–308 BC, when a complex series of wars was fought with the Etruscans and Umbrians, which led to an alliance with Camerinum, and the defeat of the Umbrians at Mevania (308). In 302 a rebellion was suppressed at Arretium in the north, where Rome apparently reinstated the powerful family of the Cilnii in control. Triumphs were celebrated over the Etruscans by M. Valerius Maximus, and Cn. Fulvius Maximus in 301 and 298, and three years later Q. Fabius Max-

imus Rullianus won his great victory over the Etruscans, Gauls, Samnites and Umbrians at Sentinum. Hostilities continued in the next two years. In 294 L. Postumius Megellus conquered Rusellae, the first Etruscan city captured since Veii, and triumphed over the Etruscans, while his colleague M. Attilius Regulus triumphed over the city of Volsinii. A year later Sp. Carvilius Maximus celebrated another triumph over the Etruscans for his handling of a slave uprising at Falerii and Troilum. Overall, the *Fasti Triumphales* shows that Roman consuls had seven victories over Etruscans between 311–281, and two more in 280 (over Volsinii and Vulci). Sentinum in 295 was probably the most decisive battle, and thereafter it was a question of mopping-up resistance for Rome.

From 292 BC we lose the history of Livy, and it becomes much more difficult to follow what is going on. We know from Polybius that in 283 the Romans won a great battle over the Etruscans and Gauls at Lake Vadimone (near Bomarzo), showing that part of the alliance formed at Sentinum still held, and further triumphs were celebrated in 281 BC and 280 BC. In the same year the praefecturae of Statonia and Saturnia were established, with related centuriation and virgane distributions. In 273 or soon after Caere lost half its territory and Pyrgi was destroyed to create a Roman colony. Another Roman colony was established at Castrum Novum on territory confiscated from Caere, and the Latin colony of Cosa on territory taken from Vulci.

In some cases the wars led to the complete destruction of Etruscan cities. The most famous case is Volsinii 264 BC, which marks the last known war against the Etruscans. The elite supposedly called in the Romans to end a rebellion during period of social unrest (Livy, *Per.* 16; Val. Max. 9.1.ext.2; Zonaras in Dio frag. 10.42). The Romans besieged, then destroyed, the city. Vertumnus, the deity of the Fanum Voltumnae (the meeting place of the Etruscan league) was summoned by *evocatio* to Rome. The surviving population was then moved from Orvieto to Bolsena, Volsinii Novi, a less defensible site. The booty included 2,000 bronze statues (Pliny, *NH* 34.34), indicating the great wealth of the city. M. Fulvius Flaccus, the man responsible for the conquest, was able to dedicate offerings including a number of bronze votive images in the Forum Boarium at Rome (where the *donarium* survives at the S. Omobono sanctuary) and also commissioned a painting of his triumph in the temple of Vertumnus. Volsinii was not alone: the enigmatic city on the site called Doganella near Vulci also seems to have suffered the same fate. Known only from archaeology, the evidence ends sharply around 270, when Roman forces were active in this area. However, the majority of Etruscan cities were not destroyed, but bound to Rome by unfavourable treaties of alliance (see Kent in this volume).

The only other enemy on a similar scale that Rome faced during the conquest of Italy was Pyrrhus, the first opponent of Rome from outside Italy. The Pyrrhic war was thus a precursor of that with Carthage. Pyrrhus was a Hellenistic monarch, king of the Epirote confederation, who crossed to Italy because he was called in by Tarentum when they were threatened by the Romans in 281 BC. The Greek colonies in southern Italy had a long tradition of calling in commanders from mainland Greece to protect Magna Graecia against the Lucani and Bruttii. In turn, all these commanders were

trying to increase their personal influence through “protecting the freedom” of Greek cities. Even the Romans themselves exploited this theme coming to the aid of Thurii against the Lucanians in 282. Despite some initial successes (the proverbial Pyrrhic victories) Pyrrhus was eventually defeated and withdrew, abandoning Magna Graecia to the Romans. Like Hannibal after him he was able to win victories but was eventually overcome by the manpower resources of Rome. As a consequence of the war Rome first came to the notice of the Greeks in a substantial way: the defeat of a Hellenistic monarch puts the Romans on the map of Mediterranean powers.

The end date of the conquest of Italy is typically identified by modern scholars as 264 BC, although this is an artificial periodization in hindsight. Certainly wars are no longer *regularly* fought between Rome and Italian states after this point. There are outbreaks of conflict later on in the third century, such as the confused episode of the defeat of Falerii in 241 (see Tabolli in this volume), and of course the Hannibalic War (Fronza in this volume), but in both instances the enemy Italians are typically regarded as “rebels” against an established Roman hegemony. Much is obscured by the fragmentary nature of our sources for the period between 292 (when we lose the full text of Livy) and 264 (when Polybius begins a summary narration of the First Punic War). The conquest might be regarded as essentially over by the time of the retreat of Pyrrhus from Italy. What is clear is that in 264 the Romans entered another colossal struggle, this time against Carthage, by sending an army to Sicily. Modern scholars have tended to see this as a striking feature of the way Roman wars follow on from each other and a product of the pressures favouring imperialism.

IV Imperialism, Roman and Italian

What enabled Rome’s armies to be so successful in the conquest, and why were the Italians unable to resist the imposition of Roman control? There has been considerable recent scholarly debate about Roman imperialism in Italy. This is a modern concept meaning the creation of an empire and the maintenance of control over it (overviews in Champion 2004, Hoyos 2013). Roman ideology stressed the justness and defensive character of all wars. Cicero, looking back with hindsight, claimed that “our people has now gained power over the whole world by defending its allies” (*Rep.* 3.35). Livy recounts the ritual of the Roman priests known as *fetiales*, by which they declared war only after reparations had been demanded (Livy 1.32). This becomes rather impractical when Roman enemies begin to come from abroad, but Roman punctiliousness requires that the ritual be nevertheless maintained: the story goes that for the declaration of war on Pyrrhus, a captured Epirote soldier was forced to buy some land in Rome so that could be used for the declaration (Servius, *Aen* 9.32; Ovid, *Fasti* 333–335)! Until the 1970s most scholars accepted that the Romans were essentially defensive in their outlook, and that they were reluctantly forced into conquering new territory to protect the interests of Rome and of their al-

lies. A typical example would be Rome's first involvement in Campania and consequent war with the Samnites, which began in 343 with the submission of Capua to Rome, an act not at Roman instigation (Livy 7.29: "the cause came from without and did not originate with the two peoples themselves"). In fact, such appeals happened at many pivotal moments of Roman imperialism, such as the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264 (from Messana), at the start of the Second Punic War from Saguntum, and from Egypt in 200 at the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War. This scholarly position has been termed "defensive imperialism" by its critics.

More recent work has pointed out the paradox in this approach. It is a very positive view of Roman intentions, as being wholly honourable, and denigrates those of their enemies, as the aggressors. In practice most Roman wars were fought on foreign territory, and their actions would seem to speak louder than words. This reassessment was led by Hopkins (1978) and Harris (1979); Oakley (1993) and Raafaub (1996) apply their findings to the period before 327. It is now accepted that Rome was a highly militaristic state. Rather than avoiding war, Rome seems to have actively sought it out and celebrated it. Their aim was "universal aggression," according to the Greek historian Polybius (1.3.6), our closest contemporary. Warfare was built into the structure of the state: the natural rhythm of annual warfare is clear from the archaic calendar of Rome, where regular annual festivals associated with weaponry and the gods of war opened and closed the campaigning season. Every five years the censors prayed for the expansion of the Roman state (Val. Max. 4.1.10a).

A key reason for this bellicose outlook must lie in Rome's early history. Rome was habituated to annual war during the struggle in the fifth century against the Volsci and Aequi, and this habit may predate this. The Romans fought wars in virtually every year in the early and middle Republic (Rawlings 2007, 47). This expectation of annual war is expressed in our sources, such as when Livy refers to an expedition undertaken by the consuls in 303 "in order that their year might not go by without any war whatever" (10.1.1–6; cf. Polyb. 32.13 for similar sentiments concerning the Dalmatian war in 156 BC). Success in war was a key factor in prestige for the Roman aristocracy, especially in the years of accelerating conquest either side of 300, and so fundamental for political advancement. Young Roman nobles were keen to fight single combats, and won *cognomina* that commemorated their victories and could be handed down to their descendants, such as Torquatus and Corvus (from torquis, a twisted collar or necklace, and corvus, a raven). Detailed records of such achievements were memorialised (and embellished) in elite family records, and featured prominently in *elogia*, such as that celebrating Scipio Barbatus' capture of towns in Samnium and Lucania (*ILS* 1 = *ILLRP* 309). Generals celebrated military success by dedicating temples to the gods that supported them, and holding triumphs, in which they processed with their army around the city, dressed to resemble the god Jupiter. The structure of the Roman family typically left Roman men free from commitments to dependents or their family's farm until their late 20s. Hence they were available for military service through their late teens and early twenties, ena-

bling Rome to sustain a very high level of military service (ca. 10–15% in the mid Republic) (Rosenstein 2004).

Harris and his followers have argued that this extraordinary commitment to war making was encouraged by various systematic pressures. Warfare was economically rewarding, in terms of the booty and land it brought in. For instance, Livy (10.46) details the massive booty captured after the Samnite campaign of Papirius and from the Etruscan campaign of Carvilius in 292. Rome was accused of attacking Volsinii in 264 for its 2000 statues (Pliny, *NH* 34.34), and according to Fabius Pictor the Romans realised their wealth for the first time after the conquest of Sabinum in 290 BC (Strabo 5.3.1). By 200 the stereotype of the avaricious general, casting round for another victim to plunder, could be satirised by Plautus (*Epidicus* 158–60; Harris 1979, 103). Perhaps as early as the fourth century the Roman agricultural system started to rely on cheap slaves. The emergence of a “slave society” can be traced through various measures in this period such as a tax on manumissions, and the recruitment of freedmen into the army (Cornell 1995, 333). Furthermore, from the Foedus Cassianum of 493, Rome always fought alongside allies. This habit continued into the period when the whole of Italy was conquered, when defeated states were standardly made allies of Rome, and came to fight alongside her, and share in the rewards. As Rome used the defeated to supply armed men rather than tribute (Polyb. 6.21.4), it had to go to war to benefit, a calculation which also applied to the allies, as they profit from booty as well.

However, it is now clear that the question is much more complex. It is surprisingly difficult to link up the factors mentioned above explicitly with the decision to go to war. Senators may well have been aware of them, but tended not to discuss them (and in any case their deliberations are largely lost to us). We also need to question if war was *always* economically beneficial; massacres of impoverished Apennine tribes like the Aequi in 304 are unlikely to have bought in serious rewards. In addition, more recent approaches have emphasised other factors at work, which provided conflicting tendencies. Rich (1993) argued that Roman fear of their enemies, such as Gauls, Samnites, and Etruscans, was genuine. For instance, Polybius presents Rome as in terror of the Gauls (2.23.7–12; 2.31.7), and this presumably lay behind the human sacrifice of Greeks and Gauls in 228, 216, and 114/13. Eckstein (2006) has emphasised the importance of seeing Rome in the context of the whole Mediterranean interstate system. This approach draws on modern international relations theory of Realism: if there is no interstate law, then anarchy is the result. It is therefore misleading to see Rome as an *exceptional* predator state. This was an environment in which only the most ferocious military aggressors came out on top, and failure in this competition often led to elimination. In most cases war found Rome, rather than other way round.

The application of Realism to the ancient world has not won universal approval. Cornell (2004) has argued that the Roman narrative of the Samnite Wars exaggerates the threat they and other peoples of Italy posed. Our literary sources like to speak of Rome battling the Samnites for supremacy in Italy (Livy 8.23.9), yet most battles were

fought in Samnite, not Roman, territory. In addition, Roman manpower was undoubtedly formidable after 338, and not by any means matched by the Etruscans and others (though note that Cornell 1995, 351, 465 n. 18 estimates Rome to have been only a little larger than the Samnites). Burton (2011) has recently critiqued Eckstein from a Constructivist perspective, arguing that he exaggerates the prevalence of anarchy in interstate relations, and downplays diplomacy and dialogue.

Yet Rich and Eckstein are right to emphasise Roman fear. Roman fear of their enemies does not need to be a pretext for cynical pre-emptive wars, but can be a genuine result of the fierce environment. We know that Rome suffered ninety major battlefield defeats in the Republic, came close to destruction during the Gallic sack of 390, and was several times defeated by Pyrrhus and Hannibal (Champion 2004). This helps to explain why Rome was eager to accept calls for help by weaker states, which would inevitably lead to larger confrontations. In debates about interventions, our sources present fear of other imperialist states as a common factor. Rome is therefore best seen as the product of a very militarized environment, unusually able to mobilise its military forces.

This debate has highlighted some key features of Roman imperialism: its relatively ad hoc nature; Roman opportunism; and the “runaway” nature of the positive feedback at work. A key question concerns Roman strategy, and whether or not anyone was in control of this imperialism, directing it to a firm goal? It has often been asserted with hindsight that the conquest of Italy was an inevitable aim of Rome. The conviction that the Roman conquest was an inevitable process leading to the unification of Italy under Rome was championed by Mommsen in the nationalist environment of nineteenth century Germany (Mouritsen 1998, 23–37). In the twentieth century, it was widely accepted that Roman road building and colony foundation backed Mommsen’s view up, but the teleological character of modern scholarship is now being questioned (Terrenato 2008). It is in part a product of the hindsight and nostalgia implicit in all ancient sources, which are post-conquest in outlook. Whilst these issues cannot be negated, we should at least maintain awareness of their distorting effect at all times. It is important to appreciate that long term planning was very difficult to impossible in the unpredictable circumstances of the late fourth and early third century, which only with hindsight takes on the appearance of a natural “first step” on the road to world domination. A less determined approach to Roman expansion enables us to take a more nuanced view of how it unfolded (Bradley 2014).

V Military aspects of the conquest

Rome’s conquest of the Italian peninsula came about not only through ideological and diplomatic processes, but also because of the success of armies in the field. As has been discussed above, evidence for warfare in Italy stretches back much further than the historical record. Unfortunately, there is little that can be said about the

earliest armies of Rome which probably helped in the territorial expansion of the regal period. According to the narrative tradition, Romulus formed the first armies of the city, either being based on his creation of 30 *curiae* (Livy 1.13), three tribes (Varro *LL* 5.81), or directly as “companies” (σύνταγμα) (Plut. *Rom.* 13.1). From the available evidence, it appears that this army, however it was raised, would have consisted of 3,000 infantry and 300 cavalry (Palmer 1970, 5–9; Cornell 1995, 114–115). That this form of army actually dates to Romulus is doubtful, but it has been suggested that the institution of the 30 *curiae* and the three tribes probably date to the same reorganization of the population, sometime after the population of Rome had become settled and permanent, and thus during the regal period (Ogilvie 1965, 80).

The most significant change that we know of regarding the Roman army in the Archaic Period is attributed to the reign of the king Servius Tullius (traditionally dated to 578–534 BC). Servius supposedly divided the population of Rome into a series of classes based on wealth which would outline their military obligations (Livy 1.43; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.16–18; Cic. *Rep.* 2.39–40; Sumner 1970). The classes are described as the cavalry, the first class, the engineers, and then the second, third, fourth, and fifth classes, followed by the musicians and *proletarii*. For most of the twentieth century this reform was equated with the introduction of the “hoplite army” to Rome (cf. Snodgrass 1965, 119–120; Cornell 1995, 183–186). Although the adoption of supposed hoplite arms and armour in central Italy is well attested in the archaeological record (Snodgrass 1965, 116–119; Stary 1979, 191–198), the universal acceptance of a Roman army along the lines of the Greek *poleis* has begun to erode. Smith (2006, 288–289) and Rosenstein (2010) have pointed out that based on modern discussions of the development of the hoplite in Greece, as well as the historical circumstances of early Rome, the adoption of the hoplite style of warfare is unlikely.

The final army organization that we encounter in the historical record of the period of the Roman conquest of Italy is typically referred to as the manipular legion. At an ultimately unknown date the Romans no longer fought with *clipei* (round shields) and in the phalanx but rather with *scuta* (oblong shields) in a looser fashion (Livy 8.8.3; Diod. Sic. 23.2.1). According to the unknown author of the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, this change came about during Rome’s conflict with the Samnites (von Arnim 1892, 121). Some modern scholars have proposed that the change took place under the leadership of Camillus in the early fourth century, based on the evidence of Livy and Diodorus who both claim that the change occurred when the Romans began to pay their soldiers (i. e. Keppie 1984, 19). Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for this period does not illuminate warfare in any meaningful way (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 48–50). Tactically, the change to the manipular legion introduced a more fluid and adaptable Roman army. This allowed for an easier circulation of fresh soldiers in battle and must have helped lead Rome to military success during the conquest of Italy, and further afield (Rawlings 2007, 53–58).

Wars typically lasted a single year. When we hear about conflicts between Rome and other peoples in the first decade of Livy we normally hear about the beginning but rarely the formal conclusion. The annual occurrence of these small wars in our

sources, however, probably means that they lasted only one war-making season. The most blatant exception to this is the supposed ten-year siege of Veii beginning ca. 406. From this point forward we hear of more protracted wars, such as the so-called Samnite Wars, which lasted, respective to order, about four years, twenty-two years, and eight years. Wars such as these required considerably more investment in logistics than small-scale single season conflicts. According to our sources, these elongated wars forced the Romans to start paying their soldiers, which either happened during the siege of Veii or during the First Samnite War.

As noted above in the second section, warfare in central Italy before the period of significant Roman expansion primarily consisted of raiding and small-scale warfare. There is no reason to assume that this behaviour ended with the development of more long-term war-making tactics. If anything, the second treaty between Rome and Carthage indicates that Roman raiding by sea became more prolific than it had been in 509/508 (Polyb. 3.24). Pitched battles, being a combat between two large forces, occurred but do not seem to have been a prominent feature of Italian warfare before the period of Roman conquest. Battles such as these may have been fought in central Italy as far back as the seventh or sixth centuries, but this is based on a very selective reading of scenes depicted on vases which may represent a number of other activities, such as armed dances (Hall 2016, 89). At the birth of the Roman Republic we hear about the Battle of the Silvian Wood between the new republic and a combined army of Tarquinians and Veientes (Livy 2.6–7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.14–17). The historicity of this event is, of course, questionable, and the details may well be invention on behalf of later historians. Just over a century later, Rome was almost brought to her knees because of an unsuccessful pitched battle against the Gauls. Pitched battles continued to be important throughout the Roman conquest, especially the battles of Sentinum (Livy 10.16–27), Aquilonia (10.40), Vadimon (Polyb. 2.19–20; App. *Gall.* 2.13), Asculum (Plut. *Pyrr.* 21.9) and Beneventum (275).

Many of the battles that we hear of were fought by combined armies of allied peoples or states. The Battle of the Silvian Wood saw a Roman army fight a mixed force from Tarquinia and Veii. The Republic again fought against an army made up of men from different settlements at the Battle of Lake Regillus, this time made up of allied Latin states (Livy 2.19–21). These allied armies were not always limited to one “ethnic” group. When Arruns Porsenna was besieging Aricia, the Latins were able to call a Greek army from Cumae to their aid (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.5). The trend did not change as Rome began expanding. One of the last major obstacles standing in the way of the Roman conquest of all of Italy was decided in 295 when they defeated an allied army of Etruscans, Gauls, Samnites, and Umbrians at Sentinum during the so-called Third Samnite War (Livy 10.16–27).

We often hear of sieges in the historical sources. It is possible that Rome was taken by an Etruscan army from Vulci at the end of the sixth century (*ILS* 212.I.22–7; Livy 4.3.12; Alföldi 1965, 212–231), but the sources are not clear. Lars Porsenna, king of Clusium, laid siege to Rome (Livy 2.9–14; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.21–35) and

his son besieged the Latin city of Aricia (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.5). Rome may again have been besieged by an Etruscan army when in the aftermath of the disaster at the Cremera (Livy 2.51; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.24–26). Minor settlements, however, were not immune to sieges, and when we hear of small centres, such as Apiolae (Livy 1.35; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.49) being “sacked” we should read these under the same heading as “sieges.” The two most important sieges of the period include Rome’s first major expansion and its struggle for survival. The first of these was the Roman siege and conquest of Veii in 396. Around six years later, the Gauls who defeated a Roman army at the Allia sacked the city. However, most typical sieges seem to have involved rapid assaults on smaller dependent centres rather than long term reductions of major cities.

VI Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Rome began its rise to Mediterranean hegemonic power, undertaking its initial phases of conquest in Italy. Beginning sometime during the regal period, Roman armies began to project the power of the city’s inhabitants beyond its immediate hinterland. Conflicts with other Latins and Etruscan peoples followed in the next century, as well as struggles with the Aequi and the Volsci. As Roman politics and expansion developed, the army, its most acute force of conquest, changed. The ancient sources portray the changes in Roman military practice as reflecting the Roman peoples’ ability to adapt to any situation. While certainly a *topos*, there must be some truth to it. The adoption of the round shield and spear, as well as the oblong shield and maniples, probably came about because of necessity. The rapid sharing of military equipment and tactics within Italy reflect the high levels of mobility and cultural interaction between Italian city-states.

War, however, was not Rome’s only tool in expanding its power. Diplomacy was an important part of this. Although we do not have concrete evidence for the use of diplomatic channels in Roman expansion during the regal period, the sources are adamant that the *fetiales* and the Temple of Fides on the Capitoline were both founded by one of the early *reges*. The early Republic’s desire to compromise with neighbouring communities is reflected by the first treaty (ca. 509) with Carthage. During future periods of expansion, treaties, friendship, and suffrage were all used as tools which led to Rome’s dominance of the Italian peninsula. Ultimately, it was a combination of these agreements and compromises and a firm application of military might which brought an end to the independence of the Etruscan and Italic peoples.

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Michael P. Fronda

The Italians in the Second Punic War

I Introduction

After Pyrrhus' final departure from Italy, Roman hegemony over the people of the peninsula was essentially unchallenged for the next half-century. Campaigns in Italy in the later 270s and early 260s BCE have much the appearance of "mopping up" operations, merely the last stages of the seemingly inevitable conquest of Italy before 264, when international events and Rome's own ambitions turned the Roman gaze to lands beyond the peninsula. Subsequent victory in the First Punic War made Rome's dominant position in Italy appear unassailable. Even a major rising of the Celtic peoples in the Po River valley in 225, although it caused much consternation, did not seriously threaten Rome's *imperium*. The situation changed dramatically, however, when Hannibal invaded Italy (218) and dealt the Romans a series of crushing defeats at the battles of Trebia (218), Trasimene (217) and Cannae (216).

The Second Punic War is usually examined from the perspective of the main protagonists, Hannibal on one side and the Romans on the other. This chapter will focus on the Italians in the Second Punic War. Italy was the central and decisive theater of the war, and it was Hannibal's inability to compel enough Italian communities to defect from Rome that ultimately doomed his efforts. Meanwhile, this long and destructive war fought on Italian soil had a profound impact not only on the Romans but also the Italians. By focusing on the Italians, we add a layer to our understanding of this pivotal conflict. At the same time, relatively rich narrative sources for the events of the war in the Italian theatre provide much information about intra- and inter-community politics among various non-Roman inhabitants of the peninsula, and thus offer a rare and valuable glimpse at Italian perspectives in the late third century.

II Hannibal's strategy and the Italians

Hannibal did not initially plan to besiege, storm or otherwise reduce the city of Rome. Hannibal dismissed the idea of marching against Rome after the Battle of Trasimene, and he reportedly refused to march on Rome after his overwhelming victory at the Battle of Cannae (Polyb. 3.86.8; Liv. 22.51.1–4; Gell. 10.24.7; see Hoyos 2000). In 211 Hannibal led his army to within a few miles of the city and possibly skirmished

Michael P. Fronda: McGill University (Montreal), Department of History and Classical Studies, Leacock Building, Montreal, Quebec, H4A 2L5 Canada. Email: michael.frona@mcgill.ca

with Roman forces beneath the city walls, but while he may have then contemplated making an attempt on the city, the campaign was fundamentally a diversionary tactic to draw Roman forces from the Capua, not a legitimate effort to capture Rome (Polyb. 9.5–7; Liv. 26.7–11, App. *Hann.* 38–39).

Rather, Hannibal aimed from the beginning to force the Romans to accept a negotiated end to the war on terms favourable to the Carthaginians (Fronda 2011). Thus, Hannibal made a speech after the battle of Cannae to the Roman captives that he was not fighting a war of extermination, but rather for dignity and empire, after which he released ten captured Romans to the Senate to negotiate peace terms (Liv. 22.58.3–7). The treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedon in 215, as reported by Polybius (7.9.2–17), contains provisions for future dealings with Rome that assume the Roman state's survival. The best – perhaps only – way for Hannibal to force the Romans to accept terms was to fight the war in Italy (cf. Liv. 34.60.3). Hannibal assumed that defeating the Romans in one or a few pitched battles in their own backyard would compel them to negotiate. Even if the Romans proved typically stubborn, he also expected to convince the Italian allies to break with Rome, by overawing them with his military prowess or by seducing them with various promises (see Fronda 2011). Eventually, the combination of allied revolts and Roman losses would force the Romans to the bargaining table. In large part, then, Hannibal's strategy targeted the Italians as much as it did the Romans.

The basic framework of Hannibal's Italian strategy is indicated in Polybius' account (3.90.11–13) of events in the summer of 217, after the Battle of Trasimene. In the wake of the disaster the Romans elected a dictator, Quintus Fabius Maximus, who generally avoiding pitched battle, preferring instead to harass Carthaginian forces and give the Romans time to recover. In response, Hannibal marched into the *ager Falernus*, a fertile plain in northern Campania, and devastated it systematically. Polybius states that Hannibal:

[counted] with certainty upon one of two alternatives: either he would compel the enemy to fight or make it plain to everybody that he was winning and that the Romans were abandoning the country to him. Upon this happening he hoped that the towns would be much impressed and hasten to throw off their allegiance to Rome. For up to now, although the Romans had been beaten in two battles, not a single Italian city had revolted to the Carthaginians, but all remained loyal, although some suffered much. From which one may estimate the awe and respect that the allies felt for the Roman state. (Loeb translation)

The passage indicates that Hannibal expected to break up Rome's system of alliances with the Italians in the early stages of the war.

Indeed, it was vital for Hannibal to convince the Italians to defect because he needed to overcome Rome's enormous manpower advantage. Rome not only boasted a large population from which citizen-recruits could be levied, but also the allied Italian communities, the *socii et Latini*, provided troops in support of Rome's wars. The Italian allies served in divisions of similar size and with similar arms and training as the legions, and they typically accounted for between one-half and two-thirds

of the infantry in a “Roman” army, and as many as three-quarters of the cavalry. This allowed Rome to field unusually large armies by ancient standards: for example, they mobilized more than 100,000 men for service in the legions between 218 and 215, and during the height of the war effort (214–212) approximately 230,000 Romans and allies were under arms. Yet Rome’s military potential was even greater. According to Polybius (2.24), the total number of men of military age liable for the levy, Roman and allied, was about 770,000. By contrast, Hannibal descended the Alps into Italy with only 20,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry. Some scholars question the reliability of Polybius’ summary of Roman-Italian manpower in 225 (e.g. Brunt 1965, 44–54, 416–422; Baronowski 1993; Hin 2008). However, the population of ancient Messapia has been estimated at 117,00–145,000 inhabitants, based on the results of field surveys conducted in the Salento. This figure corresponds surprisingly closely to the population estimate of 122,000–136,000 for Messapia extrapolated from Polybius’ report (Yntema 2008). Thus, at least for southeastern Italy, archaeological evidence appears roughly to support Polybius’ veracity. In any case, no one questions that Hannibal was vastly outnumbered when he invaded Italy. Hannibal’s best hope in this disadvantageous military context was to win over as many Italians as quickly as possible. At worst the Italians would sit on the sidelines; at best they would defect to his own army in large numbers.

Hannibal’s surprise and frustration that he had made no headway in breaking up the Roman-Italian alliance system after his victories at Trebia and Trasimene, which is indicated in Polybius’ account of his decision to devastate the *ager Falernus* in 217, suggest that Hannibal expected to win over the Italians quickly and easily. So too his offer of terms immediately after the Battle of Cannae point to the expectation of a short war. As we know from hindsight, Hannibal miscalculated. The Romans never surrendered, and a large number of allied communities remained loyal and provided Rome with critical military assistance. Thus Hannibal was drawn into a long and ultimately unwinnable war of attrition.

III Italian motivations

Hannibal’s ultimate fate should not blind modern observers to how successful his strategy was. He not only exacted crushing defeats on the Romans, he elicited widespread allied defections: as many as 40% of Rome’s allies broke with Rome in the course of the war (Lazenby 1996). Nevertheless, Hannibal fell short of convincing enough allies to defect at the same time to force Rome to capitulate or to counteract Roman military advantages.

Several arguments have been invoked to explain Hannibal’s failure. It has been claimed that Hannibal fundamentally misunderstood Roman-Italian relations. According to this school of thought, the Romans and their allies shared a common identity, or at last formed a community of interest, with the allies generally accepting Rome’s moderate rule in exchange for perceived benefits. While ethnic or cultural

links allegedly strengthened the bond between Rome and the allies, the Italians would have found Hannibal's army, composed of Carthaginians, Numidians, Iberians, and Celts, completely alien. The foreignness would have been a major obstacle to drawing the Italians away from Rome (see Reid 1915; Halward 1930, 56; Badian 1958, 143–145; Toynbee 1965, 272–820; Salmon 1982, 80–82; David 1996, 57; Lazenby 1998, 87–88).

The Italians may indeed have perceived Hannibal as alien, (Liv. 23.5.11–13, 24.47.5), but Italian-Roman unity at the outbreak of the Second Punic War should not be exaggerated. Consider Polybius' (2.23.11–13) description of Roman and allied preparations for war against the Boii and Insubres in 225, a passage sometimes invoked in support of growing Roman-Italian unity:

On every side there was a ready disposition to help in every possible way; for the inhabitants of Italy, panic-stricken by the attack of the Gauls, no longer reckoned that they were fighting as allies to the Romans, or that the war was begun for the sake of the Romans' hegemony, but each man considered the danger being brought upon himself and his own city and country. So there was great alacrity in obeying orders.

While the contrast between the inhabitants of Italy and the Gauls implies some sort of pan-Italian identity, it was fear of the Gauls, not closeness to Rome, that drove the allies to make common cause with the Romans. The fundamental motivation was that each man was thinking about himself and his own city. The Italians cooperated with Rome because of self-interest and local patriotism, not common identity.

If anything, Hannibal's invasion of Italy brought a variety of rivalries and animosities to the surface, indicating the existence of little if any meaningful pan-Italian identity. Thus, longstanding hostility between Bruttians and Greeks erupted into open fighting in southern Italy. The Bruttians joined a Carthaginian attack on Locri in the hope that they could seize and plunder the city, and later they mounted their own campaign against the city of Croton (Liv. 24.1.1, 24.2.1–3). In addition to such ethnic tension, longstanding interstate rivalries also became manifest during the Second Punic War (see below). Overall, the war revealed an Italy comprised of many autonomous, often rival and mutually hostile communities. In this context Hannibal's foreignness was probably not a crucial factor in the decision to revolt from Rome or remain loyal. The Bruttian example underscores this point, as they willingly joined Hannibal in order to attack neighbouring communities.

A more cynical explanation is that the Italians were dissuaded from siding with Hannibal because they were afraid of Roman retributions (Briscoe 1989, 75–78; David 1996, 57; Goldsworthy 2000, 226). In fact, Rome often severely punished not only openly rebellious Italian communities but also some whose loyalty was merely suspected. For example, in Locri, the ringleaders of the revolt were executed and their property distributed to members of the pro-Roman faction (Liv. 29.8.1–2); in Tarentum the population was mostly massacred or enslaved (Liv. 27.16.1–9); in Nola several aristocrats were executed in order to forestall the city's defection (Liv. 23.16.8–9, 23.17.1–3, Plut. *Marc.* 11.1–2); and similarly aristocrats from several Etruscan cities were exe-

cuted on suspicion of aiding the Carthaginians (Liv. 27.21.6–8, 27.22.5, 27.22.12–13, 27.24.1–9, 28.10.4–5, 29.36.11–12). Yet Hannibal, too, had a record of brutality. It is reported that he destroyed Acerrae and Nuceria for refusing to join him (Liv. 23.15.2–5, 23.17.1–7, App. *Pun.* 63), massacred adult men in towns seized in Umbria and Picenum in 217 (Polyb. 3.86.8–11), and reportedly burned alive the family of Dasius Altinius of Arpi, who had abandoned Hannibal and fled to the Roman camp (Liv. 24.45). Hannibal's bloodthirstiness had become a trope in the Roman historiographic tradition already by the time Polybius (9.22–26) defended him against charges of excessive greed and cruelty. Yet Polybius does not deny that Hannibal was at times cruel, but rather argues his cruelty was proportional to the circumstances. Italian communities risked brutal retributions – from the Romans and from Hannibal – no matter with whom they decided to side.

Roman and Carthaginian punishment of Italian communities possibly both combined to undermine Hannibal's diplomatic credibility. The treaties that Hannibal made with the people of Capua (Liv. 23.7.1–2), Locri (Liv. 24.1.13), Tarentum (Polyb. 8.25. 1–2, Liv. 25.8.8), and with the Lucanians (Liv. 25.16.7), all contain guarantees of freedom, autonomy or similar phrases. Similarly after the battles of Trebia and Trasimene Hannibal freed Italian (but not Roman) prisoners without ransom and told them that his aim was to restore the Italians' freedom from Rome (Polyb. 3.77.6, 3.85.4). It has been argued that the Italians would have been confused by this Hellenistic-style liberation propaganda (Erskine 1993). However, such rhetoric surely posed no difficulty for the Greek communities of southern Italy, while other Italian communities had been exposed to Greek culture (Lomas 1993, 46–48; Cornell 1995, 86–92) and had previous experience with liberation propaganda (App. *Sam.* 10.1). Even if Italian communities did not appreciate the nuances of Hellenistic diplomacy, they must have understood Hannibal's promise to restore land that the Romans had confiscated from them (e.g. Polyb. 3.77.6). It seems doubtful that the Italians would have found Hannibal's promises of freedom incomprehensible. His mistreatment of Italians, however, may have undercut his liberator rhetoric (Errington 1972, 69–77). Meanwhile, Rome's punishment of disloyal Italian communities would have made clear that Hannibal could not protect his allies and thus could not back up claim to be a guarantor of their freedom, a conundrum mentioned by ancient authors (e.g. Polyb. 9.26.4–7; Liv. 26.5.1–2).

Still, the promise of freedom seems to have resonated with some Italian communities, which points to Italian discontent with Rome's rule regardless of how light the Roman yoke may have been. Some broad reasons for Italian discontent can be extrapolated from Livy's relatively detailed description of the treaty between Hannibal and Capua, which stipulated the Capuans should have their own laws, should be subject to no Carthaginian magistrate, and should perform no military service against their will. The terms indicate that the authority of foreign magistrates, interference in local governance, and the imposition of military obligations were important sources of allied disaffection. The brutal treatment of Roman citizens, both private citizens and public officials, by the Capuans after they sided with Hannibal

(Liv. 23.74), if historical, may reflect the depth of resentment against Rome. We can speculate plausibly that such feelings were widespread among the Italian allies, which explains in general why Italian communities may have been attracted to Hannibal's diplomacy. Yet this does not help to disclose why individual communities chose to defect or remain loyal to Rome.

Unique historical circumstances and specific local political, economic and military factors must have shaped how the ruling class in each Italian city reacted to Hannibal's overtures. These conditions are mostly lost to us, but the sources do preserve some details that allow a glimpse into the variety of Italian responses to Hannibal's invasion. For example, the surviving treaties between Hannibal and Italian communities, while similar, also contain different stipulations: the Locrian treaty stipulated local control of the city's port and guaranteed mutual defense; the Tarentine treaty had a proviso allowing the Carthaginians to loot houses occupied by Roman citizens; and the Capuan treaty had a very specific term granting the Capuans possession of 300 Romans to be selected by the Capuans from among the prisoners of war in Hannibal's camp. This last relates to a very specific set of circumstances: 300 young Capuan aristocrats were serving as cavalry in Sicily, whom the Capuans worried the Romans could use as hostages (Liv. 23.4.7–8). The Capuans thus hoped to exchange the Roman hostages for their own citizens. These unique treaty terms hint at the myriad of local conditions, concerns, grievances and motivations that surely influenced local decision making in each and every community faced with the choice between Rome and Hannibal.

Indeed, even within a single Italian community the response to Hannibal was rarely, if ever uniform. Livy's elaborate account of the Capuan decision to revolt indicates that the ruling class was deeply divided, with individual aristocrats driven by a variety of personal, familial, political and practical concerns (Liv. 23.2–10; Fronda 2007). In some cities – perhaps many – opinion split along traditional factional lines. Certain individual local aristocrats tied their own political fortunes to Hannibal, hoping to exploit an alliance with the Carthaginians for their own political gain, whereas those elite with close ties to Rome – perhaps whose own local political preeminence rested on Roman support – tended to resist and argue against siding with Hannibal. This is well exemplified by the case of Compsa (Liv. 23.1.1–3), where Statius Trebius agreed to hand over his city to Hannibal. Trebius was a political rival of the Mopsii family, who enjoyed power because of Roman favour. When Compsa was delivered to Hannibal, the Mopsii and their allies fled the city, while Statius Trebius and his supporters were presumably rewarded and left in charge. A similar dynamic played out in Salapia, where two bitter political rivals (Dasius and Blattius) chose opposing sides in the war: Blattius remained loyal to Rome, but Dasius helped betray his city to Hannibal (Liv. 26.38.6–14; App. *Hann.* 45–47). Livy states that Hannibal promised the people of Nuceria that anyone who served under him would receive plunder and political rewards (23.15.4: *praemia et honores*); the passage implies this was Hannibal's regular practice from the start of the war. Indeed, it is likely that both Han-

nibal and the Romans typically tried to manipulate and exploit local political competition (Fronza 2011, 247; Lomas 2011, 348–351).

Regional and subregional interstate relations also influenced Italian motivations. In Apulia, Campania, and Magna Graecia, the breakdown of loyal and rebellious communities reflects longer-term patterns of interstate behavior. Consider one example: Rhegium and Locri. These two cities supported opposing sides in a war between Leontini and Syracuse (427–426); Dionysius I of Syracuse allied with Locri against Rhegium; the two cities opposed each other during the reign of Dionysius II of Syracuse; Locri supported Pyrrhus while Rhegium at least initially supported Rome during the Pyrrhic War; lastly and perhaps unsurprisingly Locri sided with Hannibal and Rhegium remain loyal to Rome (Fronza 2010, 183–185, with sources). At the same time, certain cities tended to align together in conflict after conflict, especially less powerful towns that tended to fall in line with a neighboring hegemonic state. Thus, during the Second Punic War, when Tarentum revolted from Rome, Metapontum and Heraclea, two cities that had traditionally fallen under Tarentine hegemony, followed suit (Fronza 2010, 195–223). Similarly, after Capua revolted, Atella, Calatia, and Sabatia – with historically close ties to Capua – also revolted (Frederiksen 1984, 140–142; Fronza 2007; Fronza 2010, 122–123). Such consistent patterns of interstate behavior suggest that longstanding rivalries and links between communities persisted beneath the veneer of Roman hegemony, and then re-emerged during the Second Punic War. As discussed earlier, simmering ethnic tensions also boiled over during the war and influenced the local policy. These conflicting factors must have been difficult for Hannibal to predict, and more difficult for him to control as he attempted to pry Italian allies away from Rome.

Hannibal was most successful in southern Italy, getting strong support from the Samnites and Bruttians, and winning over many communities in Campania, Apulia, Lucania, Messapia, and from among the Italiote Greeks. As mentioned above, we hear of disturbances in Etruria and Umbria in the middle years of the war, but the Romans forestalled major defections in these regions. Likewise, no Latin colony defected, though in 209 twelve Latin colonies refused to meet their military obligations, claiming that war's heavy toll deprived them of sufficient numbers of able-bodied men (Liv. 27.9–10). Hannibal's achievements in the south resulted partly from the happenstance of war: he won his greatest battlefield victory in southern Italy, at Cannae, after which his armies remained in the south, only rarely venturing north of the Vulturnus and Bifernus rivers. As has been long observed, no Italian city revolted unless Hannibal's army drew near, even among those communities that solicited him. A show of force was necessary both to compel the less willing to join him and to convince more willing Italian communities that he could credibly protect them from Roman reprisals. Additionally, southern Italy had more recently been conquered, so it is possible that the communities had a stronger sense of independence or felt deeper animosity toward Rome.

Hannibal's overtures appear to have been most attractive to larger, formerly hegemonic states, i. e. regional powers, such as Arpi in Apulia, Capua in Campania, and

Locri and Tarentum among the Greek cities. The decision-makers in these cities probably felt more confident that they could, with Hannibal's assistance, resist Roman efforts to reconquer their cities. They also may have perceived that they had more to gain if Hannibal was victorious, as it would open the door for their own states to expand territorially or assert hegemony over neighboring communities. In fact, Hannibal's promise that Capua would again be a great power was a decisive factor convincing the Capuan ruling elite to defect from Rome (Fronda 2007). Smaller communities with close ties to the regional hegemonic state, or which traditionally fell under the hegemon's sway, also tended to align with Hannibal. Yet Hannibal's success in winning over local hegemonic states and their satellites, through the implicit or explicit promise of power, hurt his chances to convince other communities to join him, especially those cities with longstanding rivalries with or hostility toward the local hegemonic power, and which feared their neighbour's expansionist ambitions. This is implied in the alliance patterns discussed above: when one city (or group of cities) allied with Hannibal, the city (or cities) that historically tended to oppose them remained loyal to Rome. Ancient sources mention this dynamic explicitly: for example Acerrae and Nola requested Roman military because of fear of the Capuans (Liv. 23.19.4; Fronda 2007; Fronda 2010, 130–146), while the Italiote Greeks hesitated to break their alliances with Rome because they hated and feared the Bruttians had sided with Hannibal (Liv. 24.1.1).

The endurance of such interstate rivalries and other mutual animosities meant that when Hannibal managed to get some Italians to defect, he effectively drove other Italians closer to Rome. It was not impossible for him to overcome local rivalries – he eventually convinced most of the Bruttians and Greeks to join him, despite their mutual hostility – but the lack of common interest made it much harder for him to effect widespread Italian defections within a short period of time. Hannibal's willingness to promise some cities, such as Capua, power in exchange for their loyalty was very much a double-edged sword. The same can be said for Hannibal's manipulation of local political rivalries. When he rewarded one faction for supporting him, remaining opposing factions were potentially built-in resistance. This gave the Romans opportunities to manipulate local politics in turn, especially as the war dragged on and the Romans punished one rebellious Italian city after another. Hannibal's credibility suffered, and so too did the creditability of his local supporters.

IV Short-term effects of the war on the Italians

The Second Punic War was extremely costly for the Italians. The demographic impact alone must have been dramatic, at least in the short run. In just the first few years of the war Roman armies are reported to have suffered upwards of 100,000 fatalities. Even after Cannae, the Romans continued to suffer occasional, spectacular defeats: for example, 16,000 Romans and allies allegedly fell at the First Battle of Herdonia (212), as many as 13,000 more fell at the Second Battle of Herdonia (210), another

15,000 or so were killed in Lucania (212), and about 2700 Romans and allies died near Canusium (209). Outside of Italy, two Roman legions plus reinforcements were famously destroyed in Spain (210). Victories, too could be costly: the Romans reportedly dealt Hannibal a serious defeat near Grumentum (207), yet still lost 500 men, while a somewhat fewer than 2000 Romans and allies were reported killed in the battles outside Nola between 216 and 214 (see Rawlings 2011). Since at least half a typical Roman army was made up of allied Italian troops we can surmise that the majority of those who died were Italians (including Latins).

It is easy to forget that Italians also fought – and died – under Hannibal’s flag, as indicated by scattered references to Italians providing military service for Hannibal and his lieutenants. Livy (30.19.6), Diodorus (27.9.1) and Appian (*Hann.* 59) all report that Hannibal massacred many Italians in his army because they refused to follow him to Africa in 203; Diodorus claims that 20,000 men were put to the sword. Some Italians, mostly Bruttians, apparently crossed to Africa and fought with Hannibal at the Battle of Zama (Liv. 30.33.6; App. *Pun.* 40; cf. Polyb. 15.11.2). In 214, Hanno commanded an army with 17,000 infantry, mostly Bruttians and Lucanians, and 1200 cavalry including “a few Italians” (Liv. 24.15.1–2). This force was badly beaten by a Roman army at Beneventum. Hanno also raised fresh troops from the Bruttians in 207 (Liv. 27.42.15–16). Bruttians formed part of the Carthaginian garrison in Tarentum, and were mostly massacred when the city fell to the Romans (Liv. 27.15.17–18). The Roman senate designated a separate punishment for those Campanians who were “among the enemy,” presumably referring to those who served in Hannibal’s army in some capacity (Liv. 26.34.6–7). A very large number of Campanians were captured when the Romans retook several small Samnite towns along the border of Samnium and Campania (Liv. 23.39.6). As many as two thousand Capuans helped Hannibal to garrison Casilinum (Liv. 24.19.1). The sources thus emphasize Bruttians, Lucanians and Campanians providing military support for the Carthaginians. Men from other Italian communities also presumably fought against Rome, including individuals from cities that did not defect. On this point, consider an Etruscan inscription from Tarquinia that commemorates Larth Felsnas, who is described as having fought in Hannibal’s army (*TLE* 890 = Rix 1991, Ta 1.107; see Pfiffig 1968; Lomas 2011, 348). This seems to testify to an Etruscan serving under Hannibal as a mercenary or an individual adventurer.

Italians sometimes led their own independent campaigns against the Romans or other Italians. For example, once again, the Bruttians attacked the Greek city of Croton on their own initiative. Similarly, the chief magistrate of Capua, Marius Alfius, reportedly led an army of 14,000 his townsmen against the city of Cumae. This force was ambushed by a Roman consular army, and two thousand Capuans, including Alfius, were killed (Liv. 23.35). Lastly, there are references to brigandage by Bruttians: some were working alongside Carthaginian forces, others were deserters who joined in with a large mercenary outfit under Roman command (Liv. 27.12.4–7, 29.6.2–3). Livy’s suggests their activities comprised mostly disorganized raiding and plundering, and we may speculate that here and elsewhere such activities were at best

only loosely part of the Roman or Carthaginian war efforts. This is one way to interpret the lead-up to Tarentum's defection: the ringleaders of the revolt conducted private plundering expeditions into neighbouring territories to enhance their own political standing (Polyb. 8.24.4–11; Liv. 25.8.3–8). Highly unsettled wartime circumstances gave ample opportunities for local military opportunism.

The sources suggest, therefore, that Italian military activity during the Second Punic War was indeed significant, as tens of thousands of Italians were under arms in a variety of capacities throughout the conflict. Nearly two decades of fighting must have resulted in significant numbers of combat casualties and fatalities. This is consistent with Livy's report that a dozen Latin colonies claimed to be unable to meet their military obligation because so many of their young men had already been killed (see above). In fact, several Latin colonies received new settlers in the immediate wake of the war, including Venusia, Narnia and Cosa (Liv. 31.49.6, 32.2.6–7, 33.24.8–9), no doubt in part because so many of their citizens were killed during the war. Archaeological survey of the *ager Cosanus* in the 1970s supports this picture: traces of the colony's original centuriation were identified, but not signs of a second centuriation, suggesting that the new colonist occupied plots that had been abandoned (Rathbone 1981).

The ancient sources also frequently mention the devastation of farmland, which surely had a serious impact on the civilian population. For example, Hannibal is reported to have devastated the countryside in Etruria (Polyb. 3.82.9–10), in Umbria and Picenum (Polyb. 3.86.8–11), along the eastern coast of Italy as far south as the Sallentine peninsula (Polyb. 3.88.3–6; Liv. 24.20.16), the territory of Beneventum (Polyb. 3.90.8; Liv. 22.13.1), and in Campania, especially the *ager Falernus* and the territory of Cumae and Naples (Polyb. 3.92.8; Liv. 22.13.9–11, 23.1.5–8, 24.13.6–7, 24.17.1). He plundered the territory of Metapontum and Heraclea (Liv. 24.20.15), and allegedly devastated along the way on his march to Tarentum (Liv. 24.20.9–10, 25.9.1–3). The sources emphasize Hannibal's destruction (see Liv. 26.38.1–5), but the Romans also laid waste to Italian territories. For example, the Romans repeatedly devastated Samnium, seizing both cattle and men as plunder. According to Livy (23.41.13–14, 24.20.3–6), in one campaign 25,000 Samnites were killed or taken as captives when the Romans captured towns and plundered the countryside. Bruttium was devastated far and wide (Liv. 27.12.6, 28.11.12–15). The Romans also repeatedly raided the territory around Capua to prevent crops from being sown, which reportedly caused serious food shortages in the city (Liv. 23.46.9–10, 25.13.1, 25.15.18). Such raids must have included capturing or killing civilians trying to work their fields. Indeed, when Hannibal approached to Tarentum, he ordered his men to kill anyone they came upon so that his force would appear as a raiding party and not as an army on the march, which implies that the rural population was typically targeted during plundering raids and devastation campaigns. Recent scholarship has tended to downplay the ability of ancient armies to effect widespread destruction of farmland, to disrupt agricultural activity, and especially to cause long-term damage (see below). Nevertheless, the effects of war on the countryside and its population may

have been severe, particularly in locations that saw the most intensive military activity. The populations in areas where fighting lasted the longest – especially in southern Italy – must have suffered proportionally more from capture or death at the hands of both Roman and Carthaginian forces, and from food shortages and related depredations resulting from the disruption of agriculture.

There are several reports of the destruction of entire cities and the slaughter of all or most of their inhabitants. Hannibal sacked Acerrae and burned it to the ground, though some townsfolk escaped and came back to the remains of the town (Liv. 23.17.4–7, 23.19.4). Likewise Nuceria was sacked and burned; its inhabitants were allowed to flee and reportedly settled in other towns in Campania (Liv. 23.15.2–6). When Hannibal suspected that Herdonea's loyalty was wavering, he ordered the execution of pro-Roman aristocrats, burned the city, and deported the remaining population to Metapontum and Thurii (Liv. 27.1.3–15). Archaeological evidence is broadly consistent with Livy's account of Herdonea: haphazard rebuilding of the towns walls and gate sometimes with crude materials, dated to the last quarter of the third century, may relate to Hannibal's investment of the city. Significant rebuilding of the city in the second century implies its destruction during the war, though there is also evidence of continued habitation, indicating that the city was never completely abandoned (Mertens 1995, 143–145; Mertens and Van Wonterghem 1995, 155–159). Hannibal slaughtered the inhabitants of Gereonium but preserved the towns walls and buildings for use as a staging depot (Polyb. 3.100.4; cf. Liv. 22.9.5). Appian (*Pun.* 134) states that Hannibal destroyed 400 Italian towns. One wonders where Appian found this information. Polybius (3.33.17–18) mentions that Hannibal set up an inscription at Cape Licinium listing in detail the troops under his command. Livy (28.46.15–16) refers to presumably the same inscription as recording his achievements in Italy. We might speculate that Appian's figure derives from a different source-tradition that claimed the inscription listed the number of cities destroyed among Hannibal's achievements. If this number is historical, it must include very many smaller communities not mentioned in the surviving narrative sources. The Romans, too, sacked and destroyed Italian cities. Perhaps the most notorious example was Fabius Maximus' sack of Tarentum in 209. After Fabius' troops breached the city, they indiscriminately massacred the Carthaginian and Brutian garrison holding the city, as well as large numbers of civilians. Afterward, the city was thoroughly ransacked, and large quantities of gold and silver, artwork, and reportedly 30,000 slaves were taken. Then part of the city's defensive walls were pulled down (Liv. 27.16.1–7; Strab. 6.3.1; Plut. *Fab.* 22.1–6). Fabius had previously stormed Manduria in the Sallentine peninsula and carried off 4000 captives; in the closing years of the war Clamptia was taken by storm (Liv. 29.38.1). We may reasonably assume that many other smaller communities were captured by force, many of their inhabitants killed or taken as slaves, and their physical fabric greatly damaged.

Lastly, thousands of Italians were displaced and became effectively refugees, an effect of the war that is sometimes overlooked. In some cases, local populations were compelled to move only for a very short time, for example, temporarily fleeing into

the hinterland and then filtering back home later, or seeking refuge in the city from raiding parties or devastation campaigns and then returning to their fields when the danger passed (Hannibal's march to Tarentum is reported to have thrown the rural population into panic: Liv. 25.9.5). The ancient sources also make several references to Italians who were displaced for a longer time. For example, as mentioned above, the inhabitants of Nuceria dispersed themselves to neighbouring cities, especially Nola and Naples. Locrians who were sympathetic to Rome spent much of the war in exile in Rhegium (Liv. 29.6.4–6). Meanwhile, Livy (23.3.9–15) claims that the entire remaining population of Croton was transported to Locri when their city was handed over to the Bruttians. In 209, Hannibal reportedly transplanted much of the population of Herdonea to Metapontum and Thurii. In 207 he moved the population of Metapontum and some Lucanian communities into Bruttium (Liv. 27.51.13). Appian claims that Hannibal re-settled 3500 citizens of Thurii in Croton in 204. Presumably at least some of the dislocated made their back to their hometowns. At the same time it is entirely possible, even likely, that the war forced the permanent movement and relocation of large numbers of Italians.

Taken together, the demographic impact of the Second Punic War on the Italians, both among those who fought for Hannibal or the Romans and among those who remained civilians, was severe. Very large numbers of Italians died in the war, both as soldiers and civilians, killed directly in fighting or succumbing to war-related conditions such as disease or malnutrition. In the same passage where he claims Hannibal destroyed 400 towns in Italy (*Pun.* 134), Appian also reports that Hannibal killed 300,000 men in battles alone. Timothy Cornell (1996, 103 n. 22) accepts this figure as plausible if civilian deaths are included. It is likely that Appian conflated Romans and Italians, so only a fraction of the number he cites would have been Italians. However, the figure does not include the number of Italians whom the Romans killed, nor would it count deaths resulting indirectly from war. If anything, a total of 300,000 civilian and combatant deaths strikes me as conservative. What does this mean? The population of Italy around the beginning of the Second Punic War has been estimated at around three or four million persons (e.g. Brunt 1971, 44–60; Lo Cascio 1999). Thus, 300,000 deaths represent around 8 to 10% of the Italian-Roman population. I suspect the actual number of deaths was somewhat higher. In any case, the Italians probably suffered a greater loss of life. Moreover, the demographic impact was not evenly distributed in the peninsula, since most of the fighting was concentrated in the south. It is no stretch to imagine that some regions endured the loss of an even greater proportion of their populations through combat deaths, civilian deaths, capture and enslavement or displacement.

V Long-term effects of the war on the Italians

So far I have concentrated on the short-term impact of the war on the Italians, especially regarding the effects of the devastation of farmland. The long-term consequen-

ces are more controversial. It has been argued that the long-term effects of the war on the rural population of Italy were profound and far-reaching. Perhaps the most forceful proponent of this position was Arnold Toynbee (1965), though he was not alone (for discussion, Cornell 1996). According to the “Toynbee Thesis,” the rural population, especially in southern Italy, never fully recovered. Roman demand for military service during and after the war put further pressure on the Italian population. The rural population declined from a combination of combat mortality and permanent migration to urban centers, which opened opportunities for wealthy men to acquire more land. These large landholder increasingly employed slave labor, which resulted in further displacement of rural small landholders. Ancient sources agree that these economic, political, social, demographic and military pressures, which began in the Second Punic War, provided the context for the Gracchan reform efforts (Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 8; App. *BC* 1.7–8). Meanwhile, growing Roman power on the one hand and increased military burdens and demographic pressure on the allies on the other further strained Roman-Italian relations (see Brunt 1965, 91–92; Toynbee 1965, II 114–115), leading ultimately to the Social War.

The “Toynbee Thesis” has come under increasing scrutiny, as scholars have challenged the reliability of the relevant ancient sources, especially Livy (see Brunt’s 1971, 269–277 fundamental critique). Since Victor Davis Hansen’s (1983) pioneering study of ancient Greek warfare, the ability of ancient armies to do long-term damage to agriculture has also been questioned. Meanwhile, archaeological research into second-century Italy has produced ambiguous results (Rosenstein 2004, 1–25; Witcher 2008). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to address these controversies in detail. My own instinct is to follow a middle path: that the heavy demographic impact of war, the devastation farmlands, and the destruction of towns surely had *some* long-term effects, especially in those areas of southern Italy that saw the most military activity (following Cornell 1996).

We are on firmer ground, however, if we consider the long-term *political* impact of the Second Punic War, namely that Rome emerged from the war not only victorious over Hannibal but also with an even tighter grip on the Italians (Fronza 2010, 307–324). Rome’s recapture of those communities that revolted during the war allowed for further, extensive confiscation of Italian lands (Lomas 1993, 86–88; Nagle 1973). This in turn facilitated a new wave of colonization, as approximately twenty new Latin and Roman colonies were founded between 200 and 177 (Salmon 1936, 47–50; 1969, 95–111). The system of Roman military roads that connected the vast extent of *ager Romanus* and the colonies was also improved and expanded (Wiseman 1970; Laurence 1999, 11–42; Coarelli 1988). Lastly, the Romans unsympathetically punished Italian elites held most responsible for their city’s disloyalty. Publius Cornelius Scipio’s treatment of the Locrians in 205 is particularly suggestive. After he recaptured the city, Scipio executed the leaders of the city’s revolt and handed over their property to the “foremost men of the other faction” (Liv. 29.8.1–2: *alterius factionis principibus*), who presumably assumed political leadership in the town. Thus, Scipio fundamentally changed the local political landscape, weakening (or

eliminating) one party while strengthening the rival faction. This new ruling party, meanwhile, owed its privileged position in part to Scipio's administration. We may assume that similar rewards and punishments were handed in many Italian communities. If so, within a short span of time the Romans were able to reshape local politics, creating local ruling classes more securely placed in power, more dependent on Roman favor, and therefore perhaps more loyal – or at least more willing to collaborate with the Roman aristocracy.

VI Conclusion

The Second Punic War was a paradox. Hannibal's invasion revealed not only the resiliency and flexibility of the Roman-Italian alliance system, but also the depth of Italian animosity toward Rome and the degree to which the Italians were still motivated by local political concerns rather than global interests (such as a sense of Roman-Italian shared identity). Hannibal's battlefield victories coupled with widespread Italian defections brought Rome to the brink of defeat, yet the Romans came out of the war stronger than ever: their empire expanded abroad while their control over the Italians was even firmer. The Italians suffered much during the war and, for communities that defected, also after the war ended: combat and civilian deaths, ravaged farmland, ruined cities, executions, and land confiscations, especially in southern Italy. Yet the Italian ruling elites who remained after the war were perhaps more comfortably ensconced in power, albeit often with Roman support. The war and its aftermath must surely have convinced any doubters that individual Italian communities could not hope to break from Rome, even with a powerful foreign ally such as Hannibal, without common purpose or organization. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the next time the Italians revolted from Rome, more than a century later during the Social War, they did so with greater coordination and planning, and perhaps, too, with very different goals and expectations. Indeed, in the century after the Second Punic War, the interaction between Romans and Italians – and among the Italians – appear to have intensified, and many old rivalries and animosities gradually dissipated. The Social War revealed a far greater level of pan-Italian unity, whether we choose to believe that the Italians fought to obtain Roman citizenship and more fully integrate with Rome (Salmon 1962; Brunt 1965; Nagle 1973; Gabba 1994, 104–113; David 1996, 40–56; Keaveney 2005, 47–98), or to create a counter state (Italia) in order to protect them from Roman domination (Mouritsen 1998; Pobjoy 2000). It is probably going too far to say that Italian unification was Hannibal's legacy, but perhaps not by very much.

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Federico Santangelo

The Social War

Between 91 and 88 BC Rome fought a complex and highly challenging military campaign against a coalition of communities in central and southern Italy. The conflict required a major deployment of forces and the participation of the best Roman military talents of the time. It caused widespread destruction across the peninsula and an extent of losses of lives that had not been witnessed for more than a century, since the Hannibalic War. It ended with a series of military successes for Rome and with a political settlement that sits somewhat oddly with the military development of the war: the communities that had initiated the revolt were granted Roman citizenship, despite having been comprehensively defeated. This outcome, which might appear paradoxical at first sight, is an historical development of major significance, which reverberates over the overall interpretation of the conflict and will have an important place in the present discussion. It is crucial, however, not to interpret the background and the development of the war merely, or primarily, in light of its outcome. It will be necessary to bring out the motives and reasons that led the Italic communities to wage war against Rome, much as the state of the evidence makes that operation considerably difficult.

I The Evidence

A brief discussion of the name of the war is instructive (Domaszewski 1924, 3–10; Mazzarino 1966, 439–440; Rosenberger 1992, 35–39). When we speak of the “Social War,” as is also the case with the title of this chapter, we are of course using a Roman definition, which reflects a Roman viewpoint, just in the same way in which we use an Athenian viewpoint when we speak of a “Peloponnesian War” to refer to the war that Athens, Sparta, and their allies fought between 431 and 404. Both choices reflect the standpoints – even more than the bias – of the sources that inform our knowledge of the conflict. The war between 91 and 88 was, for the Romans, the war against their (former) allies, the *socii* that had been such a fundamental component of the Roman armies over the previous centuries: hence the definition *bellum sociale* (literally, “the war with the Allies”), which first appears, however, in sources dating to the first century AD (e.g. Val. Max. 8.6.4; Plin. *NH* 2.199, 3.70). Other labels are attested in the evidence of the first century BC, and put different emphases on the conflict and its historical significance: *bellum Italicum*, “Italic war” (e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 21, *Leg. Agr.* 2.80, *Arch.* 8; cf. also *polemos Italikos* in the Greek text of *CIL* 1².588, l. 7), which focuses on the geographical setting of the war and,

Federico Santangelo: School of History, Classics and Archaeology, Armstrong Building, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU, United Kingdom. Email: federico.santangelo@ncl.ac.uk

as we shall see, is a more accurate reflection of how the enemies of Rome defined themselves, and *bellum Marsicum*, “Marsic war” (e.g. Sall. *Hist.* 1.88M.; Cic. *Phil.* 8.31), which singles out one Italian people, the Marsi from the Apennine heartland, as the main opponent of Rome. In that definition, the affinities between Rome and her counterpart – whether their former alliance or their common belonging to an Italian context – were overshadowed, and the war could almost be likened to a conflict against an external enemy. This would be misleading, as we shall see below. The very shape of the literary tradition also complicates the understanding of the motives of the Italian enemies of Rome. All the major surviving narratives of the conflict are considerably later than the war itself. The fullest one, that by the second-century AD author Appian of Alexandria, even belongs in a work on the civil wars of the late Republican period. While the Social War is a crucial stage in the historical development of the late Republic, it is misguided to regard it as an internal conflict.

There were, of course, attempts to write the history of the conflict in the years immediately following its end. The extensive annalistic accounts of Claudius Quadrigarius (*FRHist* 24 – see esp. F82) and Valerius Antias (*FRHist* 25) encompassed it, although no fragments of the relevant books of Antias’ work survive. There were accounts of important phases in the conflict in the autobiography of L. Cornelius Sulla (*FRHist* 22, esp. F15–17), which were certainly framed from the standpoint of his own involvement in the operations. Cicero, who was then a young man, took part in the war, in central Italy under Cn. Pompeius Strabo and in Campania under Sulla, but did not write an account of his involvement in the operations (Ridley 2003, 32–33). One of the earliest full-scale discussions of the war was the work of L. Cornelius Sisenna (*FRHist* 26), an associate of Sulla, praetor in 78, who wrote a history of the period between the Social War and the death of the Dictator (78 BC). Several of its surviving fragments give some measure of the amount of detail on the military operations that the narrative contained, including a discussion of the portents that were reported before the war broke out (F6–9), some affecting detail on the siege of Aesernia at the end of 91 (F12–13), and an account of the operations in Campania in 89 (F88–96). It was not an isolated pursuit. An anecdote retells a lottery that was arranged between Sisenna, Lucullus, and Hortensius, who agreed that they should each write an account of the Social War in whatever language and genre the lot should prescribe (Plut. *Luc.* 1.7–8); whether this outcome really translated into practice in the very terms dictated by the draw is uncertain, but it seems beyond doubt that both Lucullus and Hortensius (*FRHist* 31) wrote about the war, and Lucullus quite possibly composed his work in Greek (*FRHist* 23).

A remarkable Greek intellectual, Posidonius of Apamea (c. 135–c. 51 BC), also devoted a section of his major historical work to the Social War. Regrettably, this does not survive either, but has probably shaped to a considerable extent the earliest account of the war to have survived to some extent, that of Diodorus Siculus (ca. 90–ca. 30 BC), a Greek author who lived in the Augustan period and set out to write a work of universal history, the *Library of History*. Book 37, in which the narrative of the war was included, survives only in fragments, but was clearly intended to be

one of the most impressive sections of Diodorus' project: he confidently stated that the "Marsic war" was the greatest conflict on record (37.2). Much as Diodorus has often received bad press among modern scholars, such a statement, coming from someone who had witnessed the wars of the late Republican period, should not be taken lightly. The account of the background of the conflict is even more interesting: the Romans and the peoples of Italy could rightly be regarded as excelling in valour; they were driven apart, however, by the concurrent action of luxury and decadence in Rome and by the internal divisions in the Italian camp. In the assessment of Diodorus there is a strong link between moral and political decline, and the divisions in Rome played a considerable role in the background of the war: the Senate sought to exploit the Italian Allies in its dispute with the people (the reference must be to the role of the Italian elites opposing the Gracchan land reform) and promised them the enfranchisement in exchange for their support; when those pledges were not fulfilled the Italians took up arms. Quite crucially, in this account the enfranchisement is promised to the Italians after they had openly voiced the request for inclusion into the Roman citizen body. The war is depicted as a highly traumatic and deeply regrettable outcome, rooted in Rome's refusal to honour its promise to the Allies. It is also, in a way, an anticipation of future events. Diodorus reports that some Italians swore an oath of allegiance to Livius Drusus, which included the pledge to regard him as their greatest benefactor had they been granted the citizenship (37.11). The readers of this dubious story will have no doubt been reminded of the oath of loyalty to Octavian that was (very publicly) sworn by the Italian communities (bar one, Bononia) in 32 BC (*RG* 25.4; *Suet. Aug.* 17.2). Unfortunately, the lack of context prevents us from gaging how Diodorus framed and discussed the oath for Drusus (the fact that the text of the oath is consistent with Roman religious formulae is no proof of its authenticity; *contra* Taylor 1949, 47, 198 n. 67).

Livy devoted six books of his history of Rome since the foundation of the city to the Social War and its background (*Per.* 71–76). This choice is in itself an instructive symptom of how significant the conflict appeared to him, and of the wealth of evidence on which he could rely (Steel 2013, 80). Regrettably, the books do not survive and we can only rely on the highly condensed summaries of the *Periochae*. It apparently had a significant point of contact with the tradition used by Diodorus: M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the plebs in 91, embarked on a plan to promote the cause of the Senate, and sought the support of the Italians by promising them the Roman citizenship. When it became apparent that this commitment could not be honoured, the Italians started to entertain, "in anger" (*irati*), the possibility of defecting; Livy's lost narrative included accounts of the debates that took place among the Italian elites (*principes*) at the time (*Per.* 71.3). When the Senate caught wind of the developments, Drusus found himself isolated, and was soon assassinated. The whole of Book 71 was taken up by the narrative of the background of the conflict, and conveyed a picture of frustrated hopes and fraudulent volte-face. The will of the Italians to be included in the citizen body is at the centre of the discussion, and is regarded as the central fac-

tor to have triggered the war. The defection of the Allies is the event with which Book 72 opened.

Livy's account certainly influenced the work of an author who lived under the emperor Tiberius, Velleius Paterculus, whose narrative of the conflict is very instructive for other reasons too. Drusus and his initiatives play a very significant role in it; the tribune is emphatically depicted as a passionate supporter of the cause of the Senate, who fails to find the support of the senatorial order itself. His isolation then leads him to advocate the enfranchisement of the Allies; his assassination is the event that triggers their military initiative (cf. Dart 2014, 93–97). Velleius' view is forcefully put: the Italians had made an invaluable contribution to the military might of Rome and were seeking citizenship as a compensation for their effort. As usual, the explanation has a moralistic dimension: thanks to the Allies, Rome achieved such power that the Romans felt they could mistreat them. The fate that the Italians met – a comprehensive defeat – was as awful as their cause was just; moreover, Romans and Italians shared the same ethnic background (2.15.2: on the theme of “consanguinity” in this context see Russo 2012a, 230–37, 248–51; 2012b, 15–29). Velleius approached the issue from a personal standpoint: he was Campanian by ancestry and, as he points out, his great-grandfather, Minatus Magius, a notable from Aeclanum, played a distinguished role in the conflict, fighting on the Romans' side and leading a contingent of Hirpini that he had personally recruited (Bispham 2011, 19; Elefante 2011, 60). The very involvement of someone like Minatus in the Roman camp should invite some qualification of the view that places in the Italians' craving for the citizenship the main cause of the conflict. It is also a powerful illustration of the variety of views and aims among the Italians (on which see Galsterer 1976, 189–199), and suggests that citizenship may well not have been the only issue at stake. Velleius could certainly resort to a family tradition on the deeds of Minatus, but he stresses that several authors had discussed these, and singles out Hortensius in particular. He then proceeds to note that Minatus' loyalty was not rewarded just with the citizenship, but also with the election to the praetorship of his two sons by 81 BC. The insertion of this notice within the general account of Roman history is a symptom of a wider feature of Velleius' narrative: a striking familiarity with the development of the war and a keen eye for its consequences on the ground – what S. Mazzarino (1966, 432–441), developing an insight of E. Meyer, called the “Italic viewpoint.” It is to Velleius that we owe a figure for the number of the victims (300,000) and the fullest surviving list of the Italian leaders (Bispham 2011).

This author, who is so clearly familiar with the Italian dimension, ultimately identifies a clear link between lack of progress on the citizenship and Italian discontent. The other major ancient account of the war, that in Appian's *Civil Wars*, also presents the conflict as a development of the political process that unfolded in Rome. Again, the tribunate of Drusus is singled out as the pivotal moment, although the response of the Italians is depicted in better qualified terms: while they viewed with favour the plans on citizenship, which they had incited the tribune to put forward, they were concerned about the impact of his colonisation plans. Some Etrus-

cans and Umbrians (whom Appian here mentions as a separate entity from the Italians: *BC* 1.36; on their geographical separateness, see Bradley 2000, 220–221) even went to Rome to carry out his assassination (on this passage see the revisionist reading by Crawford 2012, 737 and 2014a, 209–211). The consequence of that deed, which took place in September 91, was a further strengthening of the senatorial supremacy. It was followed by the passing of a bill of the tribune Q. Varius that put in place prosecutions against anyone who would offer the Italians help and advice in seeking the citizenship; independently from that, a number of Italian communities had decided that war was the inevitable course of action and formed a secret coalition, the existence of which became known to the Romans only some time later (*BC* 1.35–38).

II The background of the war

The view that the ancient sources convey on the cause of the War is therefore clear. Italian interest in the Roman citizenship is the central explanation for the war. Nearly half a century after the war, in a speech to the Senate, Cicero could unproblematically state that the aim of the Allies had not been that of depriving the Romans of their citizenship (i.e. reducing them to slavery), but being admitted to it themselves (*Phil.* 12.27, delivered in late March 43; see also Justin 38.4.13; on the link between freedom and citizenship in this context see Crawford 1992, 141; cf., more generally, Arena 2012, 28–29, 47–48). There are reasons to believe, as we shall see, that this is an oversimplified, if not openly tendentious, version, and there are differences on important matters of detail even within the tradition that advocates the “convergence model” (Mouritsen 1998, 59–86; Stek 2009, 11–15). An ancient commentator on Cicero, Q. Asconius Pedianus (9 BC – AD 76 or AD 3–88), gives a different account of the provisions of the law passed by the tribune Varius: its target were those who had helped or advised the Allies to take up arms against the Roman people (Asconius 22C). The presence of covert supporters of the Italian cause within Rome is also implicitly suggested in a passage of the rhetorical treatise *Ad Herennium* (first half of the first century BC), where a speaker marvels at the Allies’ decision to wage war, despite the strong loyalties on which Rome could rely across the peninsula and its superior political organisation (4.13, with Steel 2013, 80–81).

A fragment of a speech of Cicero, the *Defence of Cornelius*, delivered in 65 BC, adds a further level of explanation, while essentially corroborating the general picture conveyed by the other surviving sources: the *lex Licinia Mucia*, which was passed in 95, annulled the recent registration of numbers of Italian Allies in the census of 97 and compelled their return to their ancestral communities (Asconius 67–68C; Cic. *Off.* 3.47; see Wulff Alonso 1991, 299–304; Coşkun 2009, 149–155; Tweedie 2012; Dart 2014, 61–64). Cicero argues that the law played a decisive role in alienating the leaders (*principes*) of the Italian Allies, who shared the keen desire of all the Italians to obtain the Roman citizenship, and points out that it was the main reason for the *bellum Italicum*.

Against the background of such a consistently forceful interpretation being conveyed by the ancient sources, it is unsurprising that the Allies' desire to receive the Roman citizenship has been widely accepted in most modern accounts of the war (a splendid historiographic overview in Ridley 2003, 34–55; see also Dart 2014, 9–21, 43–47). In a truly seminal paper, which set the agenda of the studies on ancient Italy for generations to come (Gabba 1994b, 211–213; Canfora 2008, 261), the great German scholar Ulrich von Wilamowitz (1848–1931) put forward a somewhat paradoxical account (1926, 4): the Social War was a tragic development, which ended with the military defeat and obliteration of the Italians and the transformation of Italy into the “rural hinterland of Rome.” It was the last, failed attempt to defend their “ethnic life.” The outcome of the conflict, however, was also a political victory, since they had long been coveting the Roman citizenship. The view that integration within the Roman citizen body was the factor that led the Italians to fight the war against Rome informs most authoritative discussions of the period (Gabba 1973, 193–335; 1994a, 104–115; 1994b, 33–43; Badian 1958, 153, 189, 219; Brunt 1988, 93–120; David 1994, 187–196 = 1996, 145–156; Wulff Alonso 1991, 321–329 and 2002, 60–71). Yet, a very different account may be sketched.

The Italian historian Gaetano De Sanctis (1870–1957) posed the problems of the tension between the integration of Italy within the Roman domain and the motives of the Allies in more radical, and more persuasive, terms. His account overlaps with the tradition followed by Diodorus in an important respect: the Italians had long been exasperated with the treatment they had been receiving from Rome throughout the age of the imperial expansion, and Livius Drusus offered the enfranchisement to the Italian elites in exchange for their support to his ambitious plan of political reforms; he also sought their covert, but potentially crucial military support. After Drusus' defeat, the large majority of the Italians chose war, while at the same time drastically changing their overall political strategy: they no longer pursued the prospect of political inclusion within the *res publica*, but created a new political structure (De Sanctis 1976, 39: “a tight federal setup”) which went in a very different direction to what Drusus had envisaged. “It was no longer about Romanising Italy, but about creating an Italy of the Italians (*un'Italia degli Italiani*): a high ideal that arose and set off with the war that was called Social or Marsic ... and reappeared only twenty centuries later.” These words were written (albeit not published) in late 1930s Italy; the resonance of contemporary events is apparent through them, and their poignancy still resonates with anyone who is familiar with the history of contemporary Italy.

This view presents some difficulties (Giardina 1997, 104 n. 209), but De Sanctis identified a fundamental problem with the traditional narrative of the conflict that must be confronted. The view that the Italians had been coveting inclusion into the *res publica* is not easily reconcilable with the evidence for a complex political and constitutional structure underpinning the military effort of the Italians since 91, which is explicitly acknowledged and discussed by Appian and, more briefly, by Velleius (for a different take cf. Dart 2009 and 2014, 106–111, who denies that the Allies formed “a formal parallel Italian polity”). Two consuls and twelve praetors

were elected on an annual basis; a senate of 500 members was also created, and the city of Corfinium was chosen as the political centre of the league. It was not just intended as a military headquarter: the decision to rename it *Italica* (Diod. Sic. 37.2.7; Strabo 5.4.2; Vell. 2.16.4) points to the existence of a long-term strategy, in which the site was to retain deep political and symbolic significance, and to the attempt to define the coalition through the common belonging to an Italian community (see Vell. 2.16.4: *caput imperii sui*, “the head of their empire,” with Bispham 2011, 45). The complexity of the effort put in place by the Italians strongly suggests that their political agenda of their offensive was not to compel Rome to negotiate, but to inflict upon her a defeat of such proportions that it would redefine the overall political balance of the peninsula. Some recent work on the Social War has given further depth to this picture: Henrik Mouritsen and Mark Pobjoy have argued (albeit engaging only tangentially with De Sanctis’ work) that the aim of the Italians during the war was not to compel Rome to grant them the citizenship, but to beat her comprehensively (Mouritsen 1998, 2006; Pobjoy 2000; cf. also Sherwin-White 1973, 144–149 and Galsterer 1976: 203, who spoke respectively of “secessionists” and “Separatismus”). Mouritsen has even gone as far as to argue that the Italians’ interest in the citizenship is a myth developed by ancient traditions that took shape long after the end of the war and keenly perpetuated by sectors of modern historiography that were permeated by nationalistic (or, at best, patriotic) agendas, notably in nineteenth-century Germany. While this line of argument seems to push the evidence in too radical a direction (cf. Mouritsen 1998, 4: “a story-line against the sources,” and the stern critique in Sisani 2007, 21–24), the discussion that is set out in what follows builds on the view that the degree of mistrust generated among the Allies by decades of arbitrary inaction on the part of the Roman elite created the momentum for an offensive that had the ambition to redefine the balance of power across the Italian peninsula (cf. Nagle 1973, stressing the extent of the Roman presence in peninsular Italy by the late second century BC and arguing that it was regarded as a threat by many Italians).

The Italian alliance had the capability to operate like a state, and not just in the unfolding of its military effort. The Italian elites may have had serious grievances on the treatment that they had received from the Roman government over the previous few decades, but were certainly in a solid economic position, which was precisely the factor that enabled them to fund the war effort. The wealth of the Italian elites is apparent in the generation that precedes the outbreak of the war. The development of settlements such as Bovianum (Livy 9.31.4; App. *BC* 1.51; see Scopacasa 2015, 291–292) or Monte Vairano (Oakley 1995, 113–116; Scopacasa 2015, 169–174, 271–272), the construction of a major sanctuary complex like the Temple B at Pietrabbondante (Oakley 1995, 97–99; Scopacasa 2015, 200–210), and the less impressive, but equally significant developments in temple sites such as Schiavi d’Abruzzo, Campochiaro, Vastogirardi, Capracotta, or San Giovanni in Galdo (Dench 1995, 136–140; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 137–143; Scopacasa 2015, 192–196) can only have been possible through the investment of a large amount of resources by the Samnite elites at the end of the sec-

ond century BC, whether drawn from overseas trade or from the revenues generated by large-scale transhumance (Crawford 1985, 178–181; Bispham 2007b, 211–212; Stek 2009, 42–47). A generation later, those resources could be directed to funding the campaign against Rome (which was, of course, very costly for the enemy, too, at a time when state revenues were decreasing: Barlow 1980, 204–207; Kay 2014, 248–249).

Like all the states that need to fund their initiatives, whether in war or in peace, the Italian coalition struck coinage, and the coin issues that survive are of profound significance (*Historia Numorum (Italy)* 406–428 and *ImIt* Italia 1; discussion in Pobjoy 2000, 198–205; a new arrangement in Crawford 2011, 8–9, 67–74). They are the only cluster of evidence that conveys the standpoint of the Allies without mediation from other, at best unsympathetic sources (when we speak of “Allies,” of course, we inevitably refer to their political and social elites, who controlled the messages that appeared on the coinage and who were in a position to fund the war effort; Salmon 1962, 118–119 suggested that the Oscan-speaking elites exploited the anti-Roman feelings of the populace, when their hopes for the citizenship were crushed by Drusus’ failure). Like the institutional framework of the alliance, the coinage was based on Roman models and used the Roman denominational system. The coin hoards evidence shows that it circulated along with Roman coinage; that is unsurprising. The legends and the iconographic themes that feature on it, however, are noteworthy. The strong association between the Allies and “Italy” was asserted in unmistakable terms, in Oscan (*víteliú* or *vítelliú*), Latin (*Italia*) and bilingual legends. The use of the notion of *víteliú/Italia* enabled communities with different ethnic, linguistic and cultural background to identify a shared level of identity that did not replace the existing ones (Harris 2007, 308–310). The use of Latin is probably the symptom of an attempt to reach out to communities that were not part of the coalition and of the belonging of these coin issues within a wider monetary system; it is also a reminder of the fact that the Italian camp was not just an Oscan-speaking block (Latin had been in use among the Marsi since the early third century BC: Bourdin 2012, 138). The claim ate into the core of the hegemonic discourse that Rome had constructed for generations (*contra* Wulff Alonso 2002, 308–309). The expression *terra Italia* had been in use to define Italy as a geographical entity since the age of the Hannibalic War (Livy 25.74), and designates the sphere of application of the late second century BC agrarian law preserved in the bronze inscription known as Tabula Bembina (Crawford 1996, no. 2, l. 1; further instances and discussion at 156–157; Bispham 2007, 60–68; Crawford 2014b, 327). The coinage of the Italians wrestled Italy out of the patronage and control of Rome. The obverse of one of the coin issues that bear this legend displays a female head that may safely be identified as the first known iconographical personification of Italy. That choice was a major political point, and one that marked a considerable break with the past – tellingly, there is no epigraphical attestation of *víteliu* before the war (Crawford 2014b, 325, 327).

The reference to *víteliú/Italia* is both a statement of the fact that the coinage was produced by a state called “Italy,” and that the horizon of the allies was that of a

geographical and cultural space called “Italy,” sharply distinguished from Rome (see Adams 2003, 116 on the “symbolic significance” of the use of Oscan on these coins). Two famous coin issues leave no doubt on the attitudes that the leaders of the new state had towards Rome (*Historia Numorum* 420 and 427): on the reverse a bull is depicted as it attacks a she-wolf, its penis erect. Several antiquarian traditions associated the bull with Italy. The fourth century BC Greek historian Timaeus from Tauromenium argued that Greeks used to refer to bull as *italos*, and called the peninsula *Italia* because of the many bulls that lived there (*FGrHist* 566 F42 = Varro, *Rust.* 2.5.3). A further connection was established with the stray calf (*ouitoulos*) that Heracles had allegedly pursued from Sicily all the way into Italy (Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F11 = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.35.2; full overviews in Maltby 1991, 314 and Mele 2011, 50–58; Gabba 1994a, 17–25, Harris 2007, Polverini 2010 and Bourdin 2012, 727–728 are also important). A bull also had a central place in the ritual of the “Sacred Spring” (*ver sacrum*) that was traditionally related to the origins of the Samnites (Strabo 5.4.12, with Dench 1995, 185–186, 215–216; Tataranni 2005, 297–304 emphasises the military associations of the animal, although she then links it specifically to the Samnites). The association between the she-wolf and the foundation myth of Rome was well established by the early first century BC, and further links were made between the predatory nature of the animal and the conduct of the Romans (see the statement of the Samnite leader Pontius Telesinus in Vell. 2.27, allegedly made before the battle of the Colline Gate against Sulla in November 82).

The coinage of *víteliú/Italia* was predominantly struck in silver, but there is also one attestation of a gold stater, modelled on the Attic weight standard and has similarities with a bronze of the city of Amisus on the Black Sea, in the kingdom of Mithridates (*Historia Numorum* 406; Crawford 2004, 135–138 defends its authenticity). It is a striking symptom of the ambitions and the resources of the Italian coalition. The presence of the head of Bacchus on the obverse has been viewed as a reference to the diplomatic and political ties that the Allies forged with King Mithridates of Pontus during the war (Diod. Sic. 37.2.11; Posidonius F253.89–92 Edelstein-Kidd); Dionysos was a god with whom Mithridates had built a strong association. The coinage may have conveyed the hope of the Italians for some military support from the king and – to the enemies – their ties with him. Mithridates timed his attack on the Roman province of Asia shortly after the outbreak of the Social War (cf. App. *Mith.* 58, with McGing 1986, 79–80, 88). Its main consequence was the temporary end of the Roman hegemony in the Greek East. A more striking statement of the Italians’ enduring hostility to Rome would have been hard to devise.

Establishing the relative chronology of the coinage of the Italians is a task of considerable significance, and an equally arduous one too. Some coin issues bear the legend *safnim*, which should be understood as the Oscan for “Samnium,” and appear to refer to a different territorial and political entity than *víteliú/Italia*. It is not clear whether it should be intended in alternative to the *Italia* of the Allies and whether it corresponded to the notion that the Romans had of Samnium. It may tentatively be suggested that *safnim* designated the portion of southern Italy where the

military operations concentrated in the later part of the conflict, but drawing wider implications would be unhelpful, on the current state of the evidence (cf. the appearance of *safinim* in an Oscan text from Pietrabbondante, probably dating to the last quarter of the second century BC: *ImIt* Terventum 8, l.3; Scopacasa 2015, 201–202, 207). The apparent development of the coin legends, however, is part of the wider problem of the unfolding of the conflict and of the shift in momentum that it witnessed (the classic overview remains Domaszewski 1924, 23–31; see also Gabba 1994, 115–126; Keaveney 1987, 117–161; Kendall 2013, 241–418; Briscoe in *FRHist*, 1.315–319; Dart 2014, 125–170; Matyszak 2014, 78–109).

In 91 the Italians had the capability to launch a tremendously forceful attack on Rome, but were not in a position to sustain it for long. Even if one were to leave aside the issue of the support within Rome, it is apparent that preparations for the war had been going on for some time in a number of Italian communities. Appian acknowledges that and notes some concern on the part of the Roman government, which decides to send some envoys to various areas of Italy to investigate “quietly” (1.38: *aphanōs*) the developments (Kendall 2013, 730–737). When the praetor Servilius was informed that a hostage had been sent by the city of Asculum in Picenum to another community, he went to Asculum and threatened the inhabitants with military action; he was killed on the spot, along with his legate Fonteius and, shortly afterwards, all the Romans that happened to be in the city and in the immediate surroundings. That incident was just the sort of violation of standard military practice that the Romans regarded as an unassailable reason for military action, and the inhabitants of Asculum were certainly in no doubt of what consequences it would entail (Mouritsen 1998, 129–130 denies a causal link between Drusus’ death and the revolt in Asculum).

III Military operations

The Italian coalition began to rally its forces openly and war was declared simultaneously by various communities. An embassy was then sent to Rome, conveying the message that Rome’s unwillingness to reward with the citizenship those who had made a worthy contribution to the empire was an injustice: Appian represents it as a last-ditch attempt to avoid the conflict (*BC* 1.39), which received a stern response from the Senate (Jehne 2012, 268; Kendall 2012 and 2013, 269–284, 683–693). This attempt to embark on a belated negotiation seems hard to reconcile with the complex infrastructure of the Italian confederation that was by then in place. It cannot be ruled out that the aim of the embassy was to present the Senate with a formal statement of the Italians’ fundamental grievance towards Rome (De Sanctis 1976, 44–45; see also Mouritsen 1998, 137–138). At any rate, it is quite possible that in the weeks preceding Asculum the Senate did not have a clear understanding of the developments in Italy. After that exchange, though, it must have been abundantly clear to the Romans that grievances over citizenship featured prominently on the Italians’

agenda (different assessments in Mouritsen 1998, 136 and Steel 2013, 83). It certainly became one of the key factors of the political response that Rome devised to the Italian offensive, as we shall see.

First and foremost, though, there was a complex military campaign to plan and carry out. We are well informed about the Italian chain of command, which reflected the diversity of the alliance and the need to face the conflict with the right supply of local knowledge of a complex and highly differentiated war theatre: the names of several key figures survive in the literary sources (overview in Domaszewski 1924, 10–19; Salmon 1958, 169–179; Dart 2014, 221–224). It was also a consequence of the strategy chosen by the Italians, who divided their energies on a range of different fronts (it is doubtful whether the figure of 100,000 Italians supplied by App. *BC* 1.39 should be taken seriously; cf. Velleius' higher estimate of the overall number of victims). They took on cities that had retained their loyalty to Rome – such as Aesernia and Venafrum in Samnium, Nola, Stabiae, Minervium and the Latin colony of Salernum in Campania (most Latin colonies had kept their loyalty to Rome, with the notable, if isolated exception of Venusia, in Lucania – on which see Grelle and Silvestrini 2013, 223–231). They obtained some successes over the Roman contingents in Apulia, near Grumentum, and commanded by force the support of several Campanian communities, which were in awe of Papius Mutilus' offensive in the area near Nuceria (App. *BC* 1.41–42; on Papius' family background, which may be traced back to the fourth century BC, see La Regina 1991). In Picenum, the legate Pompeius Strabo was compelled to find shelter at Firmum, where he was besieged by the allied forces (App. *BC* 1.47).

The military effort of the Italians was therefore spread over a range of different regional contexts, trying to erode the sizeable pockets of support on which Rome could rely and probably to lead to a dispersion of the Roman forces. It is important to stress that, at this early stage of the conflict, the Umbrians and the Etruscans had not joined the coalition of the enemies of Rome. The remarkable dearth of attestations of pre-Social War Roman coinage in Etruria has lent support to the hypothesis that Etruria's military contribution to Rome was minimal, and that there was not sufficient manpower to sustain its involvement (Crawford 1991); in Umbria, however, the picture is different (Bradley 2000, 198, 220). The threat that Rome was facing was considerable, and made a deep impression: there is evidence for serious religious tensions at Rome in this period (cf. the story of Caecilia Metella's dream in Cic. *Div.* 1.4 and *Obsequens* 55, with Schultz 2006). Yet, the crisis was not beyond control, and the Roman political elite managed to devise a suitable response in the space of several months (Golden 2013, 80–82). There was a prompt realisation of the need to deploy forces across a wide spectrum of theatres, and to put in place a chain of command to address such a complex challenge (Domaszewski 1924, 19–23). The consuls of the year 90 were Sex. Iulius Caesar and P. Rutilius Lupus (whose *cognomen* might have also been alluded to in the Italian coin issue discussed above), who took up responsibility for the two main fronts of the war (Caesar of Campania and Lupus of central Italy). They were both surrounded by rings of *legati*, who took part in the op-

erations and were in charge of military contingents, all under the leadership of a consul. As the list supplied by Appian shows, their number included individuals from different political backgrounds and allegiances. Reinforcements were made available from Cisalpine Gaul (cf. Gabba 1994b, 242), auxiliary troops were recruited in Numidia and Mauretania (App. *BC* 1.42), and considerable sectors of the Italians fought on Rome's side (cf. e.g. the case of Minatus Magius mentioned above). The rewards that this strategy would yield readily became apparent.

There is no compelling evidence that the forces of *víteliú* planned an attack on Rome (Diodorus' mention of a contingent of Italians that was ready to march on Rome in support of Drusus – 37.13.1 – is suspicious). The possibility, however, must have appeared to be realistic enough by the Roman government, which concentrated a sizeable contingent on the Via Valeria, linking Rome to Corfinium, the capital of the Allies. C. Marius, the elder statesman who had held the consulship on six occasions, was brought back into the fold from virtual political oblivion and led the Roman operations along with the consul Rutilius Lupus. A major battle with the Italian forces, led by Vettius Scato, was fought in June 90 in the valley of the river Tolenus (mod. Turano). The consul lost his life in battle, and the senate designated Marius and Q. Servilius Caepio as the leaders on that front. Servilius was also killed in an ambush shortly afterwards, but Marius readily managed to lead the offensive further towards the north (App. *BC* 1.43–44). He reformed the successful partnership with L. Cornelius Sulla, by then an ambitious former praetor, which had brought excellent results in the Numidian and Cimbrian campaigns at the end of the previous century. They inflicted a crushing defeat to the Marsians, probably in the vicinity of the Fucine Lake, right in their heartland. Their success had a twofold effect: it made the prospect of an Italian attack on Rome unviable for the foreseeable future, and it created a barrier between the two fronts (the Apennine heartland and Campania) on which the enemy had concentrated its forces. Appian's narrative strongly suggests that this is the event that brought about a change in the momentum of the war, and in tones that leave no doubt about the overall bias of his depiction of the conflict: "the Marsians were made as furious as wild beasts by this disaster."

Another front of the conflict also witnessed significant success for Rome: in Picenum, the consul Sex. Julius Caesar managed to bring support to Pompeius Strabo at Firmum, defeating the Italian contingent led by T. Lafrenius, which then had to find shelter at Asculum – the town where the incident that sparked the revolt had taken place. An Italian contingent, led by the Asculan Vidacilius, had to be drawn from Apulia, where it had been successful, to relieve the city (App. *BC* 1.48; on Vidacilius' actions in Apulia, see Grelle and Silvestrini 2013, 222–230); they managed to enter Asculum, but not to put an end to the siege. Sextus Caesar remained in charge of operations even after the end of his consulship.

The military developments of the first year had marked the end of any real prospect of victory for the Italians, but the picture was complicated by two developments of an opposite nature. Sectors of Etruscans and Umbrians, who had up to that point refused to take action against Rome, started to make preparations for a revolt. Ac-

cording to Appian, they had heard about the early success of the Italian coalition (BC 1.49; see Dart 2014, 143–146). It is impossible to establish whether there was a change of heart of those who had up to that point kept their loyalty to Rome, or new sectors of those communities prevailed (as argued by Sisani 2007, 63; Badian 1958, 225 suggests that this development was caused by frustration at Rome’s unwillingness to reward those who had stayed loyal). The extent of the revolt is also unclear (Bradley 2002, 220–221). The consequences of the opening of a new front would have probably been hard to control for Rome; the Roman political elite responded by dispatching a contingent of freedmen to the Tyrrhenian coast, and – most importantly – by drawing up a bill that bestowed the Roman citizenship upon the Italians that had kept their loyalty (for an excellent overview of the enfranchisement legislation see J. Briscoe in *FRHist* 1.315–317). Appian remarks that this met the wishes of the Allies, and that it sufficed to solve the crisis in Etruria.

It also had the effect of shaking the resolve of some sectors of the Italian coalition. The *lex Julia*, presented by the consul of 90, L. Iulius Caesar, mainly benefited the Latin colonies; it also empowered Roman commanders to bestow grants upon certain individuals (Cic. *Balb.* 21; see Brunt 1988, 107–108 and Bispham 2007, 162–172 on its provisions, and cf. Mouritsen 1998, 155–156 for discussion of its chronology). There were exceptions within the loyalists’ front: at least two communities, Neapolis and Heraclea, refused to be integrated into the system and opted to retain their independent status (Cic. *Balb.* 21). It appears that at that stage a certain restraint was used in arranging the inclusion of the new citizens: they were to be enrolled into new tribes that would vote after the existing ones, so as to minimise their impact on the tribal assembly (App. BC 1.49; cf. Vell. 2.20.2). The correct interpretation of this decision, however, revolves on the understanding of Appian’s *dekateuontes* (Lewis 1968, esp. 274–275). On a recent reading, the Senate was driven by the concern to ensure that as many people as possible were entitled to vote, and provisionally created new *ad hoc* tribes for the few (“only one in ten”) new citizens who intended to vote in the *comitia tributa*; including them into the existing ones would have been a very time-consuming process (Crawford 2010, 100–101).

Whatever the case may be, a few months later, at the beginning of 89, the provisions of the *lex Julia* were integrated by a *lex Plautia Papiria*, which extended the possibility to obtain the enfranchisement also to individuals who had been added (*adscripti*) to the roll of an allied community without actually residing there, were domiciled in Italy at the moment of the passing of the law, and applied for full registration to the urban praetor within sixty days (Cic. *Arch.* 7; for discussion of the terms of the law cf. Gabba 1994, 126 and Briscoe, *FRHist* 1.316). There had been contacts between Etruscans, Umbrians, and members of the Italian coalition when a third front of the war was about to open up, and support was sent out to them from the Marsians with a view to joining forces and launching a counter-attack before they were reached by the news of their realignment to Rome. The decision to cross over the Apennines in the midst of winter, probably right at the beginning of 89, proved disastrous: C. Porcius Cato, who had taken up the leadership of the

Roman contingent from Marius, inflicted on the Marsi a major defeat in the vicinity of Fucine Lake. In a matter of months Corfinium/Italica was under Roman control, and the Marsi, along with their allies, the Vestini and the Paeligni, surrendered. Asculum proved a more resilient target, and its siege did not end until the late autumn. An impressive set of inscribed slingshots were found near the site of the town (*CIL* 1².848, 857–861, 875, 877, with Bradley 2007, 305).

The year 89 also witnessed major developments on the southern front. Sulla's contribution was especially remarkable, and put him in a position to seek and obtain the consulship for the following year. He directed operations, along with another legate, T. Didius, in the area around Mount Vesuvius, in Campania: he conquered Herculaneum and Pompeii, and carried out the destruction of Stabiae, which never regained the size and status of an urban centre (App. *BC* 1.50; Plin. *NH* 3.5.170). The siege of Pompeii left archaeological traces: the northern stretch of the city walls show the marks of the impact of sling-bullets and heavier *ballista* balls launched by Sulla's troops (Russo and Russo 2005, 42–77), and their impact is also noticeable in a private residence such as the Casa del Labirinto (Anguissola 2010, 199). The organisation of the defence was carefully organised by the city authorities, which had planned the movements of the troops within the walls to a considerable level of sophistication: the instructions to the defenders were painted in bright red at heavily frequented crossroads; some of those public inscriptions survive and are one of the latest instances of Oscan epigraphy in the city (*ImIt* Pompei 2–7: they are usually referred to in modern scholarship as the *ēituns* inscriptions, from a word of uncertain meaning that recurs in all of them; see Crawford 2011, 33–35).

A brief digression is in order: nearly a decade later, in 80 BC, Pompeii also received a robust contingent of settlers from Sulla's army, like many other communities across Italy (Santangelo 2007, 158–167). There is no evidence relating this decision to the development of the Social War. More generally, it is misguided to regard the civil conflict between Sulla and the Marians as a continuation of the Social War. Even if Sulla's enemies apparently included large contingents of Italians, especially Samnites, the war was about political supremacy in Rome. The juridical relation between Rome and Italy was no longer an issue by the end of the 80s BC.

After seizing the cities around the Vesuvius, Sulla took on the siege of Nola, the defence of which was supplemented by a Samnite contingent, led by L. Cluentius. Didius lost his life in the early phases of the confrontation (June 89). Cicero was serving as a junior soldier in his contingent, and recalled many years later the favourable omen that appeared to Sulla as he was performing a sacrifice before his attack on the Samnites near Nola (*Div.* 1.72; see also Plut. *Cic.* 3.1). His victory was comprehensive, the losses for the enemies were in the thousands, and Sulla stressed the significance of this success in his autobiography (*FRHist* 22, F16–17). After conquering Aeclanum and Compsa, with the support of Minatus Magius (on whose ties with Aeclanum, see Santangelo 2007, 68, 71–73 and Isayev 2011, 211–213; cf. *ImIt* Aeclanum 4), he could regard Campania as a front that was no longer critical, and moved to the north, where he obtained further successes against the Samnites, notably near Aesernia

and at Bovianum, where the headquarters of the Allies had been moved after the capture of Corfinium (Isayev 2011, 213–214 reflects on the implications – or lack thereof – of this transfer). He did not attempt the conquest of the stronghold of Aesernia, the siege of which was begun only in the following months and was never brought to completion by Rome (the city was just integrated into the Roman citizen body at the end of the war: Salmon 1967, 375). At the end of the summer, he went to Rome to present his candidature to the consulship (Livy *Per.* 75.6 points out that Sulla's achievements during the Social War had hardly ever been equalled by others before holding the supreme magistracy).

The destiny of the war, by that point, was no longer in balance. During the same months Pompeius Strabo obtained further successes in Picenum. Cicero served under him on that front and witnessed a conference between Strabo and the Marsic leader P. Vettius Scato, who had earlier ties of hospitality (*Phil.* 12.27 – see above). Scato asked Strabo's brother, Sextus Pompeius, who was also present, how he should call him, and received the answer: "a guest in feeling, an enemy by necessity." The anecdote is no evidence for the Italians' resilient desire to be integrated into the Roman citizen body (*contra* Gabba 1994a, 122–123), but of the strong ties that existed between sectors of the Roman and Italian elites before the outbreak of the war (Fronza 2011). At any rate, the conference does not appear to have had any significant outcomes. Strabo's offensive continued and culminated with the conquest of Asculum – the city where it had all begun – in November 89. The victory earned him a triumph in the following month, on 25 December (Coarelli 2008 connects a fragmentary inscription from a public building at Falacrinae to the activity of the rear of Strabo's army in Sabine; see *AE* 2008, 473). The prisoners from Asculum were displayed during the procession, along with the booty gathered by the victor: among them there was the young son of a local leader of the revolt, P. Ventidius Bassus, who had the privilege, more than half a century later, in 38 BC, to celebrate his own triumph over the Parthians (Gell. 15.4.1–3, with Rohr Vio 2009, 5–14). Shortly before the triumph, on 17 November, Strabo issued a decree that granted the Roman citizenship, on an individual basis, to a troop of Spanish horsemen (the *turma Saluitana*) that had fought under his command (*ILS* 8888). That reward, which was accompanied by the donation of a few valuable objects and a double ration of grain to each soldier and was recorded on a bronze tablet, was possible under the provisions of the *lex Julia*. The Apulian front, which Vidacilius had to abandon when he rushed to the defence of Asculum, was taken care of by C. Cosconius and the praetor Q. Caecilius Metellus, who regained Venusia. The Marsic leader Poppaedi (or Poppaedi) Silo – one of the driving forces of the uprising (and a personal friend of Livius Drusus: Plut. *Cato Min.* 2.1–4) – lost his life during this phase of the campaign (Livy *Per.* 76.5; see Dart 2010a). By the end of 89, only two strongholds of the Italians remained unconquered: Nola in Campania and Aesernia in Samnium. Sulla resumed their sieges in the following year. Of the chain of command of the Italians, only two leaders remained alive: the Samnite Pontius Telesinus and the Lucanian M. Lamponius (on whom, see Isayev 2007, 131). They both reappear in the late 80s as

prominent members of the coalition that opposed Sulla upon his return from the East, fighting and losing their lives in a Roman civil war.

IV The legacy of the war

The surviving narratives of the Social War focus on military developments and convey a sense of the overwhelming success that the Roman forces achieved by the end of 89. They do not give an adequate summary of the political and moral climate within the Italian ranks, of the impact that the first instalment of citizenship grants, under the *lex Julia* of 90, had on those that were fighting against Rome, and of the realignments and defections that took place within the Italian camp. It is unclear what happened to the state structure of the Italians, or what the implications of the transfer of the capital from Corfinium first to Bovianum and then to Aesernia were for its functioning. The *saftinim* coin issues, which were discussed above, point to the emergence of a different, smaller political entity based in the south – but it is impossible to go beyond conjecture. The legacy of destruction left by the Social War is often blended in the literary sources with the impact of the Civil War that followed at the end of the decade, especially in Samnium (Strabo 5.4.11 = 249C) and discerning the impact of both conflicts is no simple undertaking (Scopacasa 2015, 288–289). The long-held view that the Samnite sanctuaries which had flourished in the later part of the second century came to an abrupt end after the Social War is not corroborated by the archaeological record: on the contrary, there is evidence for continuing occupation well into the Imperial period, notably at Pietrabbondante (Crawford 2006; Stek 2009, 29; Scopacasa 2015, 293) and at the shrine of Hercules Curinus near Sulmo (Stek 2009, 75–76). Continuity of occupation does not entail, of course, continuity in the ways in which the sites were used and the cults were run. The enfranchisement and the spread of the municipal model brought about major changes in a region where different modes of territorial and political organisation had long prevailed.

The war had far-reaching ranging economic and financial consequences for the whole of Italy: the combined effect of the reduced income from land caused by the military operations and the hoarding of coinage that was not retrieved after the war brought about a considerable disruption of the credit system. Tensions between debtors and creditors were back on the political map in 89, and the praetor Sempronius Asellio had to take action by putting forward a bill that defended the interests of the debtors; he was killed shortly afterwards (App. *BC* 1.54, with Barlow 1980, 213–219). The enfranchisement exempted the former *socii* from the payment of the *tributum* to pay the military contingents that they would offer to the Roman army. The financial burden was now on Rome (Nicolet 1978 = 2000, 93–103, 397–398; Kay 2014, 249).

The extant sources also fail to convey a clear sense of what happened at Rome, and how the attitudes towards the Italians within the political elite evolved. People will have been in no doubt on the nature of the war: the triumph over Asculum and

the display of the prisoners from the siege at the end of the year stressed that the conflict had been an external campaign, in which the might of Rome had proved decisive. The developments that followed the military demise of the surviving sectors of the Italian coalition are extraordinary. Instead of embarking on a further strategy of retaliation against the defeated communities, the decision was taken to continue on the prospect of enfranchisement that had been initiated during the war. The *lex Julia*, of course, had served the purpose of dividing the enemy coalition. It is remarkable that the choice was not discontinued even after the end of the war, when there was no pressing need to regain the loyalty of the Italians. The drastic change of political climate is displayed by the sorry fate of Varius, who ended up being prosecuted and convicted under the very law that he had passed two years earlier (Cic. *Brut.* 89.305; *Nat. Deor.* 3.81; Val. Max. 8.6.4). At the same time, the *lex Plautia Papiria* was implemented, and was compounded by another law, put forward by the consul Pompeius Strabo, the conqueror of Asculum, which bestowed the status of Latin colonies upon the allied communities of Cisalpine Gaul and opened the path for the Roman citizenship to their magistrates (Asconius 3.5–12C; Mouritsen 1998, 106–108 questions the reliability of this source, while Bispham 2007, 173–175 accepts it). Several new communities were founded in order to make the organisation of the territory more effective. A new phase in the legal and political integration of the northern part of the Italian peninsula began (Polverini 2010, 117–119 and Haeussler 2013, 113–117). Unfortunately, the aims of Pompeius are unknown, although they were certainly set out at the time (and probably also some decades later, in the lost biographical work of his freedman M'. Otacilius Pitholaus, *FRHist* 29). The background of that crucial decision remains obscure.

The full political inclusion of the new citizens was not achieved merely through the laws that were passed in 90 and 89. Those asserted the principle of the enfranchisement and provided for the enrolment of the citizens into the tribes. As we have seen, there was disagreement on how widely across they should be distributed, and this continued after the end of the war as an issue of Roman internal politics. The Social War was effectively over by 88 BC; remarkably, the enfranchisement was offered to the communities that surrendered (Vell. 2.17.1; see Sherwin-White 1973, 154–156 and Bispham 2007, 175–187). Not everybody in the Italian camp agreed to surrender, even after that concession (Dart 2014, 169–170). Pockets of resistance persisted, especially at Nola and in areas of Samnium and Lucania (App. *BC* 1.53). Conversely, the issue of the pace and the scope of the inclusion of the new citizens became a major divisive factor in Roman internal politics. In 88 the tribune P. Sulpicius put forward a bill that provided for the distribution of the Italians throughout the thirty-five tribes: his project was opposed by the consul Sulla, who was still busy with the siege of Nola, but met with the support of C. Marius in exchange for Sulpicius' support to his claim over the command against Mithridates (App. *BC* 1.55; Livy *Per.* 77.1; Seager 1994, 167–172; Crawford 2010, 101). Sulla's brutal response – the first march on Rome in late Republican history – brought about the annulment of Sulpicius' distribution law. The issue, however, did not go away.

Another major controversy arose in 87 about the scope of the distribution of the new citizens among the thirty-five tribes, which was strongly advocated by the consul Cornelius Cinna, against the view of his colleague Cn. Octavius, the opposition of the majority of the Senate, and the vetoes of several tribunes (evidence and discussion in Seager 1994, 173–176). The dispute prompted a short civil war, the so-called *bellum Octavianum* (Cic. *Div.* 1.4), which ended with Cinna's victory, a series of massacres, and Marius' return from exile. An agreement for the enfranchisement of the Samnites and the Lucanians who had not surrendered yet was reached at this time, but the full integration of the Italians into the citizen body required several more years (Livy *Per.* 80.1; Vell. 2.20.2, App. *BC* 1.68; Granius Licinianus p. 20F with Brunt 1988, 111 and Crawford 2010, 100–101). It was eventually solved by the decision to enrol them across the thirty-five tribes, which was reached in 84 under a *senatus consultum* (Livy *Per.* 84.2) and was not undone by Sulla after his victory in the Civil War. The assignment of the new citizens to the tribes was a matter that impacted on the voting system of the *comitia tributa* and the organisation of the levy. The evidence suggests that communities of former rebels were included in the same tribes as communities that had remained loyal, with the specific aim of avoiding potential situations of risk in the future (Crawford 2010).

At any rate, the census, through which the new citizens should have been registered into their property classes (the *centuriae*) and would have earned the right to vote in the *comitia centuriata*, did not take place for nearly two decades since the end of the Social War. Carrying out such a major administrative undertaking in the turmoil and disruption of the 80s was impossible, although two census were performed, with limited success, in 89 and 86 (Cic. *Arch.* 11; *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.130; Festus 366L). Concerns over the possible impact of a revision of the senatorial roll were probably an important factor in delaying the performance of the census; the election of the censors had to be authorised by a Senate decree (Livy 6.27.3, 24.10.2, 37.50.7). However, there must have also been a deliberate attempt to delay the full inclusion of the new citizens (Wiseman 1969, 65; Dart 2010b, 103–104 and 2014, 185–187, 209–212). Only in 70, when a census was finally brought to completion, were they enabled to cast their vote in the assembly that elected the senior magistrates, whereas they had for several years been influencing the decisions of the legislative assembly.

The Social War ended with a comprehensive military victory for Rome, but by the time it was over the Roman elite had come to the conclusion that there was no alternative to the inclusion of the Allies into the citizen body, and a new legal framework had to be put in place throughout the peninsula: the former allied communities were turned into self-governing communities of Roman citizens (*municipia*) and were gradually organised on the same administrative model (see Bispham 2007, 205–404 and his contribution to this volume; Gabba 1994b, 63–103 remains essential reading for the strategy of urban renewal that was implemented in many communities after the Social War). For most of the new citizens, the horizon will have still been that of their hometowns, just as it had been the case before the Social War.

For the more affluent and capable sectors of the cohorts of new citizens, however, the Roman citizenship entailed the prospect of stable residence in Rome, no longer hampered by the restrictions that could be imposed upon resident aliens. It also opened the path of the elective magistracies, which would in turn entail admission into the senatorial order. The trajectory of the sons of Minatus Magius, who rose to the praetorship in the decade immediately following the war, is extraordinary, but not unparalleled. We know of a Samnite notable, Statius, who became a senator not long after the Social War and met a violent death in old age during the triumviral proscriptions because of his wealth (App. *BC* 4.102; his identification with *g(avis) staatiis klar[is]* of *ImIt* Terventum 12, from Pietrabbondante, is far from certain: Crawford 2011, 46). The process of inclusion was slow, but the direction was clear: a generation after the war, in 66 BC, we witness the election of the first consul of demonstrably Italian origins, the Perusine L. Volcarius Tullus, who probably did not come from a family of recently enfranchised citizens (*MRR* 2.635, 3.223; Farney 2007, 132–133). The evidence is on the whole too sketchy to enable reconstructions that go beyond the anecdotal level. The pattern, however, is (unsurprisingly enough) that of individual Italian notables who reached prominence in Rome thanks to their personal connections. Some of them reaped the rewards of their loyalty to Rome during the Social War, others those of the decision to join Sulla during the Civil War. Moreover, the route to the citizenship had of course been open to distinguished Italians through individual grants well before the Social War.

Probably in 70, the same year in which the census was revived, the moneyers Q. Fufius Calenus and (P.?) Mucius Scaevola Cordus struck a coin issue that emphasised the significance of the census and the full inclusion of the Italians (*RRC* 403; see Farney 2007, 4–5 on their respective backgrounds). It depicts on the reverse the reconciliation between *Roma*, depicted in military garb resting her right foot on a globe, and *Italia*, holding a cornucopia, a reference to its wealth and the fertility of its land. There is disagreement among modern scholars on the terms of such reconciliation: some argue that Italy is depicted on the same footing as Rome, while others have argued that Rome is in a position of prominence (cf. Crawford 1974, 413; Pobjoy 2000, 205–206). Wherever the emphasis should be placed, the coin certainly marked a stark discontinuity with the developments of the Social War; the contrast with the scene of the bull and the wolf depicted on the coinage of *víteliú* could not be stronger. The prospect of Italia defining itself in opposition to Rome was no longer open. Its identity was now shaped in relation to Rome, and in function of a peaceful, and in fact subservient, cooperation. Most importantly, it was set out at Rome, from a Roman standpoint. The chance for defining Italian identity in terms that were not chiefly shaped by Roman concerns had emerged, but had been lost on the battlefields of the Social War.

It would be misguided to regard a war that lasted a mere three years as a defining moment in the history of Italy or of Italian identity. It was, however, the moment that marked the final defeat of any possible alternative to the hegemony of Rome in ancient Italy. In turn, the Roman domination over the peninsula irreversibly marked

the definition of Italian identity – “unaccomplished” (Giardina 1997), and so distinctive – for centuries to come.

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Patrick Alan Kent

The Italians in Roman armies

Semper populum Romanum alienis rebus arbitrio alieno usum; et principium et finem in potestatem ipsorum, qui ope sua velint adiutos Romanos, esse.

The Roman people had always employed the property of other peoples with their consent; the decision to provide assistance, both the beginning and the end, was under the control of those who wished the Roman people to enjoy their aid. (Livy 32.8.14)

The Romans relied heavily on the resources of their Italian allies, as the Senate informed Attalus II of Pergamum in 198 BCE in the passage above (all dates BCE unless otherwise noted). Of course there was a significant difference between the façade of willing, even eager, assistance the Romans promoted and the reality of allied support. In the centuries in which Rome rose from one among many Italian communities to hegemon of the peninsula, the story of the peoples of Italy in Roman armies is one of gradual integration and subordination. Roman armies in the fourth century and earlier resembled other Italian armies of the day. An important aspect of early Italian warfare was military cooperation, facilitated by overlapping bonds of formal and informal relationships between communities and individuals. Over the third century and culminating in the Second Punic War, the Romans organized their Italian allies into large conglomerate units that were placed under Roman officers. At the same time, the Romans generally took more direct control of the military resources of their allies as the idea of military obligation developed. The integration and subordination of the Italians under increasing Roman domination fundamentally altered their relationships. By the late second century, the Italians were vestiges of past traditions that no longer fitted into a changing world, resulting in growing feelings of discontent and eventually outright rebellion. Italian military resources were key to the growth of the Roman empire, but over time the balance of power changed the fundamental military relationship of the Romans with the other peoples of Italy.

I Sources on Italians in Roman armies

Evidence for the role of the Italians in Roman armies is often scant at best and completely lacking at worst. While archaeological and epigraphic evidence can provide some insights, literary sources generally supply information on organization, combat roles, and interaction with the Romans over time. Unfortunately, treatment of the Italians in literary sources is often only secondary to what the ancient authors consider more important matters. To make the matter that much more difficult, due to the irregular survival of literary sources, information is uneven depending on the period in

Patrick Alan Kent: Department of History, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.
Email: pakent43@gmail.com

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question. Little evidence survives from the period before the Second Punic War (218–201), based on sources sometimes composed centuries afterwards. From the Second Punic War through the mid-second century information is better, but drops off again with the loss of the narratives of Livy and Polybius. While these two authors often provide the most complete information that survives, other pieces of evidence can be found in other minor or fragmentary sources as well. It is necessary to assemble these disparate pieces of evidence into something of a cohesive whole.

Of course the largest difficulty in investigating the role of Italians in Roman armies is the fact that there are no Italian accounts. Information only comes from the Romans, who obviously had motivations in portraying their allies in Italy as rightfully subordinate to the will of Rome, albeit with occasional spikes of “rebellion.” Throughout his narrative, Polybius exhibits a lack of interest in actually differentiating Roman from Italian soldiers, speaking to a certain assumption of subservience. Livy too repeats and reinforces the Roman ideology of their inevitable rise to power, which long existed in Roman historical thought (Alföldi 1971). This bias is reinforced by the fact that all surviving historical accounts, save Polybius, post-date the Social War (91–88) after which the Italians had been incorporated into the Roman citizen body. Indeed, the generalization of “Italians” as a seemingly single whole is misleading and a result of Roman prejudice. Nevertheless, the label is unavoidable given the nature of the sources, but not necessarily detrimental in the context of military relations which had a common foundation among the peoples of Italy that facilitated interaction.

We must also consider how ancient writers’ perceptions of the military role of the Italian peoples changed over time. Polybius gives the earliest surviving description of Roman armies, but he devotes little time or energy differentiating Italians from Romans in the narrative portions of his history. Livy, writing in the time of Augustus, often distinguishes Italian and Roman troops, and also recounts the occasional tale of Italian soldiers’ bravery while fighting in Roman armies (e.g. the Paelignians and Marrucini at Pydna, 44.41; cf. Plut. *Aem.* 20). Despite these differences, both authors recognized the importance of allied Italians in Roman armies (Erdkamp 2007, 49–61). An important factor in how each represents the Italians was the Social War (91–88), ultimately resulting in the full integration of the peoples of Italy into the Roman citizen body and shaping the way Roman authors portrayed them (Erdkamp 2007, 67–74). Indeed, Appian’s description of the Social War, written more than two centuries afterward, was heavily influenced by the fact that by his day there was no functional difference between Romans and Italians (Mouritsen 1998, 5–22). The end result of the expansion of citizenship in the first century shapes the portrayal of Italians in Roman armies. However, an examination of the role of the Italians over this time reveals a complex picture as they were slowly subordinated and integrated into the Roman military structure.

II Early Italian warfare

Italy prior to the Roman conquest, ending ca. 265, was a land divided amongst hundreds of communities constantly in conflict, often at war, with one another. The narrative of early Roman history is dominated by annual wars with neighbors, while the great men of Rome were nearly all warriors. The evidence that survives in the literary record is naturally one sided, focusing on the supposedly inevitable rise of Rome to hegemon of Italy. Where Italians come into the narrative is secondary, as opponents or supporting characters in a Roman tale. Despite the limitations of the sources, what survives reveals the Italian foundations of the Roman army's reliance on allied soldiers. While warfare was common there was also an important aspect of cooperation, which is important when looking at the nature of military interaction in Italy. Both the contentiousness and cooperation shaped how the Italians fit into Roman armies and the eventual growth of empire.

The fluid and chaotic nature of community interactions is clearly demonstrated in the events from 343 to 338, the First Samnite War and the great Latin War (Livy 7.32–8.14; Oakley 1997–2005, 2.307–311). Around the year 343, the Samnites launched attacks from the central Apennines on the Sidicini in northern Campania, who in turn called upon the nearby people of Capua for help. After suffering defeat at the hands of the Samnites, the people of Capua persuaded the Romans to abandon a previous treaty with the Samnites and enter the war on their side. The Romans brought their Latin allies with them. After three years of fighting, the Romans and Samnites concluded peace to the dismay of the Latins, Campanians, and Sidicini who jointly decided to continue the fight against the Samnites (and supposedly attack Rome afterwards). In response, the Romans and Samnites, so recently enemies, joined forces and together defeated the forces of the Romans' former allies in the shadow of Mt. Vesuvius (Livy 8.8.19–11.2; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.73). After two more years of fighting, the Latins were put down and "given" full Roman citizenship, the Campanians became Roman allies with *civitas sine suffragio*, and the Sidicini became Samnite allies. These developments occurred over about five years. It is hard not to be impressed by the ease with which the Italians of the central Apennines created and abandoned their alliances when deemed profitable or useful. Such a chaotic environment made alliances and military cooperation of significant importance for the survival of Italian communities. By pooling military resources together, smaller communities were able to protect themselves and larger communities could project their influence abroad.

The communities of Italy were tied together in a complex web that facilitated military cooperation. In the plains cities were common, while in the mountains looser tribal organizations existed. Trade routes linked the peninsula, with goods flowing across community boundaries. While a number of different languages existed in Italy prior to the Roman conquest (such as Latin, Oscan, Umbrian, Etruscan) linguistic and material evidence suggests close interaction of peoples regardless of linguistic

differences (Adams 2003, 112–183). Many Italian communities throughout the peninsula worshipped at common shrines, which formed the basis for religious associations called *nomina* (Cornell 1995, 294–299; Bradley 2000, 62–77; Isayev 2007, 31–41; Alföldi 1965, 119). On an individual level the elites of Italian communities intermarried and maintained ties of hospitality such as the Fabii in Caere (Holloway 1994, 71–72; Livy 9.36). The various communities of Italy were a diverse group in many ways. Nevertheless, they were able to cooperate effectively with each other militarily through the connections that existed.

In particular, cooperation relied heavily on the generally similar militaristic societies of Italy. Roman militarism is well understood and quite obvious in their historical accounts (Harris 1984). However, the Romans were hardly unique in their bellicosity in the peninsula (Eckstein 2006, 118–147). Fortifications blanket Italy (city walls and hill forts). Artwork commonly depicted warfare as a motif, while ritualistic burials included military goods. Indeed, an individual's position in society relied heavily on military accomplishments. A stark example of this comes from the story of P. Horatius Cocles, who single-handedly defended the only bridge over the Tiber from enemy invaders, earning praise from his fellow citizens. However, despite the reputation he achieved, a severe hip wound taken during the fight left him lame, which ended his ability to participate in war and thus precluded any future military commands or political offices (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.25.3). The story of Horatius, although undoubtedly embellished, is a stark example of the importance of warfare in Roman society. While we lack such stories from the traditions of any other Italian people, the material record (burial goods, burial frescoes, pottery) and the historical record of constant warfare suggest a similar outlook.

Formal and informal relations between communities and individuals made cooperation possible. Formal treaties (*foedera*) existed between communities that included mutual defense clauses in addition to various legal clauses. The *foedus Casianum* stated “let [the Romans and Latins] assist each other with all their forces when either is attacked,” and forbade assisting foreign enemies (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.95.2; Cornell 1997, 299–301). Less formal agreements existed as well, including *indutiae* (truces that were mostly used in Etruria), *sponsiones* (personal guarantees), and the religious ties of *nomina*, although the military implications of these relationships is unclear. These less formal arrangements could become formal treaties under the right circumstances (Crawford 1973, 1–7). In addition, personal social relations were important especially in terms of military cooperation. Within communities, prominent individuals could maintain personal bands of warriors such as those described in the Lapis Satricanus (Stibbe 1980; Smith 1996, 235–237), the Fabii at the Cremera (Livy 2.48.8–10; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.15; Richard 1988, 526–553, *contra* Welwei 1993, 60–76), and Numerius Decimius in the Second Punic War (Livy 22.24.12). These warbands could be led to the support of foreign individuals or communities with whom their leaders had personal relations. In 327 Samnite military assistance to Neapolis was described as “some individuals with private ties of friendship (ἰδιοφιλία) ... and friends of the Neapolitans who are helping that city

by their own choice” (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.8.4). Likewise, Etruscan assistance to Veii, which was being attacked by the Romans, was limited to young men with personal ties to the Veientes without any official support or condemnation from their home cities (Livy 5.17.9). Military cooperation among the Italians relied on the complex web of formal and informal relationships that linked communities together in diverse ways.

Cooperation in tactical situations was also made possible by a similar panoply of arms and armor as well as approach to warfare. Italian arms and armor showed a good deal of local variation, but generally indicate a similar style and approach to warfare. From the fifth century onwards, Italian armor suggests an emphasis on individual combat in battle. Helmets came in a variety of styles variously inspired by Celtic influence in the north and Greek influence in the south (Paddock 1993). Despite local variations, these helmets shared an open face and uncovered ears that did not hinder the wearer’s sight or hearing, indicating the importance of situational awareness. Body armor consisted of heart-protectors, triple-disc breastplates, and chainmail depending on the region, while shields were generally oval in shape and somewhat smaller than their Greek equivalents (Stary 1981). These forms of armor allowed freedom of movement, relying on personal mobility for protection rather than Greece’s heavy bronze that provided superior protection but inhibited movement. Mobility and space trumped heavy armor and dense formations. Weaponry likewise suggests an importance on individual combatants. The peoples of Italy seem to have preferred a certain kind of weapon (e.g. swords in Latium, spears in Samnium), but many regions also indicate variation of weapons within a single population (different types of spears, swords, axes) (Stary 1981). Ultimately, weapon choice was likely personal. Polybius confirms this disparity of arms and armor, albeit within larger age groups of Roman armies (Polyb. 6.22–23; Walbank 1957–1971, 1.703–706). Where the individual is emphasized over the group, personal variations had less of an impact. Common arms and armor, as well as approaches to warfare, facilitated the military cooperation of the peoples of Italy.

Military cooperation was made possible by a common military culture in Italy and served an important function in the survival and expansion of communities. Domination of the peninsula ultimately came down to who could best utilize allied military resources through formal and informal relationships. The fourth and early third centuries witnessed a brutal series of wars that engulfed the peninsula in a constantly shifting set of alliances among communities. Although Rome’s wars naturally dominate the narrative, there were many others, many of which did not involve the Romans. Throughout these conflicts, exploitation of military alliances proved vital but alliances were often fleeting. An important aspect of Roman success in the wars of Italy was their attempts to solidify control over their allies’ military resources, by incorporating many allies as full or partial citizens into Rome’s military structure (Livy 8.14.1–12; Oakley 1997–2005, 2.538–571). By the middle of the third century the Romans managed to solidify their hegemony through warfare, colonization, citizenship extensions, land seizures, aristocratic relationships, and treaties. At its heart,

though, Roman domination of Italy was built on preexisting military and political systems of the peninsula. The Italians remained autonomous Roman allies who continued to provide military assistance through the ancient systems of cooperation that had long been in place. Roman hegemony, however, fundamentally altered the balance of power in Italy and would, in time, result in a subordination and integration of the Italians into a Roman military and political system.

III The *formula togatorum*

Roman hegemony in Italy brought the immense manpower resources of the peninsula under their control. According to Polybius (2.24), the total number of men, including the Romans, was more than 700,000 infantry and 70,000 cavalry available to serve in Roman armies once they had secured control of the peninsula. This organization was not an empire under any sort of Roman administration, but a coalition of independent allies tied together in a vast network of bilateral relationships. The exact nature of these relationships is a matter of debate with no clear consensus. The means of exploitation of these resources was apparently the *formula togatorum*, which was a manifestation of Roman control, although the precise origins and functioning are unclear.

All direct references to a *formula togatorum* can be quickly summarized. The entire phrase appears only in the *lex agraria* of 111, which refers to “the allies and those of the Latin name in the land of Italy from whom [the consuls] are accustomed to demand soldiers *ex formula togatorum*” (Crawford 1996, 1.115; *CIL* 1².2.585). Livy also refers to a *formula* (without using the word *togatorum*) in regards to Rome’s Latin colonies, saying that the consuls “sent men to the allies and the Latins to take over their soldiers according to the *formula*” (Livy 22.57.10; 27.10; 29.15.13). No other direct references survive. In these instances, the connection of a *formula* (or *formulae*) and military service is clear, but exactly what this entails and their legal basis is not clear.

A number of interpretations of the *formula togatorum* have been proposed by modern historians trying to make sense of these vague references and thus elucidate the military relationship of the Romans and their Italian allies. On a basic level the *formula* is taken as a list of Italian allies; more specifically, either the men specified by the Romans via treaty or in annual demands by the consuls. The source of Roman knowledge of Italian manpower is unclear, whether it was gained under treaty obligations or originated due to an invasion of Gauls in 225 when, according to Polybius, fear of an attack among the Italian allies spurred a massive evaluation of manpower with lists (ἀπογραφαί) provided to the Romans for a common defense (Polyb. 2.23–24). The idea of the *formula* being a direct result of treaties was, in part, built on the idea of the now defunct concept of the *foedus iniquum* (unequal treaty) (Badian 1958, 25–28). More recently, it was argued that, while Roman knowledge of allied manpower

er was based on the events of 225, the *formulae* were annual lists created by the consuls (Brunt 1971, 545–548; Salmon 1982, 169–171; Baronowski 1984).

However, the function of *foedera* in the use of allied Italian manpower is not clear-cut. The basic structure of the *foedus* is laid out by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (6.95.2), and while it dictates military assistance there is no indication of legal obligation. John Rich (2008) has challenged the idea that formal treaties existed between Rome and all of its allies. Many Italian communities were very small and remote, *foedera* may not have necessarily replaced *indutiae* in Etruria (Rich 2008, 70–72; *contra* Harris 1971, 85–98), and the military place of communities with *civitas sine suffragio* is unclear (Mouritsen 2007, 151). Nowhere is the link to treaties and any *formulae* explicitly stated in the sources, including Livy's *formulae* and the lists Polybius describes as part of the invasion of the Gauls. When Livy references *formulae* it is exclusively in relation to Latin colonies but not to any other types of allied communities.

In addition, the role of social relations that were evident in the period before the Punic Wars must be taken into account. The means the Romans used to recruit their Italian allies are only indirectly mentioned by ancient authors who were generally more interested in other matters. Polybius and Livy refer to Roman generals, while recruiting Roman citizens, sending word to local Italian leaders, which has been connected with the *formula togatorum* (Livy 34.56; Polyb. 6.20.4). The old social networks that linked Italy no doubt continued to play a role in recruitment. Indeed, Dio Cassius says that the great fourth century Roman general Q. Fabius Rullianus was so famous that “the allied forces assisted [him] in memory of his previous deeds” (fr. 36.31). Similarly, in 217 the Samnite Numerius Decimius gathered 8,500 men and joined the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator; according to Livy Decimius was able to raise his large force because he “was foremost in family and wealth, not only in Bovianum, where he was from, but in all of Samnium ...” (Livy 22.24.12).

It would seem that Roman use of allied manpower was based on a host of complex relationships, including treaties, social networks, and longstanding traditions. What had once been a relationship of roughly equal allies had changed, once the Romans had come to dominate the entire peninsula. The military assistance of the Italians had come to have an obligatory nature while still maintaining the façade of willing military partnership. The Romans were able to exploit this vast military potential of their allies and turn it to broader conquests. Roman armies, from the start of the Punic Wars to the middle of the second century, with their allies numbered near or above 100,000 men annually (Brunt 1971, 416–426). The *formula* suggests that by the late third century, the Romans had at least some understanding of the manpower of their Italian allies. Whether or not built in some way on a legal precedent, by the time of the Second Punic War the Italians were under a *de facto* obligation to provide men for Roman armies upon “request.” Perhaps most importantly, the *formula togatorum* indicates the growing military control exerted by the Romans over the course of the third century that subsumed the Italians into Roman armies.

IV The Italians in the Roman military system

There was an inherent similarity of Italian styles of warfare in the peninsula, which facilitated the cooperation of Romans and their Italian allies. In time, this cohesiveness allowed the development of a more sophisticated organization of Rome's allies into larger units (*alae*) under Roman officers (prefects). Better incorporation and control of their allies allowed the Romans to use them very effectively in conquering and maintaining an empire.

Although the command structure used by the Romans with regard to their Italian allies is difficult to determine due to a general poor survival of evidence, there is clear evidence of greater levels of control in the third and second centuries. Before the Punic Wars, there is little indication of well-defined command structures over allied forces in Roman armies. Livy twice mentions prefects of the allies in the mid-third century, but only as part of stock phrases (Livy 8.36.5; 10.35.5; Oakley 1997–2005, 2.749–750). That is not to say that Roman commanders were never placed over units of Italian allies (e.g. Sp. Nautius in 293, Livy 10.40.8; Frontin. *Str.* 2.4.1), only that there is no evidence of a regular position. With the domination of Italy by the Romans, however, a new Roman command structure developed. The exact timeline of this development is hazy, but by the Second Punic War Roman officers known as prefects of the allies (*praefecti sociorum*) are to be found commanding groups of Italians. These officers represent a level of command and control for Roman generals, making tactical control more effective, as well as representing the growing formalization of Roman domination of their allies. Italian commanders were apparently subordinated below these officers and appear less often in the sources. Polybius indicates that the prefects were a fully integrated part of the Roman command structure (6.26–40; Walbank 1957–1971, 1.709–723). They were appointed at the discretion of Roman generals. Twelve men were appointed to this position, six per *ala* (legion-like units of allies), which corresponded to the number of military tribunes in citizen legions (Ilari 1974, 128). Prefects of the allies could be used as special commanders of small detachments of allied forces, a few infantry cohorts or cavalry *turmae* (Livy 24.20.1; 27.41.7; 40.31.3–6; Sall. *Jug.* 77.4). However, in those instances where *alae* functioned as independent operational units similar to legions, they did so under legates as opposed to prefects.

Sometime in the third century Roman generals began organizing the allied forces drawn from other Italian communities into larger units, *alae*. There are some indications of groupings of allied groups in Roman armies before the Punic Wars (Livy 10.43.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.1.5). However, it was not until the Second Punic War (218–201) that they are firmly attested and appear regularly thereafter. The close timing with the appearance of prefects of the allies is likely not a coincidence, as both the officers and units were closely intertwined. However, it is difficult to push this interpretation too far as sources for the early third century are quite poor and generally preserve little specific information regarding Italians in Roman armies.

The *alae* comprised smaller cohorts drawn from allied communities and were commanded by local leaders. As a whole, the *alae* were similar in size to legions and could serve a similar tactical function (e.g. Livy 25.21.6; 27.1.8–13; 31.21.1–7; 35.5). In fact, in his description of the Battle of Magnesia Livy refers to the *alae* as *legions* (37.39.7; Briscoe 1981, 347). Together, the prefects and *alae* created a more effective system for the Romans to exploit the military potential of their allies.

The most detailed description of the Roman Republican army, including weapons, armor, command structure, castrametation, and, most relevantly here, an overview of the Italian allies as they served in Roman armies, comes from Polybius (6.19–42). The army was divided into three lines of heavy infantry (the *triplex acies*) divided into age groups plus smaller numbers of cavalry and light infantry. The Italians, who had shared a common panoply prior to the Roman conquest, were organized similarly, and Livy says that at the Battle of Mt. Vesuvius in 340 the Latins fought in the same triple line (8.8; Oakley 1997–2005, 2.475–476). While no doubt anachronistic, the description is consistent with the similarities of warfare in early Italy and at the later battle at Magnesia in 189 where the Italians were organized along the same lines as the Romans (Livy 37.39.7–8). Each line was further divided into smaller subunits. For Roman infantry, these units were the maniples made up of about 160 men, three of which were grouped as a cohort. Italian infantry seem to have been organized solely in cohorts of about 500 men, or at least only cohorts are in evidence. Polybius says that the number of allied infantry coincided with the Roman infantry with three times the number of cavalry (6.27.6–9; Walbank 1957–1971, 1.709; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.15.1–2).

It seems that the two *alae* were typically deployed on the flanks of the two legions in a consular army (Polyb. 6.26.9; Livy 37.39.7–8). The *alae*, however, were not always placed on the wings, but could be deployed as needed. The Italian allies no longer formed cooperative groups, but fully formed tactical units that could undertake a variety of roles. In 181 the propraetor Q. Fulvius Flaccus in Spain deployed the left *ala* into an ambush position against a force of Celtiberians (Livy 40.31; cf. Frontin. *Str.* 2.5.8). Here not only was the *ala* acting completely separately from the main Roman force, but it also functioned as the core to which 6,000 Spanish auxiliaries could be attached much as the Roman legions had done for allied Italian forces. Of course, not all, or even most, Roman generals used *alae* so creatively, but the integration of the Italian allies was an important development in Roman warfare that created a potentially more efficient fighting force.

Beyond the *alae*, the allies were also grouped into a unit called the *extraordinarii*. Before the *alae* were organized, the *extraordinarii* were chosen by the prefects of the allies from the best men of the Italian soldiers, about 2,000 infantry and 600 cavalry (Polyb. 6.26.7–9; Walbank 1957–1971, 1.709). They were then subdivided into four cohorts of infantry and ten *turmae* of cavalry. While Roman armies were on the march, Polybius (6.40.8) says that the *extraordinarii* were either deployed in the van or the rear depending on where attacks were expected. They seem to have had no regular

position in the battle-line, being deployed as needed and providing a flexible force of good soldiers (Pfeilschifter 2007, 34; Livy 40.31.3; Polyb. 10.39.1).

The Italians had become fully integrated into the Roman military system by the end of the third century. They were incorporated into the camps that Roman armies regularly constructed, although the exact details are difficult to ascertain (Polyb. 6.27–32; Walbank 1957–1971, 1.709–716; Dobson 2008; cf. Rosenstein 2012, 93–100). The *extraordinarii* occupied a place of distinction near the general's tent. Non-Italian allies camped separately. With regards to rations, Polybius (6.39.15) says that the allied infantry received the same rations as the Roman infantry, and the cavalry about one-third less than the Roman cavalry, which were given as a gift. The provision of rations can be associated with the growing disparity in relative power between the Romans and their Italian allies. In Roman eyes, it was the duty of their allies to march alongside Roman citizens across the Mediterranean, but at the same time, as with any good master, it was the duty of the Romans to care for their subordinate allies while on campaign.

The many campaigns in which the Italians participated alongside the Romans also had an impact on the complex process of cultural interchange. To be sure, units were apparently separated by ethnic groups into units and in camps (Pfeilschifter 2007; Rosenstein 2012). While fluency may have been rare, there is no reason to think that this segregation prevented passing knowledge of Latin among allied soldiers. Certainly, in those instances of discontent among soldiers, Roman citizens and Italian allies showed solidarity and cooperation (Livy 28.24.13; 40.35–36). Nevertheless, many regions in Italy show at least familiarity with Latin that must have been supported by military interaction. The Abruzzi tribes of the central Apennines were among the most common allies in Roman armies, among them the Marsi who claimed that no Roman army had ever achieved a triumph over them or without them (App. *B Civ.* 1.46). The earliest example of Latin used outside of Latium (in this case influenced by local Oscan), dated to the third century, comes from this area (*ILLRP* 7). On the other hand, the Paeligni, another Abruzzi people commonly referenced in Roman armies, show little influence from Latin in the inscriptional evidence as early as their neighbors (Bispham 2007, 5). The impact of Latin on the various languages of Italy in general reflects the same complexity of influence, adaptation, and resistance (Bispham 2007, 4–5; Benelli 2001, 7–16; Mouritsen 1998, 77–81). While other factors were at play, common military service based on centuries-old traditions of military cooperation made cultural exchange among the peoples of Italy possible.

V Subordination and Discontent

The integration of the Italians into the Roman military system coincided with and was part of a larger process of subordination over the course of the third and second centuries. Italian arms had played a significant role in the conquest of an empire, but their place was insecure, ill-defined, and increasingly subject to abuses. While the

Italians certainly derived benefits from their close relationship with the Romans, they were kept outside of Rome's political system. As a system of provincial administration was developed to control Rome's new subjects effectively, the autonomous allied communities in Italy were increasingly vestiges of an earlier age stuck between partners and provincials. The result was building discord among Rome's Italian allies that would in time burst forth in the Social War, pitting the peoples of Italy against each other.

By the third century Italian military forces were fully subordinate to Roman generals, which at times gave rise to abuses. In his discussion of Roman armies, written in the mid-second century and purporting to describe the armies of the Second Punic War, Polybius indicates that the Italians were fully subsumed beneath the Roman command structure. Indeed, the consul P. Claudius Pulcher was described as a particularly harsh man who flogged Italian allies during the First Punic War (Diod. Sic. 24.3; cf. Livy 9.16.16–18). After the Second Punic War, the Romans demanded that all those Latins that had deserted to Carthage be returned. These men were immediately beheaded, the same treatment Roman traitors could have expected, indicating the Roman assumption of dominance (Livy 30.43.13). The relatively short campaigns prior to the third century in Italy had given way to long deployments in lands across the Mediterranean. Even the material rewards of military actions were not always evenly distributed between Roman citizens and their Italian allies. In 177 C. Claudius Pulcher gave the allies only half the rewards that his Roman soldiers received, and in response the allied soldiers “followed [Claudius’] chariot in silence, so that you could sense their anger” (Livy 41.13.8). Among the most dreaded of campaigns was Spain, giving rise to problems regarding length of service and discharge (Livy 28.24.13; 32.9.5; 40.35–36). There are instances of Roman citizens being discharged, but allied and Latin soldiers being retained longer (Livy 31.10.5; 39.38.5–12; 41.5.10). Perhaps most telling about the status of non-citizen soldiers in Roman armies comes in 193 when Roman legionaries were discharged, but the Italians were ordered to assemble alongside a new army being gathered with no break in service (Livy 34.56.12). The Italians, who had no direct recourse through the Roman military or political system, were potentially exposed to abuses by Roman generals. No longer were the Italians equal allies.

The Italians had become subjects of the Romans, but nevertheless continued to play a vital role in maintaining Roman power under the guise of autonomous allies. The result was growing discontent among the peoples of the peninsula, who ultimately rallied behind the growing political issue of citizenship extensions. In 125, the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus proposed some sort of grant of citizenship for at least a portion of Rome's Italian allies (App. *B Civ.* 1.21; Val. Max. 9.5.1; *MRR* 1.510). The exact nature of this proposal is unclear, but it was likely not meant as a general enfranchisement of Italy (Mouritsen 1998, 112–113; Badian 1958, 391–393). In the aftermath of Flaccus' proposal, citizenship took on a much greater importance. From the middle of the 120s down to the outbreak of the Social War thirty years later, the question of citizenship continually resurfaced in increasing importance, most

spectacularly in the doomed rebellion of the Latin colony of Fregellae (Plut. *C. Gracch.* 3.1; *Vir. Ill.* 65). The question of citizenship extension was part of the legislative proposals of the tribunes C. Sempronius Gracchus in 123 and M. Livius Drusus in 91 (Badian 1958, 186; Mouritsen 1998, 110–122). Increasingly over this time, citizenship for the Italians became a tool for political fights in Rome among bickering Roman politicians. What was an important matter that spoke to larger problems among the Italians, was made secondary to Roman political disputes. It was the failure of Drusus' proposal (and his untimely death) that proved the spark of widespread rebellion in Italy, the Social War. To be sure there were many factors that went into the decision of Italian communities to take up arms against Rome, but a significant factor was the discontent that was a result of the military subordination of the Italians.

Citizenship had increasingly served as a standard behind which the Italians could voice their discontent, but the goals of the peoples of Italy were quite divorced from each other. Shared military service had a significant impact on the form such discontent took. The Marsi, who came from a region heavily influenced by Roman culture and boasted of their record of fighting alongside the Romans, readily ended their rebellion and accepted the offer of citizenship in 88. As noted above, the Marsi boasted of how often they served in Roman armies. The Samnites, who had often proven eager to join Rome's enemies over the centuries, were dedicated to the City's destruction. While Samnites were to be found in Roman armies at times, the impact of interaction with the Romans did not have the same effect. The Samnites continued to resist long after their fellow Italians until they were put down by a vengeful Sulla. Prior to the war the question of citizenship served as a unifying element, but once the war began that was no longer the case. When the actual war broke out, each community saw the chance to pursue its own goals – enfranchisement, the overthrow of Rome, or whatever it wanted in particular. One of the contributing factors was the problem of inequality that can be traced in the military integration and subordination of the Italians into Roman armies.

In the aftermath of the Social War, the peoples of Italy were integrated fully into the Roman citizen body. While there would continue to be questions of the exact distribution of the Italians into voting tribes, there are no indications of any problems militarily. The Italians, having served for centuries in Roman armies, smoothly entered the ranks of the legions and continued their efforts on behalf of the still growing Roman empire. The similarities and interconnected nature of early Italy had allowed the Romans to build up a powerful military system based on early Italian practices. From there, Italians were integrated more firmly and finally subordinated. It was the subordination of the Italians as part of the larger changes occurring as Roman power spread that fueled their discontent, and it was this discontent that would eventually turn Italian allies into Roman legionaries. Over the course of three centuries, military cooperation among the peoples of Italy played a key role in shaping the history and success of the Roman Republic.

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Tesse D. Stek

The impact of Roman expansion and colonization on ancient Italy in the Republican period. From diffusionism to networks of opportunity

I Introduction

In the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Servius Cornelius there was in general a respite from foreign wars. Colonies were established at Sora and Alba. Six thousand settlers were enrolled for Alba, in the Aequian country. Sora had belonged to the territory of the Volsci, but the Samnites had got possession of it; to this place were sent four thousand men.

L. Genucio Ser. Cornelio consulibus ab externis ferme bellis otium fuit. Soram atque Albam coloniae deductae. Albam in Aequos sex milia colonorum scripta. Sora agri Volsci fuerat, sed possederant Samnites; eo quattuor milia hominum missa. (Livy 10.1.1–2. Translation from the Loeb Classical Library Ed.)

This quote from Livy's *Ab urbe condita* is just one example of a typical, even relatively detailed, reference found in the literary sources for the establishment of colonists by Rome in newly conquered territories. In this case the number of colonists is given; in other instances we just hear that a colony was established, and nothing more (e.g. *colonia Aesernia deducta est*, Livy *Per.* 16). Concise as these references are, the establishment of thousands of new settlers in freshly won territory must have been quite an enterprise and experience, for both the new settlers and the original inhabitants of the area. It sparks curiosity about the impact that Roman colonization had on the Italian peninsula, its landscape and its peoples, and raises the question of how colonial and native communities responded to the new situation.

It goes without saying that the potential impact of Roman colonization on ancient Italian communities depends on the character of the colonies themselves, and on the character and intensity of the contact between Italic communities and the new colonial ones. These closely interrelated issues are currently heavily debated

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Tesse D. Stek: Faculty of Archaeology, Einsteinweg 2, 2333 CC Leiden – The Netherlands. Email: t.d.stek@arch.leidenuniv.nl

by both ancient historians and archaeologists, and old views are rapidly being challenged or replaced by newly emerging concepts and models. Many of these new developments have just recently started, and most are still far from being crystallized or indeed generally accepted. Yet, since they are too important to be left out from any discussion of the impact of colonization on ancient Italy, these developing theories and their potential impact on the debate will be considered here, even if in a necessarily schematic manner. The recent developments in thinking about Roman colonization and expansionism and their relationship to cultural change in ancient Italy have strong deconstructivist tendencies. Much of the traditionally assumed characteristics of Roman colonization and the related mechanisms of cultural change have been, rightly, demonstrated to be biased by modernist and colonialist ideologies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, the important deconstructive trends in colonization studies only *appear* to diminish the effective impact of Roman colonization, and do not necessarily undermine the notion of Roman influence in itself and as a whole. Actually, it can be argued that they have opened the door to less-expected forms and patterns of impact, revealing interesting and dynamic forms of Roman colonial impact on, and interaction with, the Italic populations.

Long before the rapid expansion of Rome, especially from the fourth century onwards, colonization movements had been an integral part of the behavior of most communities in ancient Italy and in the wider Mediterranean. Ample literary references are available for various Greek, Etruscan and Italic migratory movements in the Italian peninsula (e.g. Aequi: Livy 4.49.7; Samnites: Livy 4.37.1; Etruscans: Livy 5.33.8; Volscians: Livy 7.27.2; Umbrians: Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.10; Lucanians: Strabo *Geog.* 6.1.3; cf. Kornemann 1901, 513; Torelli 1981), not to mention the “sacred spring” myths that probably reflect actual early Italic migrations, too (for more on Sacred Springs, see Di Fazio in this volume).

According to the written sources, Rome – itself of course imagined as a colony of sorts, first of Troy and then via Lavinium of Alba Longa – displayed already in the Regal and Archaic Periods expansionist strategies involving the confiscation of territories and the foundation of new communities in them. Even in the first years of the city’s existence, the mythical founder Romulus is imagined to have sent out several colonies. Although partly mythical and often clearly anachronistic, the references to Archaic and early Republican migrations and expansionism certainly reflect a mobile ancient reality. These movements are better characterized as private undertakings by warlords or *condottieri* with their retinues, than as state-sponsored enterprises (Càssola 1988; Cornell 1995, e.g. 143–150; Bradley 2006; Chiabà 2006; Chiabà 2011; Termeer 2010; *contra* e.g. Coarelli 1990), and are part of a widespread Mediterranean phenomenon (cf. Horden and Purcell 2000, 386–387). In this period, local populations appear to have been included in the colonies, such as in Antium in 467 BC, where native Volscians were enrolled, as well as Romans, Latins and Hernici (Livy 3.1.5–7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.59.2).

Roman colonizing movements intensified after the Latin War (338 BC), when Rome also formally established her dominance (Cornell 1989a, 1989b, 1995, 301–

PRISCAE COLONIAE LATINAE		COLONIAE LATINAE IURIS ARIMINENSIS		COLONIAE CIVIUM ROMANORUM (MARITIME)
Romulus	Fidenae	268	Ariminum	
501	Cora	268	Beneventum	
495	Signia	264	Firmum	
494	Velitrae	264		Castrum Novum
492	Norba	263		Pyrgi
467	Antium	247	Aesernia	
442	Ardea	246	Brundisium	Alsium
418	Labici	245		Fregenae
395	Vitellia	241	Spoletium	
393	Circeii	218	Placentia	
385	Satricum	218	Cremona	
393	Setia	199		Puteoli
382	Sutrium	199		Salernum
382	Nepet	197		Volturnum
COLONIAE LATINAE		COLONIAE CIVIUM ROMANORUM (MARITIME)		
338		197		Literum
338		194		Sipontum
334	Cales	194		Buxentum
329		194		Croton
328	Fregellae	194		Tempa
314	Luceria	193	Thurii Copia	
313	Saticula	192	Vibo Valentia	
313	Suessa Aurunca	189	Bononia	
313	Pontiae	COLONIAE CIVIUM ROMANORUM (AGRARIAN)		
312	Interamna Lirenas	184		Potentia
303	Sora	184		Pisaurum
303	Alba Fucens	183		Saturnia
299	Narnia	183		Mutina
298	Carseoli	183		Parma
295		181		Gravisciae
295		181	Aquileia	
291	Venustia	177		Luna
289-283	Hadria	157		Auximum
289		128		Heba
273	Cosa	124		Fabrateria Nova
273	Paestum	123		Neptunia
		122		Scolacium

Fig. 1. Salmon's list and categorization of Roman colonial foundations (from Stek and Pelgrom 2014, 15)

304; Oakley 1997, 342–344). The list of colonies sent out by Rome from that moment onwards is impressive (see Figs. 1 and 2), with thirty-three colonies being founded within the little over a century until the Second Punic War. This period has been described as the “golden age” of colonization by one of the most eminent scholars of Roman colonization, Edward Togo Salmon (1969, 57), and coincides chronologically with the Roman conquest and incorporation of the Italian peninsula. After the incorporation or pacification of the various Italic communities and the warding off of foreign invaders such as Pyrrhus and Hannibal, colonization slowed down, and in the second century entered another era with the Gracchan land reforms and veteran settlements of the late Republic. Attempts at classifying the different colonies that were sent out during the history of Rome already began in the late Republican period (Crawford 1995; Bispham 2000, 2006), but the rigid distinction between *priscae latinae coloniae*, *coloniae latinae*, *coloniae maritimae*, and *coloniae militares* famously put forward by Salmon is primarily a modern systematizing construct (see Fig. 1). A real juridical difference is, in any case, the distinction between colonies whose citizens had the Latin right, the so-called “Latin colonies,” and those colonies consisting of people with full Roman citizenship (“citizen colonies”), that were usually smaller in size. The focus of this chapter is on the mid-Republican period, the main phase of Roman expansion in ancient Italy.

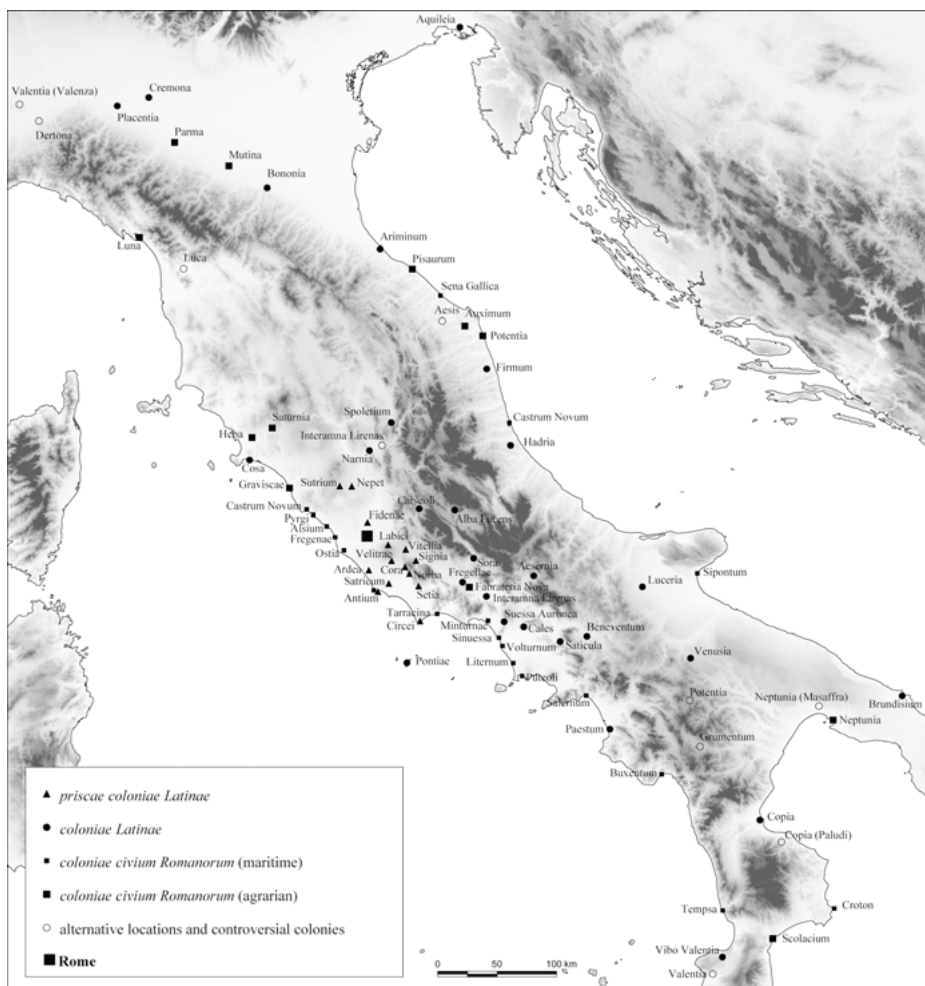


Fig. 2. Roman colonies founded in Italy from the early Republic to the Gracchi (from Stek and Pelgrom 2014, 10)

II Military strategy, land, and Romanization: motives for colonization

In order to appreciate the debate on the potential cultural impact of Roman colonies, it is important to discuss first the main incentives behind Roman colonization as they have been recognized in scholarship on the subject. The issue of the motivation behind colonization is fraught with problems because the relevant written sources are all of much later date, mostly of the late Republican and early Imperial periods. If the basic information provided on the chronology and the sites involved can be generally

accepted (cf. esp. Oakley 1995, 1999), the information given about the historical motivations is much more likely to have been biased by concerns of the time that writers such as Livy and Dionysius wrote their histories. Modern scholars have, therefore, dismissed the historical accounts on the matter as anachronistic to varying degrees, especially, of course, for the earlier time periods. In modern scholarship, three main incentives for sending out colonies are usually recognized: their role in military strategy, their function as providing land for the poor, and their Romanizing role.

It is useful to discuss briefly these supposed incentives, because our interpretation of the primary motivations for establishing colonies affects the ways and extent to which the colonies potentially impacted local Italic communities. Analogously, it is also useful for understanding the debate on Roman colonization in historiographical terms, since, as will be exemplified below, specific academic positions on the rationale behind Roman colonization define automatically the range of its impact. Certainly, in reality the incentives behind colonizing movements must have always been pluriform and multi-faceted. Establishing colonies may have served different goals, which were also experienced and/or emphasized differently by different groups within society, as well as by later historians (Bradley 2006, 171). Also, it should be kept in mind that the original intentions behind establishing a colony and the actual course of events after it was established need not be in accord. An important reminder of this potential discrepancy between Roman plans and harsh historical reality is the story of the colonies of Buxentum and Sipontum. There, a Roman consul accidentally found out that the colonies were actually deserted only eight years after their establishment in 194 BC (Livy 39.23.3–4). That this was not exactly according to the plan is confirmed by the action taken in response, as triumvirs were appointed by senatorial decree to organize a supplement of colonists. Yet, apart from such considerations, different forms of settlement and interaction with local inhabitants can be expected according to different rationales behind the colonizing movement. If military control of an area or route was the main goal, both colonists and their settlement logic may have behaved differently than in a scenario where landless people came to search for a humble field to farm and build a living there.

The close correlation between warfare, conquest, and the foundation of colonies in the literary descriptions, provided notably by Livy on the wars of conquest in the Italian peninsula, has suggested that the primary function of the colonies of the mid-Republican period was strategic. For instance, the placement of the colonies of Freggellae (328 BC), Interamna Lirenas (312), Luceria (314), Beneventum (268), and Aesernia (263) seem to follow closely Roman advancement in, and control over, the area during the Samnite Wars (c. 343–290) and the aftermath with Italic groups rising against Rome with Pyrrhus (280–270) (e.g. Toynbee 1965, 157–160). Also, the relationship between the construction of the main Roman roads, facilitating the movement of armies, goods and ideas between Rome and the recently conquered areas on the one hand, and the establishment of colonies on the other, has often been seen as corroborating the link between military strategy and colonization (Salmon 1969; Coarelli 1988; de Cazanove 2005). The image of colonies as strategic strongholds,

placed where they are and in the way they are for military purposes (Cicero's "bulwarks of empire:" *propugnacula imperii*; *Leg. agr.* 2.23.73, or Livy's *claustra*: e.g. Livy 6.9.4) is therefore paramount in scholarship on the subject (esp. Salmon 1936, 1955, 1969; recently e.g. Broadhead 2007 and Sisani 2007). It is almost universally accepted as a primary motivation for colonization in the mid-Republican period, and discussion has rather focused on the extent of the strategic rationale already in the early Republic. However, although military strategy undoubtedly was an important factor in the mid-Republican period, we shall see that other incentives may have played a role, and that an exclusive military-strategic focus is too narrow to do justice to the complexity of Roman expansionism.

Another incentive for establishing colonies that is regularly and directly transmitted by the written sources regards land. Sending out colonies in order to resolve socio-economic and demographic problems in the city of Rome features prominently in the sources for the early as well as for the late Republican period. The basic idea is that sending out colonists would help rid the city of poor, landless people. It gave these people the opportunity to develop themselves in a colonial context to qualify for military service. Ultimately, colonization thus relieved the city of the landless poor and strengthened Roman power at the same time (e.g. Salmon 1955, 65; Brown 1980, 4). The socio-economic function, or effect, of Roman colonization has been accepted especially for colonies of the second century onwards, when Roman hegemony was already established, and when agrarian discussions dominated the political agenda. Whether it also was an important consideration in early and mid-Republican colonization is a moot point. For the early Republican period Livy indicates that tempering plebeian unrest by land distribution could be a primary motive, but his assertions have often been rejected as being anachronistic (e.g. Brunt 1971; Càssola 1988; Erdkamp 2011). References to land distributions, however, seem to come to the fore too regularly to ignore this factor altogether for the early and mid-Republican periods (Oakley 2005; Bradley 2006; Patterson 2006). It has also been argued that for solving land issues virginal colonization, that is, individual land plots handed out to colonists without a clear primary settlement of reference, would be more appropriate an instrument (Salmon 1969; for early virginal colonization see esp. Sisani 2007).

Lastly, but by no means less important for this chapter, colonies have been regarded as responsible for the spread of Roman socio-political ideas, technology, language and culture into the Italic areas (e.g. Reid 1913; Salmon 1982; David 1994; Torrelli 1999). Colonies have been described as "the real instruments of Romanization" of the newly conquered areas and their inhabitants (Fraccaro 1931, 843; followed (without reference) also by Salmon 1969). Romanization is here understood as a civilizing process that was in the end beneficial for the affected peoples. It would have prepared the Italic peoples for their "final destiny" to be integrated in the Roman empire, as it later has been viewed (Salmon 1982). An early expression of this notion can be found in James Reid's work:

Small, numerically, as the number of Latin and Roman settlers in these colonies was, their influence on the regions around them was immense. The local dialects everywhere gave way before Latin, and the populations were in course of time prepared, by subtle changes of culture and sentiment, to accept and even to welcome complete absorption into the Roman state. (Reid 1913, 64)

The supposedly superior character of the Roman colonial socio-political ideas, technology and culture have conversely been seen as fundamental in explaining the success of Roman colonization, and hence of Roman imperialism in general. The *intentionality* of the “Romanizing” aspect of colonies has, however, since long been debated. Whereas some scholars have seen their civilizing role as part and parcel of a conscious imperial strategy (e.g. Reid, Mommsen), others have viewed it rather as a secondary and essentially unpremeditated side-effect (notably Salmon in his earlier work). It is interesting to note that this motivation for Roman colonization is, in contrast to the military considerations and land distribution, not directly transmitted by the ancient sources (the few references often cited in regard need special pleading, in any case: cf. below for further discussion).

Although these different interpretations of the motivation behind colonization have clearly divergent implications, scholarship on the subject has often sought to integrate the different rationales for Roman colonization into one model, creating a hierarchical relationship between them. In this hierarchical model, the military-strategic function comes first, potential beneficial effects for the Roman poor come second, and a Romanizing influence is often regarded as a last, if positive, side-effect of Roman colonization (cf. Pelgrom and Stek 2014).

III The cultural impact of Roman colonization

Even if it was, according to many scholars, unintentional or only a secondary goal, the effect of Roman colonization on the Italic populations has nonetheless been regarded as massive and incisive. Of course, the subjugation and fate of the original inhabitants will have developed differently according to the historical situation. The literary sources report cases of massacres or indeed genocide (see e.g. the discussion by Benelli in this volume), and expropriation or forced relocation is assumed to have regularly taken place (cf. below). The scholarly focus has, however, usually been on the positive, developmental, effects of Roman colonization. The foundation of the new Roman communities in the midst of the Italic peoples would, indeed, have marked the beginning of important changes in the socio-political, economic, and cultural development of Italic communities. The most commonly accepted developments with which Roman colonization has been credited are briefly discussed here.

First, the development of urbanism has been seen as essentially stimulated by the Roman conquest. The socio-political form of the classical city-state would have

spread through Rome's colonies all over the peninsula and further. Second, the related development of a new socio-economic model based on independent peasant farmers would have similarly been instigated by the ideal Roman colonial model. Third, new technology and material culture, themselves reflecting important socio-political developments, would have been disseminated by the colonies, such as coinage, defensive constructions and new types of pottery such as black-gloss wares. Fourth, new religious ideas and models, often encapsulated in new material media, such as anatomical votives and specific monumental temple types, would have spread from Rome to the colonies, and from there would have influenced the Italic areas. The notion that these important cultural changes were brought about directly by the newly established colonies seemed, at first, to be neatly corroborated by the archaeological record. A brief review of some of the most salient archaeological confirmations of the character and impact of Roman colonization is in order, in which urban and rural planning on the one hand, and religious material culture on the other are singled out for this chapter.

The fact that many colonial foundations display regular, gridded town plans has long attracted the attention of scholars (Castagnoli 1972; Ward-Perkins 1974; Sommel-la 1988). In combination with the evidence for the developments in the Imperial period in the northwestern provinces, where Roman dominance seems to be strongly linked to urbanization, the thesis has been developed that Rome was responsible for the planned urbanism in the conquered areas (e.g. Castagnoli 1972, 121; recently e.g. Sisani 2007, *passim*; for the principle, see the excellent discussion in Terrenato 2008).

In Italy for the Republican period, the amazing discoveries after World War II, at the Latin colonies of Alba Fucens (founded 303 BC) and Cosa (273), particularly invigorated the notion that Roman expansionism and urbanism went hand in hand and were logically related. During the Belgian and American excavations, and somewhat later at Fregellae (328), too, almost complete town plans were uncovered, as well as impressive remains of political and sacred buildings (Mertens 1969; Brown 1980; Coarelli and Monti 1998). In many ways, these town plans and their public architecture seemed to reflect shared values and political ideas, based on the mother-city of Rome. For instance, the appearance of circular political meeting places or *comitia* in all three colonies suggested to many scholars that these colonies had copied the model of Rome not only in their socio-political organization, but also in their physical layout. Similarly, the central cult buildings present in many colonies were interpreted as copies of the central cult place at Rome on the Capitol. This happened, for instance, with the cult place on the highest point of the settlement at Cosa, and with the remains of temples partly preserved by their incorporation into later churches at Sora (303) and Aesernia (263). From these colonial sites, the model would consequently have spread further into the hinterland (as illustrated below). The idea that the colonies founded by Rome would reflect the mother-city is old, and has especially been read into the words of Aulus Gellius (NA 16.13), who, paraphrasing emperor Hadrian, described colonies as "small copies and images of sorts" of Rome. Older

generations of scholars explained this passage primarily in terms of socio-political values or the constitution (e.g. Mommsen 1912, 421; Beloch 1926, 489), but the archaeological discoveries at the mid-Republican colonies after World War II seemed to give special significance to the small-replica idea also on the physical level of the urban lay-out, read as a direct expression of these socio-political values (cf. Pelgrom and Stek 2014; Quinn and Wilson 2013, 2–3 for earlier interpretations of Gellius' text as indicating a physical resemblance to the city of Rome).

There were obviously important differences with the city of Rome itself, which was notoriously irregular in shape, being a so-called “organically evolved settlement.” The equal division of urban plots in the colonies in particular seemed to reflect a way to solve social tension within the newly established community. In a way, the new foundations came to be seen as an idealized Rome, or Roman society in miniature, based on principles of equality (Brown 1980; cf. Fentress 2000).

Aside from the urban plan and its public spaces, the surrounding rural territory would also have been radically organized with the establishment of a colony. Again, especially after World War II, research revealing enormous and incisive land organization programs around colonial towns started to make an impact on the general perception of Roman colonization and its effect on the landscape. Aerial photography, visualizing fossilized land division features in the landscape, was paramount in this development (e.g. Castagnoli 1953–1955; Bradford 1957; Chevallier 1961; Chouquer, et al. 1987). As in the primary urban settlements, the neatly divided lands seemed to reflect an entirely new system of socio-political organization. The neat and ordered subordination of nature that transpired from the man-made centuration grids made a strong impact on scholars of that generation, and was often linked with the allegedly firm and resolute Roman mind. John Bradford (1957, 149; cf. Purcell 1990) for instance speaks of the “absolute self-assurance and great technical competence” with which the Romans would have superimposed the same formal framework on landscapes as different as the Po Valley and desert-like Tunisia. The sudden and massive increase in farm sites of the Republican period recorded in archaeological field survey projects all over Italy added to this idea of colonists settling the orderly allotted landscape. There was at the time of discovery of these well-ordered urban and rural landscapes already much discussion about the ultimate origins of the model, mainly known from Greek colonial and Near Eastern precursors (Castagnoli 1972). But its relationship to Roman colonization and expansionism in Italy seemed clear. The genuine surprise and enthusiasm about these findings of the 1950s comes out clearly in Paul MacKendrick's words: “these planned communities, with their walls, their neat crisscross of streets, their fora and basilicas and temples, and their pattern of allotments [...] [testified] already to the might and the majesty of the Roman name” (1952, 139).

Also, the relationship between the spread of particular religious models and Roman colonization seemed to be documented clearly in the archaeological record. In Figure 3, we see the spread of a specific category of votive terracottas, the so-called Etrusco-Latinal-Campanian type, in Italy (Comella 1981). This modern category is de-

financed as a set of terracotta heads, animal models, statuettes, and notably anatomical votives, i.e. terracotta models of human body parts such as feet, hands, eyes, genitals and intestines. As can be readily appreciated from that map, there seems to be a clear correlation between the colonial foundations of Rome, and the archaeological attestations of this type of votive gifts. As a result of this correlation, conversely these types of votives – and especially the readily recognizable and distinctive anatomic votives – have been regarded as a strong indicator of Roman presence (Torelli 1973), if not in the form of standard colonial foundations such as colonies of the Latin right, then in the form of *virittane* or other, less formalized, forms of colonial settlement (e.g. Coarelli 2000; Sisani 2007). It is not just material culture that is “exported” here: rather, these material remains – at first appearance at least – seemed to reflect specific rituals, which in turn betray specific beliefs and traditions. Here, the “dissemination of Roman attitudes” – as Frank Brown (1980) described the Romanizing effect of colonies – thus appeared to be neatly reflected in the archaeological findings.

Another evocative map (Fig. 4) shows the geographical diffusion of the Etrusco-Italic temple as indicated by architectonic terracotta decoration (Torelli 1999, 121–131). Here also a strong correlation is suggested between Roman colonial presence and the appearance of this type of architecture. Its significance is naturally somewhat different from the more personal votive gifts, as these temples require considerable investment and were usually placed centrally in public spaces. As a result, the appearance of these monumental temples has been linked more directly to communal expressions of identity, arguably instigated by decision-makers at a higher administrative level, and with a wider audience in mind. The construction of “Capitoline” temples, echoing the central cult place and symbol of Rome itself and her power, has thus come to be seen as a clear expression of allegiance to Rome and Roman values. Moreover, a link has been established between the adoption of this type of temple and the ideals to which it supposedly refers. Indeed, in the words of Mario Torelli (1999, 127), “the superiority of the [urban] model rendered easy and consequential the exportation of the cultural forms ingrained in that model. Amongst these cultural forms Etrusco-Italic temple building took first place.” Not only has the Roman-ness of the temple architecture thus been emphasized, but also its effectiveness in evoking urbanism.

IV Recent developments in colonization studies: the disentanglement of cultural trends and colonization

Over the last two decades, however, important revisions have been put forward. These revisions and critiques affect various different aspects of the model just sketched. The reason for their roughly contemporaneous emergence in the first

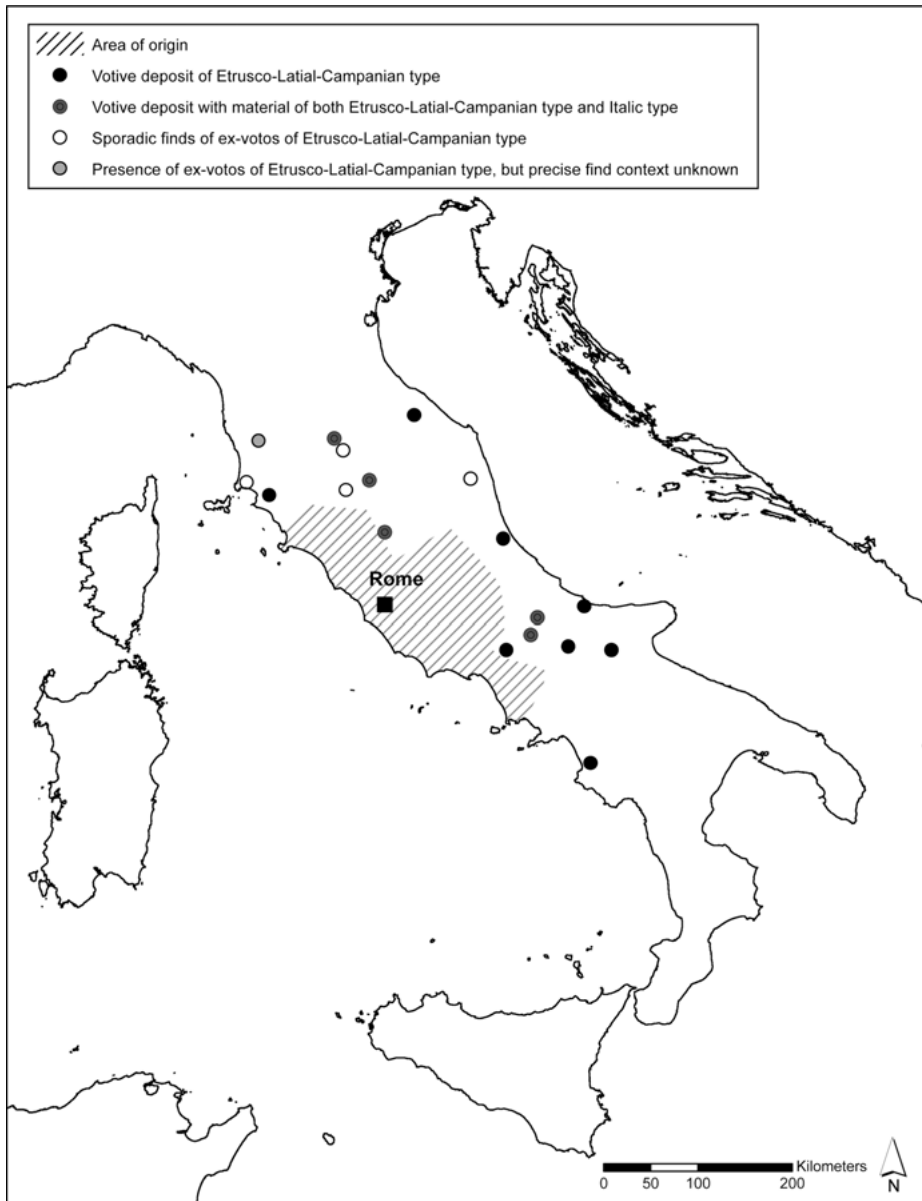


Fig. 3. Distribution map of votive materials according to different types by A. Comella, showing the diffusion of the so-called Etruscan-Latial-Campanian votive types outside their area of origin (adapted from Comella 1981, 760 fig. 1)

place can be found in more general shifts in intellectual and academic circles. Since the 1990s, the broader trend has been to move away from monocausal explanations and to view specific historical developments against the background of both local

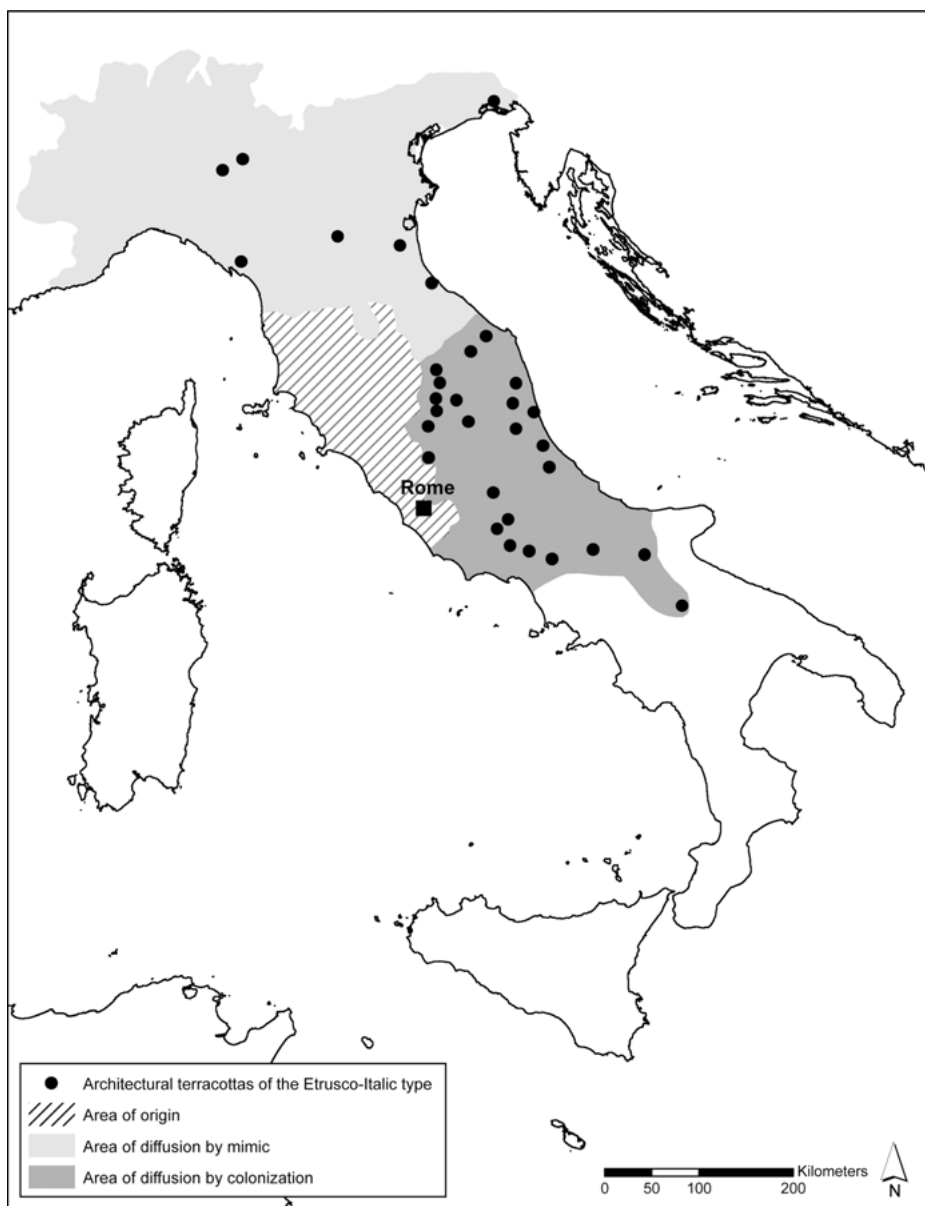


Fig. 4. Distribution map of the Etrusco-Italic temple as indicated by architectural terracottas. The area of origin is hachured, while light grey indicates the diffusion of the terracottas outside their area of origin as a result of mimic (Umbria) or in dark grey as the influence of Roman colonization (Samnite and Picene areas) (adapted from Torelli 1999, 123 fig. 54)

and more global trends; and in general to take a close look at both ancient and modern imperialist and colonialist biases when interpreting our evidence (Terrenato 2005a). Even if they are genealogically related, the various revisionist studies that

are relevant for the colonization debate can be divided roughly between those based on new assessments of the actual empirical evidence and those focused on the significance and meaning of established patterns of material culture. As to the first category, seminal studies have recently questioned some of the most important pillars on which the traditional edifice of Roman colonization was built.

One important development has been the questioning of the character and outlook of Roman colonial towns in the most important phase of Roman expansion, in the mid-Republican period. Restudy of some of the type-sites, and especially a keen eye on the precise chronology, has considerably questioned the notion of neat mini-Rome's planted *ex novo*. This revision is particularly visible for Cosa, not coincidentally the site that has been regarded as the Roman colonial type-site *par excellence*. The discussed key urban elements of the town were originally thought to reflect neatly the mother city of Rome and to derive from the first years of the colony's foundation in 273 BC. However, many of these elements have now been re-dated to the period after 197 BC, when the colony was reinforced, or their existence has been revised entirely (Fentress 2000; Sewell 2010). The similarity to Rome, as well as to one another, of the colonial political structures of the forum and the *comitium* has also been questioned (Mouritsen 2004 with, however, Coarelli 2005). The great variety of different colonial realities has been the object of detailed study by Edward Bispham (2006), who pointed out that the "Capitoline kit" was seldom uniform or present at all in mid-Republican colonies.

Together with critiques of the overly ordered and anachronistically flavoured literary record transmitted in the Roman sources (Càssola 1988; Crawford 1995; Torelli 1999; Bispham 2006; Patterson 2006), attention has thus been drawn to the potentially strong effect of hindsight in our understanding of Republican colonization. Indeed, late Republican and Imperial experiences may have been used to fill in the gaps in the knowledge about the actual situation during the wave of colonization in the fourth and third centuries. In reaction, some scholars have developed models rather based on archaic and early Republican experiences (Bradley 2006), working on the important premise that the break between Archaic and Republican society was perhaps not as clear-cut as it has been portrayed in the literary sources (Terrenato 2005b). These approaches decidedly move away from an abstract, monolithic Roman state dictating colonial foundations and imposing cultural change. The importance of family ties and the cooptation of different groups into factions, crossing geographical and ethnic borders, in colonial enterprises and expansionism have accordingly received due attention (e.g. Càssola 1988; Bradley 2006; Terrenato 2014). Clearly, here we move far from the imagined drawing room of the "colonial office" at Rome where the blueprint for colonies would have been designed, in the vision of Brown (e.g. 1980, 42–44) and his contemporaries (cf. MacKendrick 1952; Salmon 1969, 38).

The developments that colonization would have set in motion or facilitated in the conquered areas and abutting regions are also rapidly being revised by different fields of study. The role of Rome in urbanization, and especially in the development

of planned urbanism in Italy, for instance, is being questioned by both recent discoveries and systematic analysis of urbanism in a broader Mediterranean perspective. As to the latter, Sewell (2010, 2014) has demonstrated the importance of contemporary Greek and Macedonian models in the urban layouts of new settlements. Although elements of the new towns may demonstrate some specifically Roman choices, much of the impressiveness of the planned towns appeared simultaneously in various Mediterranean areas not affected by or related to Roman colonization. At the same time, recent excavations at the old Latin center of Gabii point to the early local development of planned urbanism, well before the wave of mid-Republican Roman colonization, demonstrating that such developments could take place locally and over a longer period of time, without the need for the importation of knowledge from elsewhere and its consequent and systematic enforcement by the Roman state as part of a colonizing program (Mogetta 2014). Moreover, it can be asked if in some way urbanization did not make Roman expansion possible in the first place, rather than that it was brought about by it. In other words, urbanization may have been a requirement for integration rather than an effect of it (Terrenato 2008).

Also, other trends in settlement, and in the spread and production of specific categories of material culture, may be read differently in the light of the increased archaeological knowledge of both colonized and non-colonized areas of ancient Italy. For instance, the noted increase in small peasant farms in the Republican period seems rather to be part of a larger Hellenistic trend in both colonial and non-colonial areas of Italy and the wider Mediterranean, which seriously undermines the causal relationship posited between the Roman conquest and the farm phenomenon with its socio-political and economic implications (Terrenato 2007; Attema, et al. 2010, esp. 147–166).

This raises the question of whether other trends that have traditionally been linked to Roman colonization by way of their broad contemporaneity should necessarily be interpreted as a consequence of Roman expansionism, or if these also follow a different path or logic. The issue of land division is complex, because such divisions are notoriously hard to date precisely, but a case has been made that land divisions may also be connected to other moments in history, both predating and postdating Roman colonization (Pelgrom 2008; cf. Terrenato 2008).

Also in regard to settlement forms and urbanism, Jeremia Pelgrom (2008) has argued that the archaeological evidence for the rural settlement in the colonial territories rather points at nucleated, clustered settlement than dispersed farms, and has suggested that colonists lived in dispersed villages and not equally dispersed over the territory: a different situation than the neatly ordered urban and rural image given by MacKendrick. Similarly, it has been proposed that epigraphic evidence for village communities such as *vici* can be interpreted as colonial villages with a relatively independent status and communal identity with regard to the primary settlement of the colony, a model that would shift focus from the primary settlements to a dispersed network of secondary ones (Stek 2009, 2014).

Another case of recent revision regards the debate on anatomical votives and their connection to Roman colonization. As seen above, the connection had been established on the basis of the geographical and chronological coincidence of the find spots of these particular votives with Roman colonization in the mid-Republican period. Recently, Fay Glinister (2006a) has argued that the correlation is partly biased by the higher research intensity in colonial areas, and that the practice of dedicating anatomical votives is documented in non-colonial areas and contexts pre-dating the Roman conquest. Even more importantly, she asks what was actually Roman about these votive practices, and to what extent they were part of specifically Roman rituals or beliefs, or rather part of broader Hellenistic trends. The factor of the bias in research intensity remains difficult to assess without much more field research in non-colonized areas: it is hard to detect reliable patterns with a basically skewed archaeological record. In any case, a recent analysis of all presently available evidence re-asserts that there is, after all, a positive correlation between the location and chronology of Roman colonial settlements and the specific type of votives (de Cazanove 2015; cf. also Sisani 2007), especially by way of distinguishing between primary and secondary centers (i.e. imitations or variations of types prevalent in colonial contexts that were made and used locally). An important question remains, however: What does this correlation mean in practice? Is it indicative of specific, new Roman rituals and beliefs, slowly penetrating the Italian hinterland as well, or is it rather an effect of higher consumption and production rates in the colonial centers? With regard to the discussion on votive religion, Glinister (2006a, 104) has indeed emphasized the role of colonies “as ethnic and religious melting-pots,” as a result of which “colonies were enabled to act as forums of cultural and religious interactions” in their own right, rather than seeing them as merely passing on pre-existing Roman cultural and religious forms to the rest of Italy.

A comparison may be drawn with black-gloss pottery. Although this category of Hellenistic pottery has been connected to Roman colonization and expansionism in similar ways as the earlier described trends, it is quite clear that its use in general cannot be seen as an unequivocal expression of Roman identity or Romanization (see e.g. Roth 2007). Black-glaze ware originally developed from Attic black-glazed workshops and was consequently produced at a huge scale in especially Campania and Latium, but was also produced at innumerable other sites, both colonial and non-colonial (Di Giuseppe 2012). With the discussion on the anatomical votives and the black-gloss ceramics, the problematic relationship between specific trends in material culture and their specific meaning and significance for understanding the societies that produced and used it comes clearly to the fore.

V Connectivity, economy, and opportunity: Roman colonization as capturing nodes in networks of influence?

The automatic connection between several cultural developments and Roman colonization has thus rightly been questioned in recent years and especially since the 1990s, but in the meantime responses to these “deconstructive” studies have been produced, too. Many of these debates still have to be developed further on the basic level of evidence (land division systems and settlement patterns for instance). In particular, the factor of differential research intensity in colonial and non-colonial areas is still poorly understood, and difficult to account for in analyses at the present state of research. Apart from the fact that, generally speaking, more research has simply been devoted to Roman(ized) contexts than Italic counterparts, skewing our knowledge in favour of Roman (colonial or not) contexts, research projects have also set out with specific methodologies and expectations that differ from those when approaching “indigenous” sites and areas. Few research projects, for instance, have set out to identify centuriation patterns in Samnite, rather than Roman areas (but see La Regina 1999), or to look for “Capitolia” in, say, Italic hill-forts. There is thus an undeniable risk of “confirmation bias” in Roman studies. For various aspects of Roman colonization and expansionism more systematic comparative study is needed in order to eliminate this bias.

Nevertheless, at the present state of the documentation, I think we should not exclude the possibility that there actually exists a positive correlation between many new socio-economic or cultural developments and Roman colonization and expansionism. If in the trends described above colonial sites indeed perform more noticeably than other sites, it is well worth asking what the actual causal relationship is between particular developments and colonies. In several cases, it seems indeed that the causal relation actually may be turned on its head (cf. Glinister 2006b on colonies and votive religion; Terrenato 2008 on expansionism and urbanization; Bradley 2014 on colonies and roads). It is one thing to argue that the pre-existence of some of these developments actually made integration into the Roman network possible, rather than that they were a result of it, as we saw above. Yet, such a characterization of the process may be too passive, especially when considering the whole spectrum of socio-economic and cultural trends involved, some of which cannot be seen as necessary preconditions for admission to the Roman clique. Rather, we may see the overall pattern as the sum result of a series of opportunistic, yet conscious, decisions informed by a range of practical considerations that differed from case to case. In that sense, Roman Republican colonization may have been much more like other Mediterranean colonization movements from prehistory to early modern times, and may have behaved very much according to that same logic, which is de-

scribed so well in *The Corrupting Sea* (Horden and Purcell 2000, e.g. 282–287; cf. Bispham 2006, 76).

Now importantly, allowing more diversity in Roman colonial enterprises and inverting the causal relationship between several socio-economic or cultural developments and Roman colonization, does not mean that “Rome” mattered less in the whole process. Actually, the notion of Roman agency is crucial for understanding the creation of the overall pattern. But it *does* mean that we should let go of mono-functional (i.e. military) interpretations of mid-Republican colonization, and admit that the range of considerations to establish colonies was much wider than the later systematized historical tradition has led us to believe (cf. above, with Fig. 1). In fact, glimpses of incentives and enterprises not commonly associated with Roman colonization can be reconstructed from other information.

An example of a different perspective on the logic or incentives behind colonization regards the specific positioning of colonies. Naturally, the sites for Roman colonial settlements were carefully chosen with various factors of attractiveness in mind. And, no doubt, military-strategic considerations were in many cases a crucial factor in this choice. But viewing colonies as “single-purpose fortified garrisons” is unnecessarily reductive, and indeed not even warranted by the written sources. Taking a broader perspective, the general positioning, and especially some particular and unexpected configurations (cf. below), of colonial settlement can be better described as tapping into, and appropriating, different infrastructural networks. In fact, the integration in, and connectedness to, the main infrastructural network of ancient Italy by land and the Mediterranean world by sea seems to have been high on the priority list when targeting sites for colonization (see Fig. 2). This becomes apparent both from the selection of new sites and in the establishment of colonies in flourishing, existing centers. The fact that ports were often targeted for colonization is well known (e.g. Mommsen 1912, 418), but also sites in inland areas, on cross-roads or in areas giving access to special resources, can be seen in this way.

In this regard, the correlation between Roman expansionism and access to salt is an interesting case. Apart from its direct importance for humans and animals alike, before refrigeration salt was an essential commodity for the conservation of food, and access to it was very limited in ancient Italy. In an interesting paper, Adalberto Giovannini (1985) has shown how fourth and early third century Roman expansion targeted the limited areas of Italy where salt was won. This went from the conquest of Veii in 396 BC, yielding access to the *salinae* near Ostia, via the otherwise not necessarily profitable Adriatic areas with the Via Valeria and the establishment of Hadria (290–286), to the Via Appia and Venusia (291) securing access to the salt of Canusium, and finally at Tarentum in 272. Another, partially related, economic incentive behind Roman expansionism has been recognized in the Roman integration of the transhumance networks in the central Apennines. Ella Hermon (2001, 175) has argued that Roman colonization in the Apennines indeed followed “the rhythm of transhumance.” To that end, main routes and nodes were incorporated, a process

which differs significantly from establishing “bulwarks of empire” in the traditional sense.

Other entrepreneurial activities, which also move far from the idealized notion of the colony as a newly founded city-state on the model of Rome, appear in snippets of written information provided by Greek writers. In his *Enquiry into Plants*, Theophrastus (c. 370–288 BC) describes a Roman expedition of twenty-five ships to Corsica, apparently with the intention to found a town there (5.8.2; cf. e.g. Torelli 1981, 72–76, but cf. Amigues 1990), probably referring to his own time or little before. A similar notice comes from Diodorus Siculus (15.27.4) for Sardinia, who reports that 500 colonists were sent out around 386 BC. The renewed version of the Carthaginian treaty of 348 BC, which in the new form explicitly forbids overseas Roman settlements – something that apparently was not deemed necessary during the first treaty – gives further credibility to these enterprises (Cornell 1995, 325–326). The precise purpose of such expeditions is not immediately clear to us. Corsica may have been a source of good pine, as Theophrastus explains in the chapter in the context of which he tells us about the Roman enterprise. But such overseas activities may perhaps also be linked with piracy (Torelli 1981, 72–76; Cornell 1989b, 315; Bispham 2012). In any case, these undertakings are difficult to fit within the traditional paradigm of Roman colonization and its iconic austere farmer-soldiers, which is probably why they were left out by later, Roman sources moulding the history of Roman colonization. The Roman interest in these types of “island opportunities” (Horden and Purcell 2000, 285) suggests that we should broaden the traditional perspective of incentives for early and mid-Republican Roman expansionism to one that includes rather different types and forms of exploitation and interaction.

The targeting of pre-Roman cult places for Roman colonization and incorporation could be understood in a similar way. Rather than solely marking an ideological and symbolic display of Roman power in the religious realm, economic incentives may have played a considerable role here, since cult places, urban and rural alike, were often important economic hubs in regional networks (cf. Stek 2015). Cult sites represented power on the tangible level, in socio-economic and administrative terms, since these sites were marketplaces and places of knowledge transfer as well as adequate spots for centralizing administration, especially in areas where other suitable centres were absent. They also represented power on account of the religious authority of the associated deities, which explains the privileged status of such sites also in commercial transactions. For these reasons they formed an important attraction for Roman expansion. Roman decision-makers should be accorded a more active role in the integration of pre-Roman cult sites than is usually allowed.

Given all these particular choices, it may not surprise us that the selected sites – “the colonies” as they appear to us now – in particular stand out in terms of the creation and adoption of new influences and ideas, as well as in the production and consumption of related innovative material culture. The special qualities or possibilities of an area or site became useful targets for Roman expansionism.

The mechanisms and scenarios outlined above are not readily apparent in the later written sources that deal explicitly with Roman colonization, but in some cases they may provide a better historical interpretation for conquest and colonization. Generally, this means that careful historical contextualization of single colonization events or of rather short-lived phases and particular regional considerations is more likely to be insightful than creating a single explanatory model for what appears to have been a variegated series of initiatives with very different backgrounds and incentives at play. Also, it should be emphasized that the mechanisms and scenarios proposed above are only “atypical” if measured against a very strict understanding of Roman colonization. Actually, the described behavior is quite normal for most other kinds of colonization and expansionism in (Mediterranean) history. In fact, the neat categories of colonies of Fig. 1, and their relative “functions” in Roman history, represent extremely high expectations of Roman thoughtfulness and farsightedness over a very long time.

Viewing colonization rather as the targeting of sites, areas and networks of opportunity, allows us to explain the integration of colonies within regional networks. This “adaptive integration” is evidenced, for instance, by the adoption of regional measurement and coinage systems in colonies. Regional patterning in the adoption of colonial coinage has been demonstrated for the northern Adriatic area, where from Ariminum to the Vestini the same heavy weight standard and division of the *as* in ten, rather than twelve *unciae* is used, whereas another, different, regional network can be discerned in the south within which the colonies of Venusia and Luceria operated (Crawford 1985, 42–51; Bradley 2006, 173–174; Termeer, forthcoming).

It is debatable whether or not the adaptation of colonial coinage to local or regional practices is indicative of local populations being integrated into the colony. In particular, a case has been made for Ariminum that this adaptation to local practice may point to the inclusion of local inhabitants in the colony. But above all, this adaptation indicates eagerness to function within regional economic networks. Importantly, seeing colonization as the capturing of opportunities (of all sorts) in the Italian peninsula does not imply fundamental passiveness or continuity of existing structures either. The privileged status of colonists and colonial communities – also in economic terms – energized the targeted existing networks of power and exchange, but also established new ones as it realigned others. Therefore, the special position of at least certain colonies in these networks of opportunity explains their functioning as hubs of movement for people, ideas, and material culture.

VI Conclusion. A re-appraisal of Roman agency: intricate patterns of impact

The perspective sketched above has, of course, little to do with the emanation of a formal, codified Roman culture from the colonies into the barbarian hinterlands, en-

lightening the Italians and granting them access to civilization. Indeed, the deconstructive trends in recent research may perhaps give the impression that the impact of Roman colonization on ancient Italy in the mid-Republican period was much less profound than previously imagined. Such a conclusion would be misguided. The different research trends rather show that the lines along which this impact took place have to be redrawn in different ways. The image of colonies as prêt-à-porter copies of the mother city, radiating Roman culture, surely needs to be abandoned. Yet, this does not automatically mean that the impact of the establishment of colonial communities on local society was minimal. Rather, this impact may have been felt in different ways and places than the presence of a civilized mini-Rome in their midst would have been.

Whereas in the traditional “clash of civilizations” model a sharp spatial separation between newcomers and the original inhabitants has been assumed, new research tends to demonstrate closer and more direct face-to-face interaction between colonists and the local population. Partly as a result of the supposed military function of mid-Republican colonies, very limited inclusion of non-Romans in the colonies has usually been assumed for the mid-Republican period (e.g. Brunt 1971; Sisani 2007). But Guy Bradley (2006, cf. the overview in Roselaar 2011) has argued for a more consistent presence of non-Romans in newly established colonies also in this period. Even if the situation differed from place to place (cf. Celuzza 2002 for an archaeological argument based on the sizes of the primary settlements of Latin colonies), it seems that cohabitation was at least part of the colonies’ general practice. Newly developing models of territorial organization and administration of colonial communities also tend to show that we should allow for more intricate patterns of cohabitation both in and outside the primary settlements (Pelgrom 2008, 2012, 2014; Stek 2009, 2014; Tarpin 2014).

Interesting in this regard are the rural communities called *vici* that probably should be understood as newly installed Roman communities rather than pre-Roman villages. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence for some of these rural communities show strong adhesion to Roman cultural and religious models. For instance, in the Vicus Supinum near the colony of Alba Fucens (303 BC), dedications are made to the Roman deity Victoria, which in this post-conquest context can be seen as a reference to contemporary Roman ideological models (Stek 2009). Equally, at a substantial village and sanctuary site near the colony of Ariminum (268 BC) marble statues of Minerva and Fortuna have been found, dating to little after the foundation of the colony (Lippolis 2000).

Such evidence suggests that the acceptance and re-elaboration of fashionable Roman models of the time was not restricted to the urban, primary settlements associated with the colonies, and that secondary settlements could play an important role in the development and spread of new cultural models. Especially if one couples these findings with accumulating evidence for indigenous religious traditions and presence in the colonial urban centers (e.g. Torelli 1999; Liberatore 2014; Bolder-

Boos 2014), a more dynamic and interwoven picture emerges, which is not defined primarily along urban-rural lines.

On the methodological level, we have seen how more sophisticated theories of material culture and its meaning have emerged, emphasizing the mutability and multi-interpretability of objects and symbols. Surely, it is impossible to recognize stable and static symbols of Roman culture and use them bluntly to map Romanization. It should be emphasized, however, that these important observations do not undermine the possibility that, in well-defined historical circumstances, certain categories of material culture or symbols could indeed become associated with Roman imperial success (e.g. Torelli 1999; Stek 2013). For the interpretation of such cases, careful contextualization is clearly needed, and no inherent superiority or “Roman-ness” of material culture or symbols (like “Victoria”) can ever be assumed. But it would be unwise to throw out the baby with the bathwater in our postcolonial enthusiasm, and misunderstand our methodological incapability to *recognize* a specific historical situation with the *inexistence* of that situation. A good example is the critical discussion of material culture and ethnicity (see Benelli in this volume). It is surely hard to recognize Roman migrants in the archaeological record, but at the same time it is rather probable that migrants actually brought sometimes specific objects, practices, technologies, cuisine, dress *et cetera* with them to their new homes.

It should also be emphasized that clear instances of identification and association with Rome or Roman power come to the fore in several instances. Rather than seeing these as exclusively state-ordered and immutable connections, these are often better interpreted as local initiatives in specific historical moments and display a high degree of inventiveness and creativity (Torelli 1999; Bispham 2006). A good example of the local evocation of Roman models is the creative copying of Roman topography in colonial contexts (Vicus Palatius, Esquilinus, etc.). Also the colonial sacred landscape, even if locally specific and receptive of many influences, could include clear references to the symbolic link with the mother city, or other specifically “colonial” links (cf. below). Many of the “Romanizing” elements found in colonial settlements are thus more easily explained as forming part of common processes in migration situations – including an increased awareness of perceived foreignness and reactive identity enhancement, and related archaisms or invented traditions – than as the result of a specifically Roman imperial strategy.

Moreover, it seems clear that the emphasis on the Roman roots or character of colonial communities is not necessarily stable or related to the period of foundation. Rather, just as the cultural waves proposed for the “Romanization” of the whole of Italy (Wallace-Hadrill 2008), the colonial preoccupations with Roman roots could be seen as different waves in different moments of time, in which the second century and the late Republican period are certainly the most visible ones. Colonists as well as colonial decision makers could thus enhance their association with Rome and other colonies, as a group or network, when the historical situation seemed to require so. Importantly, these communal colonial identities were not even necessarily focused on Rome itself: the network could also reconfigure itself around *Latin*, not

Roman identity. An inscription on behalf of the *poplo Arimenes* (the army/people of Ariminum: *CIL* I², 40) made in the Latin sanctuary of Diana at Nemi can probably be interpreted in this sense (Cicala 1995; Bispham 2006). The historical context of this specific dedication can perhaps be found in the late third-century conflicts with the Gauls. The “highlighting” of specific associations – in this case a Latin one, but in other cases Roman, local or regional associations – seems in any case to respond to acute historical situations. Yet, regardless of the contextually and temporally dependent and variegated character of evocations of Rome’s power in colonial contexts, their existence per se need not be downplayed or underestimated: it just needs careful historical contextualization. Besides the conscious evocation of ideologies that had become associated with Roman power, also the opposite should be considered as being part of the same package: enhanced self-identification of the Italic communities as a reaction to Roman pressure. The realignment of socio-economic, cultural and demographic constellations through Roman agency – in collaboration with local elites or not – did change the Italian social landscape considerably. The traditional nineteenth-century image of slowly dwindling Italic identities over time in tandem with the rise of Rome is illusory: rather the opposite is true, and it is no coincidence that affirmations of (perceived) Italic identities continue or even increase during the Republican period (cf. e.g. Giardina 1997; Williams 2001; Bradley 2007). More directly related to the establishment of colonies, it has even been argued that the positioning of Latin colonies in frontier areas strongly determined and indeed “solidified” the ethnic boundaries of the ancient Italic populations, which were presumably more fluid before Roman intervention (de Cazanove 2005). Even if not purposefully “instruments of Romanization,” the colonies sent out by Rome definitely made a major impact on the shape of ancient Italy by the enhanced interaction – deadly, detrimental, antagonistic, as well as mutually beneficial, according to the situation – with the Italic populations.

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Roman Roth

Beyond Romanisation: settlement, networks and material culture in Italy, c. 400–90 BC

I Introduction

Few terms in Roman studies have fared more controversially than “Romanisation” has over the last two decades or so. This is especially true of works involving material culture, which have been increasingly influenced by interpretative approaches from outside Roman archaeology as classically conceived. However, this does not mean that Romanisation is merely problematic in the eyes of archaeologists. On the contrary, the boundaries between the disciplines of Archaeology and Ancient History are, arguably, much more blurred now than they have been since the heyday of a comprehensive *Klassische Altertumswissenschaft* in the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the “Romanisation” debate, for want of a better term, equally involves both more literarily and more archaeologically focused approaches to Roman culture, in both areas producing works that range from a qualified acceptance of the term to its outright rejection. Owing to the influence of post-colonial approaches in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Anglophone scholarship has been particularly productive with regard to debating terminological niceties. The conceptual content of the word, however, has just as much been the subject of scholarly attention elsewhere, even if the use of, say, *romanizzazione* or *Romanisierung* in a publication or conference paper would invoke far less fervent criticism than its English equivalent in a suitably theoretically informed medium.

This chapter is by no means intended to indulge in terminological *frisson*; yet, in the context of Italy in general and the present volume in particular, a few remarks on the subject are necessary, perhaps even salutary. In the intellectual room in which it is *en vogue* to study pre-Roman or, put differently, non-Roman cultures but where “Romanisation” is more or less taboo, we inevitably encounter an elephant. For, if it is possible to define a number of cultures in opposition to their Roman counterpart or, rather, successor, it would appear to be disingenuous to reject, even at the terminological level, the most straightforward descriptive label of the processes involved in the transition from status A (pre-Roman) to status B (Roman). Thus, it might do justice to two sets of circumstances in the relationship between Rome and the other peoples of Italy: first, the cultural changes in question were accompanied by and must be explained with reference to Rome’s steady rise to her hegemony; second, the conferral of the Roman citizenship on most of the inhabitants of the penin-

Roman Roth: School of Languages and Literatures, University of Cape Town, Private Bag, Rondebosch 7701, South Africa. Email: roman.roth@uct.ac.za

sula following the Social War signifies a moment of political and legal Romanisation – even if, as a result, the Roman state was to become a very different beast.

Yet the real problem is rooted more deeply than at the terminological level, and pertains to the very definition of Roman culture in Italy. As far as the Imperial provinces are concerned, finding such a definition has been somewhat more straightforward (esp. Woolf 1998; contributors to Keay and Terrenato 2001; contributors to Roth and Keller 2007), not least because, by the end of the first century BC, Italian culture tends to be viewed as quintessentially Roman and thus provides a backdrop for cultural change at the provincial level. According to this widely held view, the formalisation of Roman culture in Italy, ranging from the spread of the citizenship to the use of *terra sigillata*, came as a result of several lengthy processes of transformation, which ultimately had their roots in the dynamics of the late Archaic period in central Italy and which cannot be decoupled from Rome's achievement of military and political hegemony across the peninsula, either. However, that common perception also masks the fact that those changes unfolded in a variety of regionally diverse and often mutually contradictory ways, much more so than the Augustan construct of *tota Italia* and resultant teleological readings of the evidence by some of its modern interpreters may suggest (cf. Mouritsen 1998; Torelli 1999; Giardina 2000). It is in this regard that a label like "Romanisation" not only grossly oversimplifies a dauntingly complex set of processes; what is more, it also implies that the cultures of Italy became more Roman – and, by implication, less Etruscan, Oscan, etc. – whereas it perhaps may be a fairer reflection of the evidence to say that the "formation of Roman Italy" saw the emergence of something essentially new, as opposed to the reproduction of an existing model across a wide geographical area (Terrenato 1998). Put differently, if Italian material culture of the late first century BC is to be accepted as the Roman "standard," then Rome and the Romans themselves had been as thoroughly "Romanised" since the late Archaic period as had the other populations of ancient Italy.

This chapter explores the subject of cultural change by focusing on two central and closely interrelated themes: first, settlement structures and territorial organisation; and, second, changing networks involving production, exchange and consumption, and their manifestation through material culture. Within the limited space available, the following discussion aims to highlight some of the complexities which underlie both of those large subjects, and which may require an explanatory framework beyond the conceptual reach of "Romanisation."

II Ordering space: the transformation of settlement

Rome's speedy conquest of the Italian peninsula would not have been possible without a considerable, existing degree of cultural and physical connectedness. Since the early Archaic period, the city and its elites in particular had been tied into networks of exchange with their counterparts along the Tyrrhenian coast and especially in

Etruria, Latium and Campania (Cornell 1995, 163–172). From the fifth century onwards, pressure had begun to be exerted on these cities from the inhabitants of the mountainous interior (Bourdin 2012, 627–700). Although our sources place emphasis on the threat posed by these movements, they also had the important function of extending the connectivity of the coast and its hinterland systematically into the interior and from there to the Adriatic coast. These developments, which are documented by the emergence of large, fortified settlements in the Apennines starting in the early fourth century (Oakley 1995; Tagliamonte 1996; De Gennaro 2006), in turn aided Rome's expansion, not just physically but also by providing a connective tissue which, despite all the resistance encountered, ultimately facilitated the emergence of the wide-spread, long-term networks that were to characterise much of the Italian peninsula well into Late Antiquity. However, the manifestation of these networks as formally ordered space took off only with the rise of Rome as the main Italian power, and involved a wide range of engineering feats, administrative arrangements, legal stipulations and, of course, the movement of people (Cornell 1995; David 1997). It would be fair to say that Rome's power is often seen as epitomised by the formal ordering of conquered space (Nicolet 1991; David 1997); and, it is also a phenomenon which is documented with intersecting evidence provided by different kinds of sources, from amongst which archaeology – with the explicit inclusion of contextualised epigraphy – and historiography must be singled out.

This section provides a brief overview of two important themes – urban and rural colonisation – which intimately relate to the subject of ordering space and its importance as a mechanism for the integration of the different regions of Italy under Roman coordination. One central aspect of this is to question critically the extent to which such measures formed part of a consistently enforced master plan of imposing a Roman identity on other populations.

III Colonisation and “urbanism”

Few practices are more strongly associated with the intervention of the Roman state in conquered territories than that of colonisation (Salmon 1969; contributors to Bradley and Wilson 2006; contributors to Stek and Pelgrom 2014). Usually meant by this is the practice of establishing new urban settlements in previously enemy territory, endowed with a certain degree of self-administration which, in turn, also defines their relationships with the colonising power, in this case Rome. While the principles and practices of colonisation changed several times during Rome's long history as an imperial power (Laffi 2007), this section – unless otherwise specified – primarily deals with the colonies of Roman (citizen) and Latin status founded before the middle of the second century BC. The end of the section addresses the relationship between the colonisation and other types of urban settlements that are not conventionally counted in this category. The discussion is not intended to provide the readers with the technical details of the colonising process (see Stek in this volume) but

aims to address the issue from the points-of-view of the ordering of space and the relative agency of the Romans and others in the process.

The historiographical tradition has the Romans found colonies in conquered territories from the days of the earliest kings (Cornell 1995, 301–303). For the Republican period, a wave of colonisation is attributed to the period immediately following the victory over Veii in 396 BC (cf. Termeer 2010); but the definitive beginning of the systematic founding of towns by the Roman state is usually agreed upon to be 334 BC, with the foundation of Cales in Campania, located in a strategic position in front of the foot-hills of the Apennines (Sewell 2010). Although a healthy scepticism should be advocated whenever it comes to such historical “firsts,” it is certainly the case that the legal conditions for planting a colony of Latin citizens with a clearly defined relationship with Rome had not been given before the settlement of 338 BC. In this sense, the sending out of a Latin colony could be seen as the physical manifestation of a legal hierarchy that had been deliberately created to impose order on the relationship between the citizens of Rome and other Italians (Cornell 1995, 364–368). Being close to the Apennines, Cales also represented an urban settlement on the outermost edge of urbanised space and set against mountainous countryside which its existing population inhabited in *vici* and *pagi*: the placement of the colony – as of many of its successors in the same region and elsewhere – powerfully symbolised not only the order imposed by the Roman state but also the claim to extend that order further, beyond the frontier which it faced (Coarelli 1988; Cornell 1995, 345–347). For the same reason, the colonies in the Apennine region were placed deliberately in order, quite literally, to cut across the existing, non-urban order represented by the routes and pastures used by the local population, and being the cause of the complaints and violent resistance that prominently feature in Livy’s account of the Samnite Wars (e.g. 8.22–23). Administratively, colonies were the principal settlements in their respective territory (*ager*) and, as such, featured the public buildings and infrastructure that were required for this purpose and were closely modelled on their equivalents in the city of Rome: an architectural order designed to enact the physical presence of the hierarchies imposed by the Roman state on the rest of Italy (Salmon 1969; cf. Bispham 2006).

Typically, the colonies were also connected to the Roman road network that linked them with each other, and ultimately connected them to the city of Rome: in fact, it has been argued that colonisation and road building formed part and parcel of the same expansionist strategy (Coarelli 1988). In some cases – and this is particularly well known for the example of the citizen colony of Minturnae – a colony might be planted immediately next to an existing settlement (Vivi 2006). In these cases, the small communities of Roman citizens were spatially separated from their neighbours, in fortified settlements laid out to reflect large army camps (Salmon 1969; Zanker 2000). This spatial separation reinforced the hierarchical remove between the full Roman citizens and their non-Roman neighbours; and the design of the settlement was representative of the reason for such a colony’s presence,

which was to defend the interests of Rome in strategically critical areas and symbolise the city's willingness to impose her order by military means.

Thus represented, the evidence indeed appears to support a process that could justly be described in terms of "Romanisation:" the spatial order imposed by Rome via the colonists is the physical manifestation of a hierarchical system devised at the centre. In this way, the peninsula is mapped out according to new principles that are Roman in origin and, what is more, applied systematically to all those areas which do not conform or even put up resistance to the order (David 1996). However, the – deliberately overdrawn – picture given in the preceding section cannot stand without some cautionary remarks. While it would have been a fair reflection of widely held views several decades ago and is, for this reason, still present in influential works on the subject, more recent research has added a number of important modifications. In particular, these concern the relationship between the settlers and existing populations, and the questionable dichotomy of urban and non-urban settlements and ways of life, on which orthodox models of colonisation depend (cf. contributors to Stek and Pelgrom 2014).

Colonisation, especially in the form of large-scale Latin and, later, citizen colonies, did not take place everywhere across Italy. Thus, in the entirety of Etruria there is only one such settlement (Cosa, founded in 273 BC) which, furthermore, represents an odd case, resembling in some respects a *colonia maritima* rather than another Latin colony (Fentress 2002). Although Cosa used to be seen as the classic example of a colony, it is now clear that the site holds further surprises in store, such as a relatively gradual construction of its buildings and infrastructure in at least two main phases: a far cry from a model-kit Roman town that was constructed from scratch by the frontier-bound pioneers pictured by its original excavators (Fentress 2000; cf. Brown 1980). In other cases – most notably Paestum, founded in the same year as Cosa – a colony could be planted on an existing site, with little evidence for either a rigid, physical separation between the existing and the new populations, or a concerted programme of public building in the first years of the colony's existence (Crawford 1996; cf. Torelli 1988). And even in some of the Apennine examples that would conventionally be described as typical – most notably Beneventum which had been a large fortified settlement since the fourth century (Giampaolo 1991) – the settlers hardly broke new ground. This is what may also have happened at Alba Fucens which was situated at a nodal point of several routes, and which appears to have served as an important cattle market continuously from "pre-Roman" into "Roman times" (van Wonterghem 2006). Settlers of Latin colonies could, furthermore, be drawn from local populations, and even if their status might be that of *incolae* in some cases, there is evidence to suggest that they were neither economically disadvantaged nor lacking in administrative structures of their own. In the same way, the clear separation of Roman settlers and locals at Minturnae, referred to earlier, must have ceased to be a reality as soon as the town on the Via Appia started to prosper (Livi 2006).

None of the above is in any way intended to distract from the fundamentally violent nature of Rome's wars of conquest, which on occasion entailed far more invasive measures than colonisation as, for example, in the case of the Ligurians who were deported to Samnium following their defeat by Rome and her Etruscan allies (Pina Polo 2006). Yet it is important to bear in mind that Roman colonisation took place in a variety of conditions and over a long period of time, making it implausible either that there was no room for adaptation on a case-by-case basis or that the process did not change over time – especially when the community of “colonisers” was itself experiencing a process of cultural and political transformation (Bispham 2006; Bradley 2014). At a more fundamental level, the dichotomy between Roman and non-Roman concepts of spatial order, as represented by urban and non-urban structures respectively, may partly be a false one.

First of all, it is extremely difficult to grasp what such urbanism is supposed to entail. By all accounts, most people would still regard Capua as a city even after she ignominiously lost her standing as such (Frederiksen 1976); Veii's – literally, at least – epic destruction in 396 BC did not prevent the plateau from flourishing subsequently as a substantial, built-up centre long before obtaining municipal status under Augustus (Cascino, Di Giuseppe and Patterson 2013); and the settlement on Monte Palano in the Sangro Valley, the identity of which is not known from historiographical or epigraphic sources, features much that might recommend it as a town (Faustoferri and Riccitelli 2005). By contrast, the colony of Cosa was, for long stretches of its existence, more akin to a semi-deserted hill-top village endowed with public structures that may have appeared distinctly out of place (Celuzza 2002; Sewell 2005); the nearby settlement of Saturnia experienced a hiatus of about a century before enjoying popularity as a settlement nucleus again (Fentress 2002); and most of the Roman citizens sent to Buxentum seem to have preferred to move upriver and join the existing rural settlement (Fracchia and Gualtieri 2011). Nor is it at all clear that a colony had to be equipped with certain standard structures from the outset; in fact, where such evidence exists, it is either to the contrary (Paestum), inconclusive (Cosa) or distinctly later and controversial in its interpretation (Fregellae: Coarelli 1998). In fact, one of the earliest instances (first quarter of the third century) of a public area resembling a forum was recently discovered in Cumae, that is, not a Roman or Latin town by any account (Greco 2009; see also below). However, there are a few things that can be said with a reasonable degree of certainty: the phenomena summarised under the heading of colonisation in all probability represent a considerable variety of mobility-driven settlements; and this could be exclusive – as it may well have been the case with a number of *coloniae maritimae* – but might also include several population groups. At the same time, mobility leading to settlement was not exclusively initiated by the Roman state but was equally rife amongst other populations, particularly in the south-central part of Italy, as is most impressively shown by the cities of the Campanian coastal plain and their “Samnite” or “Campanian” take-over (Bourdin 2012, 675–682).

The Romans' founding of colonies should be understood under the heading of "ordering space;" of this there can be little or any doubt. Yet it may have been much less the result of a single-minded approach than has often been argued. Instead, the term itself covers a variety of movements leading to settlement, including such which involved Romans and non-Romans alike; and it was akin to other shifts in settlement pattern that had been intensifying across central Italy since the mid-fifth century. The Romans' role in this complex set of phenomena was unique, not because they could arbitrarily force their urban vision onto others, let alone operate on a blank canvas. Rather, they were increasingly able to take the initiative and to direct – in part certainly by force or the threat thereof – the formation of settlement patterns in an unprecedented fashion. This is also evident in the case of rural settlement which is the subject of the next section.

IV The countryside

In many ways the settlement of the countryside during the last four centuries BC cannot be separated from the issue of "urban" colonisation and its cognate phenomena. Just like the latter, the systematic division of land and its distribution to (groups of) individuals determined by the Roman state form central aspects of the "ordering of space" discussed in the previous section. And, part-and-parcel with its urban counterpart, rural colonial settlement is considered to have gone hand-in-glove with the systematic extension of the Roman road network which continues to enjoy unquestioned pride of place as the primary, physical manifestation of Roman power in Italy. Yet, there are also at least two good reasons for separating out for discussion here the ordering of rural space from that of the urban. First, there is the countryside's central role in modern takes on how Roman Italy gradually came to work as an area state: in this sense, "Romanised" rural areas are seen to have reproduced the social and political hierarchies of the urban settlements for which, as alluded to earlier, they provided a connective tissue. Second, there is the sheer amount of archaeological data available for the Italian countryside, which – in contrast to the rather disappointing state of excavated pre-Imperial urban sites – has enabled rural "Romanisation" (or not) to be at the forefront of the debate over cultural change in the wake of the conquest. The following discussion addresses both of these issues, seeking to strike a balance – as in the previous section – between teleological and relativist interpretations of cultural change, as well as between the relative contributions of the evidence furnished by text and material culture respectively.

When talking about rural change as a result of Rome's expansion it is perhaps useful to draw a broad distinction between two facets of that relationship. On the one hand, there are clear instances in which Roman policies directly bring about structural changes. Such issues – confiscation of land, *virgatus* assignment, introduction of rural mass slavery – are primarily known through literary sources; because of this, archaeologists have recently tended to downplay the extent to which those

cases should be generalised (Terrenato 1998b). In some instances, however, such as the discovery of boundary stones associated with the Gracchan land reforms – heavy-handed state-intervention does find powerful confirmation in the material record and, therefore, cannot be eliminated from any comprehensive, explanatory models of rural change. On the other hand (and as in the case of urban settlement) most diachronic changes in settlement patterns should not directly be attributed to the influence of Rome, let alone to a programme of cultural change orchestrated by the centre. To accept this has serious consequences not merely for interpreting the material and textual evidence in each regional scenario, as came to the fore in an exchange of views concerning the impact made by Rome's conquest on different Etruscan landscapes (Terrenato 1998b, 2001; Carandini 2002). But it also means that standard ideas about the historical geography of Italy need to be revised, and with it a considerable portion of how we conceptualise the relationship between Rome and Italy in general.

In parallel to what was noted in respect to urban settlement above, it is imperative to contextualise Rome's agency in rural spaces, especially but not exclusively during the mid-Republican period, within a set of phenomena observable across much of Italy well before Roman intervention is attested (Terrenato 1998a). This even applies to south Etruria, the classic case of the Roman conquest traced archaeologically in the landscape: here the network of major roads can be seen as side-lining some of the major Etruscan cities of the Archaic period, in favour of small to medium sized settlements which, together with their surrounding areas, came to form part of the "Romanised" landscape (Potter 1979). Yet the marked shift in settlement had begun during the fifth century and thus well before the historiographical watershed in Rome's relationship with her neighbouring region. Perhaps more than being a shift away from those centres, the changing landscape of south Etruria during the late Archaic or Classical period was, significantly, a dramatic increase in settlement – both nucleated and scattered – in the wider catchment area of the Tiber valley and its tributaries (contributions to Patterson and Coarelli 2009). Thus, it formed part of a historical development of long-term, macro-regional dimensions, which defies being reduced to a mono-causal explanation, let alone be ascribed to the imperial designs of a heterogeneous community in the throes of emerging statehood.

Of course, the Tiber valley is not unique in displaying considerable growth in site numbers in certain areas, concomitant with an archaeologically visible diversification of site types. Nor is south Etruria the only area in which those shifts involve violent confrontations, as impressively shown by both the archaeology and the historiography of south-central Italy and, indeed, of some parts of the northern Apennines in Cisalpine Gaul (Tagliamonte 1996, 1997; Gualtieri 2003; Vitali 2004; Bourdin 2012). Yet, conflict should not, in isolation, be regarded as a prime mover of change in settlement and land use but needs to be seen as embedded in an inter-related set of social, economic and political factors (contributors to Lo Cascio and Storch Marino 2001).

There are several reasons why the Roman conquest has traditionally been seen as such a prime mover and a “Romanised” landscape as its strategically intended and thus logical consequence. First, it is possible to point out a tendency in the study of ancient Mediterranean landscapes, which portrays them as structurally slow to change unless forced to do so by major military events or environmental catastrophes (cf. Witcher 2005). Second, an analogous point of view underlies most historical approaches to landscape as put forward by ancient writers; these approaches cannot escape from an explanatory framework defined by urban concerns, and by the causality of (a series of) specific events such as warfare or legislation. Third, such a view is favoured by the explosive relationship between violence and land (and vice versa) as portrayed by late Republican authors for their own time, combined with the survival of inscriptions containing portions of land legislation dating to the same period (cf. Roselaar 2010). Fourth and finally, the model of rural change as imposed by centralised force provides a necessary counterpart to the hierarchical structure commonly associated with urban settlement (see above). Thus, the interstitial areas between towns and their territories fit into a limited number of settlement categories of defined administrative status. As has been shown, this is partly the result of the paradigmatic imposition of the model of the Greek *polis* on ancient Italian administration (Pelgrom 2014; Stek 2014); and, transposed onto a historical map, the territorial organisation of Italy under the Republic has the potential to become a self-fulfilling prophecy of “Romanisation,” no matter what type of evidence is put on it.

Rather than imprudently to question the merits of historical geography, let alone the value of first-century sources, the preceding discussion serves to illustrate a particularly thorny problem in the study of ancient Italy in the context of the rise of Rome, and not just in the context of settlements and landscapes. This is the difficulty of discussing cultural change at a conceptual level, which does not primarily define itself with reference to “Romanisation;” which affords explanatory power across a range of historical agency and of geographic regions; and which, of course, can also be translated into a suitable terminology. The discourse of culture change is, of course, alive, and the preceding discussion of space and spatial order has highlighted several issues at its core. Concerning the key topic of colonisation, for instance, it has been possible to establish that it is one of a set of problems, all of which fundamentally relate to the question of what is urban and how we define it in the material record; for this reason, it has a historically specific quality (e.g. Bradley 2000). The potentially fluid nature of such categories of inquiry has also been mirrored at the level of rural settlement or, more precisely, landscape; here, the usefulness of ethnically defined regions as units for understanding and contextualising cultural change in a comparative setting has rightly been questioned (Dench 1995; Terrenato 2001a). As a result, the section heading of “ordering space” adopts new meaning as an overarching concept which inherently calls for a discussion of another, namely that of historical agency, which is where many approaches that are explicitly hostile to “Romanisation” fall short of potentially opening up conceptual avenues of enquiry beyond their own subject matter (cf. Pitts 2007; Terrenato 2015). With those

considerations in mind, the next section continues to explore cultural change along the axes of space, time and agency: this time from the angle of networks of production, exchange and consumption, and with a particular focus on their study through material culture.

V Networks and material culture: connections and historical agency

If the preceding discussion focused on how Italian space was ordered in terms of cultural categories, the second part of this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the ways in which human agency acted upon that spatial order at the level of historical connectivity. As stated earlier, the relationship between Italy and Rome during last four centuries BC cannot be grasped without an acute awareness of their long history of cultural interaction. The latter is, of course, not an abstract quality but must be “peopled” at the level of human agency, which has been done with particular success for the study of elite networks since the Final Bronze and Early Iron Ages (e.g. Bietti Sestieri 1992; Riva 2010). At the same time, human agency in the sense adopted here is historically specific, as are by the same token the networks which imbue connected space with cultural connectivity. Therefore, the existence of cultural connectivity through an elite network involving, say, the early Archaic city-states of south Etruria, Latium and Campania by necessity informs the subsequent history of those regions. However, this does not mean that the same networks subsequently continued to exist, or that the principal motives or socio-cultural identities of the agents involved remained static at any level of historical action (Horden and Purcell 2000).

This assertion has two important implications for the present discussion: first, it guards against the ahistorical sense of Mediterranean timelessness referred to earlier, which experiences transformation only at times of incisive events known from historiography: the “foundation” of the first Greek colonies, the Battle of Cumae (474 BC) – to name but two examples from “pre-Roman” Italian history – and, with rapid acceleration and in proportion to the surviving amount of Livy – the key events defining the relationship between Rome and other Italian communities. Second, there has sometimes been a tendency perhaps to overstate the extent of continuity of agency particularly at the level of the Roman elite, which runs the risk of masking some of the complexities involved, for example, in the heterogeneous development of settlement across the peninsula throughout the period under discussion. Perceptions of time and historical agency also impinge directly upon the subject of this section: the study of networks of production, exchange and consumption, through the medium of material culture that was an integral part of and provides evidence for such connectivity.

VI Material culture and the shifting networks of Roman Italy

The movement of people at Rome's initiative also brought with it the realignment of existing networks and the creation of entirely new ones. These pertained not only to the exchange of goods but also provided webs of shared cultural practices and meanings (Horden and Purcell 2000). Yet, the traditional direction in the study of such networks has been primarily text-led, placing an emphasis on the mechanisms of integration which followed the official acts of conquest and settlement and which, at the same time, also led to the exclusion of others – i.e. primarily the existing populations – who were barred from participating in the formal workings of those networks (but cf. Roselaar 2011). Plotted against the progress of Rome's conquest of the Italian peninsula – i.e. against the line of supposedly epochal events like the fall of Veii (396 BC), the Latin settlement (338), the Pyrrhic War (280–275), the two Punic Wars (264–201), and the Social War (90–89) – the development is seen to reach culmination during the early Principate, when Roman Italy can be understood as one cultural region (though cf. Torelli 1999; Giardina 2000). However, recent work by both archaeologists and historians has led to a partial revision of this picture, as part of a general trend to de-emphasise the linearity and predictability characteristic of traditional approaches to “Romanisation,” as has already been discussed here from the point of view of space and settlement. This section starts out by providing a general outline of some of the major developments in material culture, followed by a discussion of to what extent and how the archaeological evidence might allow us to map Italy as an increasingly converging cultural space.

At around the middle of the fourth century, the lower and middle Tiber Valley, as well as Rome and parts of Latium, saw the emergence of a shared set of material culture. This has been related to Rome's conquest of Veii and annexation of her neighbouring territories in the lower and middle Tiber Valley, followed by the subjugation of the Latin cities, and been characterised as the beginning of the “Etrusco-Latinal” culture centred on the city of Rome as its cultural and economic hub during the Mid-Republican period (*Roma Medio-Republicana*). In some ways, this cultural space coincided with the elite *koine* of the Archaic period, which is epitomised by episodes such as that of the Fabii at the Cremera (Livy 2.48–50) or, indeed, the representation of historical legend in the François Tomb at Vulci (Cornell 1995, 135–150). However, there are also important differences between these networks, which culminate in the observation that, for the first time, the city of Rome was now the uncontested centre of the configuration and, that, as a consequence, her military conquests and their formal consolidation also resulted in the progressive expansion of the network as a whole (Harris 1972; David 1997; Fronda 2011). Unsurprisingly, colonisation and, in general the settlement of people of Latin and Roman status (see above) have been seen as particularly significant factors in this first stage of the cultural transformation of Italy (Salmon 1969). For this reason, the Etrusco-Latinal culture soon includ-

ed all those areas outside its core region, which had undergone such settlement and which thus stood in a particularly close, political, military and cultural relationship with the centre. Most importantly, this network came to include Campania, following the establishment of the first colonies in the area, as well as the alliance between Rome and the Campanian knights (e.g. Torelli 1988a). Thus, Etrusco-Latinal culture could be characterised as the first stage of “Romanisation,” that is, as the first culture which, as a result of political and military ties, was centred on Rome but extended far beyond the city; and which was further extendable depending on the progression of Rome’s expansion.

In addition to this firmly political contextualisation of the cultural network – which could be said of the Archaic *koine* only in a much looser and malleable sense – its second characteristic is a clearly hierarchical structure. By virtue of this, those who were politically closest to the centre also displayed the highest concentration of material culture associated with Rome (Morel 1988, 1996). Cultural proximity and thus a relative degree of connectedness are also reflected at the level of infrastructure, especially the construction of roads which can be seen as a physical manifestation of Rome’s military power and political control imposed onto the landscape, and, at the same time, serving as the fundamental mechanism for the circulation or, more precisely, the extension of cultural information (Coarelli 1988; Laurence 1999). In this way, culture coincides with political connectivity; and this, of course, also includes relative exclusion of those outside the network, defined by a gradation of political – and thus cultural – statuses.

Rome’s central function in cultural terms is documented by the high level of craft production in the city itself, encouraged, of course, by unrivalled financial resources and political patronage. This, in addition to supporting the manufacture of mobile artefacts, also led to the city’s becoming a centre for the public display of statuary and painting, often with explicitly powerful political messages relating to her relationship with her neighbours, as exemplified by the display of some of the Volsinian silver statues outside the Temple of Magna Mater or, indeed, the decoration of the speakers’ platform in the forum with the *rostra* captured from the Antiates (Hölscher 1978; Holliday 2002). While much of our information on monumental works has to be reconstructed from literary evidence and, to a much lesser extent, the epigraphic record, it is from non-elite material culture, as well as from architecture that support of the concept of an “Etrusco-Latinal” stage of “Romanisation” is mostly drawn (Morel 1996).

As was already mentioned in an earlier part of this chapter, the architectural evidence is primarily in the form of public buildings in the colonies. This subject has been receiving a considerable amount of attention in recent years, and several aspects of the debate may be highlighted as particularly contentious: first, the dating of much of the evidence is uncertain and can depend on circular argumentation as regards the relationship between events of colonisation and the construction of particular buildings (Fentress 2000). Second, only few of the colonies have been excavated to their earliest levels and, where this has happened, the specific reconstruc-

tion of public architecture has been a bone of contention, as is exemplified by a recent exchange of views regarding the relationship between archaeological features of *fora* and the procedures used in the processes of election in Latin colonies (Mouritsen 2005; cf. Coarelli 2006). Third, the types of public buildings that have usually been seen as evidence for an implementation of a Roman cultural and political order – such as *comitia* and *capitolia* – do not necessarily find contemporary models in the city of Rome itself (Stek 2014). This suggests that the relationship between material forms, their origin and their specific cultural meanings must have been more complicated at least than a simple core-periphery model would allow for. Fourth, the same should logically apply to such features – especially the concept of a *forum* – which demonstrably set Latin colonisation apart from its Greek predecessors and counterparts; however, this issue, too, now appears more complex, with the discovery of a forum-like set-up at Campano-Greek Cumae – including a frontal temple – that appears to have been constructed at around the same time as the earliest known colonial ones (Greco 2009). The temple, furthermore, displays interesting archaeological parallels not only with the Etrusco-Latial area (Tarquinia) but also with the early-third-century phase at Pietrabbondante, located decidedly outside that notional cultural – let alone political – milieu. “Self-Romanisation” – often invoked in such scenarios – appears to fall short of offering a satisfactory explanation, quite apart from suffering from the same conceptual shortcomings as its mirror image, namely “Romanisation” in the traditional sense (cf. Greco 2009).

At the level of non-elite, portable material culture, the evidence is, at first sight, less ambiguous or even fully supportive of the Etrusco-Latial model. A second glance, however, reveals that some caution is necessary in this regard, too. Whenever processes of Romanisation are postulated, in Italy and beyond, one or a small number of “signpost” artefacts are identified, meaning artefactual types which are directly associated with the expansion of Roman culture. For the Etrusco-Latial phase, the black-gloss wares of the “Atelier des Petites Estampille” (APE) type would in this sense represent the single most important type of material culture (Morel 1969). It is no longer widely held that this material – primarily small bowls stamped on their inside bottom – were exclusively produced at Rome. This has recently given way to a more nuanced model, according to which several workshops existed at the core of the Etrusco-Latial area, and that their products – especially in respect of the design and alignment of the stamps – became increasingly standardised by following the standard set by the Roman workshop or workshops (Stanco 2009). Pottery of this type is also regularly found in mid-Republican colonies, with good evidence to suggest that it was also produced in at least some of them; this has been seen to represent a technology transfer from centre to periphery, carried out by people of Latin or Roman political status (Di Giuseppe 2012). Second to the APE ceramics, the so-called anatomical votive terracottas have again risen to considerable prominence in recently published work (Comella 1982; Glinister 2006; Scopacasa 2015). These artefacts are regularly found at sanctuary sites across the Etrusco-Latial area, as well as in those located in or near Latin colonies but are virtually absent

from the major sanctuaries elsewhere in Italy, notably including many areas in close proximity to the colonies. As a consequence, this has been cited as strong evidence for the existence of a ritual community from which those of non-Latin or non-Roman status were excluded, or in which they deliberately chose not to participate, be it as a statement of resistance or, more plausibly, as an indication that their own traditions could not accommodate this form of worship.

Yet, the neat fit of archaeological evidence and historical geography is, in more than one way, not borne out by the material, in the case of both early-black-gloss pottery and votive terracottas. With regard to the latter, it is certainly the case that they are overwhelmingly found in the areas discussed. However, significant deposits have also been identified elsewhere (Glinister 2006; Scopacasa 2015), including remote areas of the Apennines in at least one case of which there is evidence for a very specific use of such anatomical votives: feet deposited at a sanctuary located on a transhumance route in the frontier region between Samnium and Apulia, as part of a local cult of Herakles (Antonacci Sanpaolo 2000). This is particularly notable since, in the Etrusco-Latial and Campanian core areas of their distribution, the terracottas usually defy any such specific interpretation, which cannot exclusively be a result of their survival in poorly stratified contexts but may also be a reflection of a less straightforward relationship between form, practice and politico-cultural affiliations than has sometimes been postulated. In particular, there are differences between the sanctuaries not only in relation to the relative proportion of particular body parts found in each case but also in the specific modes in which the more complex types – such as heads – are represented. In addition, it has thus far been impossible to identify convincingly a specific deity with whose worship the terracottas were associated, especially since it no longer seems possible to link them unambiguously to healing cults (Glinister 2006). Finally, the ritual organisation of the landscape in central Italy appears to have been rather heterogeneous and did not necessarily coincide with political communities (in the city-state sense) in as neat a fashion as used to be thought, which of course corresponds to what was remarked earlier regarding the political organisation of rural territories in general (Stek 2014).

The situation turns out to be similarly complex in the case of the APE and other types of ceramics. First of all, it is by no means clear that Rome was indeed as important a centre of pottery production as the model would maintain. Especially in the absence of positive evidence in the form of excavated kiln sites, it would appear to be prudent to err on the side of caution. Second, there is little doubt that the Etrusco-Latial area – in particular south Etruria – was the main region of production of APE ceramics (Ferrandes 2006; Stanco 2009). In fact, it was closely related to the long tradition of black-gloss and figured pottery in the wider area, from which it appears to have evolved without necessarily involving any direct Roman input. Again, what would appear to be more plausible is that the increased volume of production should be seen in the context of the increasing cultural connectivity of the Tiber Valley in the wider sense and thus part of the wider phenomenon of the region's transformation on Roman initiative (see above). Indeed, the fact that APE pottery is found in areas of



Fig. 1. Tomb assemblages from north Etruria (Museo Civico di Rosignano Mttmo. [LI]), with Graeco-Italic amphora and a selection of black-gloss and other Republican pottery (c. 350–300 BC). Photo author.

colonial settlement would point in the same direction. However, it accounts for only a limited aspect of the spread of those wares outside the Etrusco-Latinal core area since considerable quantities of the pots are also found in other parts of Italy and even outside the peninsula, with a particularly remarkable concentration at Carthage during the second and third quarters of the third century BC (Morel 1969; Ferrandes 2006). While it is possible that the style of APE pottery carried specific meanings in its area of origin as well as, possibly, amongst those colonists who originated from there, its significance goes far beyond that. In fact – and as has been recognised for many years – the distribution of APE can be placed more widely within the context of a network of exchange which comprised much of central and south Italy, in addition to Sicily and parts of the Punic western Mediterranean (Ferrandes 2006; Olcese 2010).

What is less clear is the extent to which this network was directly driven by the centre and what was the role of Romans and Latins vis-à-vis other Italians. As has been the tenor throughout this chapter, the most plausible explanation might ultimately be based on a less formalised, elastic set of networks, which was dominated ultimately – even if not necessarily directly – by the initiative of the Roman community or sectors thereof. On the other hand, this does not necessarily mean that the city of Rome also dominated the hierarchy of those networks in every possible way, let alone that her colonies were particularly privileged players. If anything, it might

well be worth observing the emergence of pottery – both wine amphora and black-gloss wares – of unmistakably Campanian origin in the coastal regions of the same area from about 250 BC (Olcese 2010); that Campanian fine wares and APE pottery are not usually found on the same sites but that they are accompanied by the same amphora types (Ferrandes 2006); and that, finally, APE all but disappeared towards the end of the century, which eventually gave rise to new types of fine pottery produced primarily in Campania, north Etruria, the Tiber Valley and only possibly at Rome herself (Morel 1969; Cibecchini and Principal 2004) (see Fig. 1). Overall, these developments document increasingly intensive and converging networks of exchange, although it is also important to be aware of points at which those processes temporarily slowed down or stagnated. In fact, stagnation and intensification may have happened within different networks at the same time: thus, the Tiber Valley was arguably going through a “crisis” in the central decades of the second century BC which, by contrast, appears to have been a time of considerable prosperity in the wider Ager Cosanus (Patterson, Di Giuseppe and Witcher 2004; Carandini, et al. 2002). In general, it is interesting that the ending of the APE productions is indicative of a pattern by which the material culture of the original Etrusco-Latial area receded in importance, giving way to forms that originated on the periphery. Or, put differently, formal aspects of the Etrusco-Latial material culture flowed into processes of stylistic and technological innovation that are often more visible in regions located at some distance from the centre; the resulting formal language eventually became synonymous with the culture of Roman Italy and have just been seen as products of “Romanisation.”

At the level of elite culture, the importance of Rome in this process has recently been likened to that of the heart at the centre of a complex organism – akin to the different networks used in this chapter – which added new ideas to the processes of cultural transformation on the periphery; and which thus, ultimately, had a unifying effect (Wallace-Hadrill 2008). This model would appear to be especially suitable for the level of elite culture, especially with regard to the absorption of Greek technological and stylistic innovations which are a shared characteristic of cultural change on the periphery. An excellent example of this would be the realisation of architectural projects that embody a merging of Hellenistic formal language and Romano-Italic cultural functions, and that were made possible through technological innovations and, possibly, modes of production, which were distinctly Italian. The classic example of this would be monumental building projects such as the temples at Pietrabbondante, Praeneste or Tibur or, indeed, the emergence of the building type of the basilica during the second century (see Fig. 2).

With regard to other aspects of Italian culture, however, the role played by Rome is perhaps less central and, as argued earlier, more indirect, by providing a source of initiative for mechanisms of connectivity. These were ultimately based in the regions and especially concentrated in those areas – such as Campania, the Tiber Valley, north Etruria/Liguria – that were located at points of intersection of different ecologies (cf. Horden and Purcell 2000), as well as of historical interaction and confron-

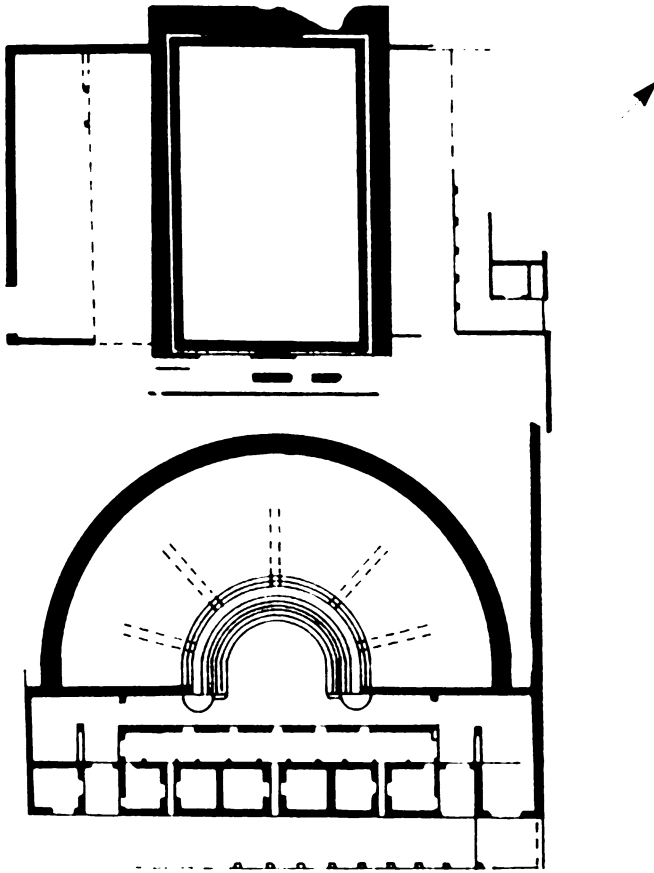


Fig. 2. Plan of temple complex at Pietrabbondante.

tation. Such dynamics – which need to be addressed systematically in future research – would seem to be at work in the development of the “villa” – as both a building type and a medium- to large-scale form of agricultural economies in different parts of Italy: these regional phenomena bear too many parallels as to be separated from one another; at the same time, the differences make it impossible to reduce the explanation for their emergence to one unified mechanism (contributors to Becker and Terrenato 2012, esp. Terrenato 2012). Another revealing, and here the concluding, example to illustrate the complexity of the situation of this would be the black-gloss ware of north Etruria – chiefly Arezzo and, earlier, Volterra – which, through a cycle of technological and stylistic innovation, eventually resulted in the production of Italian *terra sigillata* from about 30 BC (Ettlinger 1990a, 1990b; Roth 2007): an archetypal product of Roman Italy yet, at the same time, born of a distinctly regional material culture at the intersection of different ecologies, historical polities and ethnic regions.

VII Conclusion: a familiar case study?

Italian *terra sigillata* has become synonymous with the mass distribution of Roman material culture across Italy and the provinces during the late first century BC and the first three quarters of the first century AD. As pottery goes, it was by no means the most basic type of ware, and how readily accessible it might have been to the poor should probably not be overestimated. Yet, it is both wide-spread enough, sufficiently complex in design and, above all, notionally Roman to make it an ideal point of conclusion to a chapter discussing the transformation of material culture in networks of interaction and webs of meanings involving “Roman” and “non-Roman agents” (cf. also Woolf 1998). Within “Roman Italy,” *terra sigillata* would usually be regarded as a “fully Romanised” artefact since it was used by people across the peninsula soon after it began to be produced around 30 BC. But as with, say, late Republican rural colonisation or, to take an urban example, the circular *comitium*, working back from the supposedly homogeneous end product to its heterogeneous origins can sometimes be more revealing of cultural transformation than going the opposite way.

Terra sigillata has a more standardised formal repertoire than any Italian fine ware before or after it during antiquity. The vessels of the more common plain variety are stamped, which plausibly indicates that, amongst other things, some type of brand awareness existed amongst the consumers, perhaps bearing further reflection of its wide circulation and the shared tastes of its consumers. The rarer, yet still massed-produced relief-decorated wares furthermore carry an imagery that is broadly – and sometimes more specifically – imbued with the ideology of Augustan Rome, by reflecting the iconography of the “cultural programme” that was explicitly concerned with Rome at the head of a unified *tota Italia* (cf. Zanker 1988). *Terra sigillata* appears to have been widely traded commercially but also travelled to the provinces with the imperial legions, to the extent that large quantities of it have been excavated on military sites used during Augustus and Tiberius’ campaigns along the Rhine. All of this makes the red-gloss ware a quintessentially Roman product, and a symbol of a completed process of cultural change which had gradually moved from an inter-regionally compartmentalised to a mutually comprehensible, formal language with considerable debt to the Greek East (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 407–481).

Yet, even if we accept the comprehensive view of early Imperial culture for present purposes, one set of observations still needs to be made, and two questions to be raised. First, the questions: after all that has been said so far, was the transformation of material culture really as streamlined as its result might suggest, with the roles of centre and periphery clearly assigned? And was the result really as unambiguous in cultural meanings as its standardised appearance might imply? Second, the observations: the geographical origin of Italian *terra sigillata* is Arretium, not Rome; equally, the technology necessary for its production was firmly placed within the tradition of the Arretine pottery industry; and Arretium – via outlets at Pisae and Puteoli – was

also from where this technology spread to the Gallic provinces that would eventually become the principal production centres of *sigillata*. At the same time, Rome and her *suburbium* also became important consumers as well as producers, since a series of workshops emerged in the Tiber Valley where, one might add, a type of black-gloss pottery modelled on earlier Arretine pottery appears to have already been made before the emergence of *terra sigillata* (Cibecchini and Principal 2004; Witcher 2005). None of this indicates a streamlined process of cultural transformation; and we also appear to be dealing with a less straightforward hierarchy between centre and periphery than might be expected, or at least we get a sense of a shifting of roles within the network of agents as the transformation of *terra sigillata* unfolds.

Thus, at the formal level, homogeneity is the dominant aspect conveyed by *terra sigillata* and much else of what often appears to epitomise the completion of Italy's "Romanisation." Yet, at the same time, an increasing amount of evidence points toward the co-presence of *sigillata* wares of different origin on the same sites, which may be an indication of their being simultaneously involved in different networks, and which may also point towards competition amongst the producers. And, as noted earlier, the development of *sigillata* continued elsewhere in the empire, moving to precisely the kind of liminal and peripheral areas which had, within the confines of Italy, been central to the processes of cultural transformation throughout the period discussed here. Perhaps, then, it was Rome's original location as a centre on the periphery of different ecologies and ethnic areas and, ultimately, at the point of entry to several networks of inter-cultural agency, which also determined the logic of a cultural transformation to which "Romanisation" ultimately fails to do justice.

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The Peoples of Ancient Italy

Loredana Cappelletti

The Bruttii

The Italic *ethnos* of Oscan stock, which the Romans called the Bruttii and the Greeks Βρῦττιοι, was settled, from the middle of the fourth century BC, in the mountainous regions of present-day Calabria. The northern boundary of the territory was marked by the Thurii-Laos isthmus while to the south it stretched, across the high plain of the Sila, as far as the hinterland of Locri and Rhegium (Fig. 1). By that period the region had already been inhabited for some time: from the eighth century BC by the Greeks, who had founded their colonies there along the coasts; even earlier by the pre-Samnite indigenous peoples of the Oenotri and Coni; and from the fifth century BC also by the Lucani, who on the Ionian side had their “capital” Petelia (mod. Strongoli) a little to the north of Croton (Pesando 2005; Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001; Guzzo 1989).

As appears from the literary sources, the Bruttii were for almost two centuries among the principal protagonists of the history of ancient Italy. Politically and militarily organized, they formed alliances and fought wars with Italiotes, Siceliotes, Greeks, Italians and Romans. At the end of the third century BC they finally lost their independence at the hands of the Romans. The political existence of the *ethnos* ended simultaneously, and it disappears from Latin and Greek historical narratives and from the history of the peninsula. From this time on we find in the ancient authors only allusions to the history of the territory, Bruttium or Βρῦττία.

While we are reasonably well-informed of the political history of this people, it is much more difficult to arrive at a description of their way of life and the particular characteristics of their identity. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence, which could permit a description of those aspects, is actually rather sparse. This may perhaps be due to the brief life-span of this people, during which they were continually involved in the activities of war, with the results of human loss and the endless devastation of districts and settlements. But it is more probable that the scarcity of information is due to the slowness with which archaeological investigations of this area have taken place, becoming more frequent only in the last decades. From their partial results, however, fundamental data have come to light. First of all, it becomes evident how the characteristics of the land notably conditioned the socio-economic existence of the Bruttii and their modes of settlement: a primarily mountainous land, difficult to cultivate, which for many centuries was given over almost exclusively to the activities of sheep-rearing and exploitation of forest resources; an environment, moreover, which prevented or delayed an evolution in terms of urban planning of specifically Bruttian forms of building and organization. On the other hand, the position of the Bruttii, near the *poleis* of Magna Graecia and in direct



Fig. 1. Map with places mentioned in the text.

political and commercial contact with them, in some cases even living with them, produced a profound and widespread Hellenization of this people, manifest above all in their language and religion. This evidence contrasts with the image of the Bruttii drawn from the literary tradition, especially the Greek, which portrays them as a people of slavish shepherds, rough and aggressive brigands/fighters, prone to be traitors, completely foreign to Hellenic civilization as well as to Roman ethics (Lombardo 1989, 251–259; Dench 1995, 44–80).

I Historical events, mid-fourth to the end of the third century BC

The Bruttii made their entry into history in 356 BC. Diodorus (16.15.1–2) says that in that year individuals assembled in Lucania, of various origins but largely fugitive slaves, experts in brigandage and the affairs of war. After having defeated the Lucani and a number of Italiot centres, they set up a shared government and called themselves *Brettioi*, a word which in the local language meant precisely “fugitive slaves.” In Justin (23.1.4–14) we find that the people formed itself when fifty youths from the Lucani united with the shepherds who lived in the region’s forests and began to sack the surrounding Italiot centres. The Italiotes sought help from Dionysius II of Syracuse who sent mercenaries. The *castellum* occupied by the mercenaries was then overcome thanks to a woman named *Bruttia*. The shepherds who were gathered there decided to unite into a common *civitas* and to call themselves *Bruttii* from the woman’s name. The Bruttii fought above all against the Lucani, their progenitors; the conflict was concluded with a *pax aequo iure* (a peace on equal terms) and then by recognition of their independence (i.e. of the Bruttii) on the part of the Lucani, who most probably had to give up from that time a part of their territory including Petelia (Cappelletti 2002, 27–38). For Strabo also (6.1.4) the Bruttii were in origin slave-shepherds of the Lucani and came into being as an *ethnos* when they freed themselves from their inferior condition, separating themselves from the Lucani, who called them *Brettioi*, which in their language meant “rebels.” The three narratives are substantially in agreement; in Justin, however, the decisive role in the process of the formation of the people is played by a *mulier* named *Bruttia*. It is important to emphasize that other women of Bruttian origin are at the centre of historical events of the third century BC, and this literary tradition seems to reflect the existence of a position of prominence invested in the woman of Bruttian society, confirmed, as we shall see, by the architecture and rich grave goods in female tombs (Cappelletti 2005).

According, therefore, to Justin, Diodorus and Strabo, the Bruttian people came into being in 356 BC, acquiring an identity and a name following an earlier condition which was ethnically heterogeneous and indeterminate. But this only corresponds in part with other known evidence. The ethnic name of the Bruttii had actually already

existed two centuries earlier. The Italic formula of possession *Bruties esum* “I am of Bruttius”, incised in the mid-sixth century BC on an *oinochoe* of *bucchero* from southern Campania (*Imagines*, Nuceria Alfaterna 3), indicates a personal name formed on the root *brut-* from the ethnic name of the Bruttii. In the fifth century BC, Antiochus (*FGrH* 555 F3c) uses the ethnonym to indicate a vast area of present-day Calabria, and Aristophanes (F638 Kassel–Austin) amused his Athenian public by describing the Bruttian language as horrible and obscure, with an implicit reference to the dark colour of pitch, the famous *pix Bruttia* produced in the Sila and much renowned in antiquity (Lombardo 1995; Zumbo 1995, 278–280). It is highly probable, therefore, that in the fifth to sixth centuries BC the ethnic name referred to a population of Oscan stock in an inferior social position to the Lucani and it became, for the Lucani themselves and for the ancient sources, synonymous with “rebels” and “fugitive slaves” only from 356 BC, when the Bruttii won their ethnic and political independence.

With the first victorious war against the Lucani the process of the Bruttian nation’s growth and expansion began, which was achieved above all to the detriment of various Italic cities: attacks against Thurii and Croton on the Ionian coast and the conquests of Terina, Temesa and Hipponium on the Tyrrhenian side. This was a process which found new vigour from the victory over Alexander the Molossian, who had come from Epirus to Italy in 333 BC to help the Tarentines against the Bruttii, Lucani and Messapii, and was killed at Pandosia in 331/330 BC (Cappelletti 2002, 27–75). Not even their unexpected defeat at the hands of Agathocles of Syracuse in 294 BC succeeded in stopping the growth of the Bruttii; in the course of half a century they had become *fortissimi*, *opulentissimi* and one of the most powerful and feared states of the peninsula (Justin 23.1.3).

The clash with Rome was by now inevitable and took place in 282 BC when a coalition of Bruttii and Lucani attacked Thurii, who in turn called on the Romans for help. The victory of the consul C. Fabricius Luscinus over the two peoples was crushing, but not conclusive, because together with the Samnites, Messapii and Tarentines they allied themselves with Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, in 281 BC, and a year later under his leadership marched against Rome. In the summer of 279 BC Bruttian foot soldiers and cavalry fought alongside Pyrrhus in the Battle of Asculum (near mod. Ascoli Satriano) in Puglia; it was their last victory against Rome, and a bitter one because of the heavy losses suffered by Pyrrhus and his allies. It was followed by repeated defeats up to 272 BC, the worst being that of 275 BC, after which Pyrrhus, by now thoroughly discomfited, abandoned Italy. His Italic and Italic allies had to suffer the repercussions of their anti-Roman conduct: according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 20.15) the Bruttii surrendered voluntarily to the Romans and were compelled to cede half of the Sila (Cappelletti 2002, 111–128).

The Bruttii remained faithful *socii* of the Romans for half a century and fought with them against Hannibal at the Battle of Cannae in 216 BC. But here the Romans were defeated and many peoples and cities of southern Italy passed to the Carthaginian general. The Bruttii were among the first to ally themselves with Hannibal and

the last to abandon him in 204 BC. A number of their centres, such as Petelia and Cosenza, remained faithful to Rome and so were besieged by Hannibal and their own compatriots. The military commitment of the Bruttii to Hannibal was notable: for him they laid siege to and conquered Locri and Croton, and placed at his disposal troops and land for the duration of the war. In 211 BC, after Capua fell into Roman hands, individual Bruttian centres and groups started to abandon the alliance with Hannibal, who also began to harbour suspicion of the Bruttii that remained with him, taking cruel measures against them: imposition of many taxes, destruction of fortified cities, and trials and executions of many men in order to confiscate their property. By 207 BC the Carthaginian sphere of action was restricted to Bruttian territory alone; Hannibal had established his headquarters at Croton and from the port of Croton he left Italy in 203 BC, after the Bruttii had finally surrendered to the Romans in 204 BC (Cappelletti 2002, 128–171).

II Political/institutional and settlement structures

In 356 BC the Bruttii became an autonomous *ethnos* of the Lucani and at the same time formed a shared political organization, a league. Diodorus (16.15.1–2) and Strabo (6.1.2) define it respectively as κοινὴ πολιτεία and σύστημα κοινόν, and both refer in technical terms to the existence of a government and of a citizenship shared by the whole population. Justin (23.1.11–13) describes as a *civitas* the association created by the *pastores Bruttii* when they overcame the *castellum* occupied by the mercenaries from Syracuse, which became their *nova urbs* (Cappelletti 1997). It is probable that the *castellum/nova urbs* was Consentia, described by Strabo (6.1.5) as a μητρόπολις τῶν Βρεττίων, in other words the place of origin of the people and the political capital of the Bruttian League. There are a number of indications in favour of this identification: Consentia's position on high ground and its fortified walls dating to the fourth century BC; the probable derivation of the place-name from an Oscan word analogous to Latin *consensus*, with a reference to the “agreements” made by the Bruttii during the meetings at their federal seat; and finally the symbol of the crab, found on town and federal coins, which could be an allusion to the river *Carcinus*, Greek καρκίνος, “crab,” the present-day Corace in the district of Cosenza.

The federal coins of gold, silver and bronze with the Greek legend BPETTIΩN are the main, authentic evidence of the continuing existence of the Bruttian League in the third century BC (Rutter 2001, nos. 1940–2012; Addante 2008). It was a wartime coinage, minted in 216–204 BC during the alliance with Hannibal against Rome and intended to meet the requirements of the conflict. The issue shows a predilection for the Greek figurative repertory (divinities, symbols, etc.) and apart from the crab contains other marine subjects. If this appears inconsistent with the largely mountainous context of the Bruttii, it could, however, be a reflection of the importance assumed by the life of the river and sea in connection with socio-economic and

productive facts (pitch, timber, ships) of this people's existence (Taliercio Mensitieri 1995).

We do not know much about the components of the Bruttian League and in general of the communities of the Bruttii. This is largely due to the scarcity of archaeological documentation and its problematic interpretation. But we also find in the ancient sources that the Bruttian centres are mostly described generically as *multae urbes* and *civitates*, *ignobiles populi*, *oppida*, *castella*, χωρία and κτήσεις on the coasts. It is possible that this vagueness and terminological variation reflects the actual structure of settlements prevalent among the Bruttii emerging from archaeological investigation, with a small population living in nuclei of a non-urban type – hamlets and farmsteads, organized in cantons of variable extent (Lombardo 1989). A territorial situation of this kind is documented in other cases, as in that of Taurianum (mod. Tauriana di Palmi): in the sources there is the *oppidum/civitas*, supplied by its own *ager/territorium*. The Oscan ethnic name Ταυριανουμ stamped in the third century BC on various examples of bricks and tiles, spread also into the area of neighbouring Oppido Mamertina and Gioia Tauro (*Imagines*, Tauriani 1), indicates that the political community of the *Tauriani* comprised a cantonal existence, made up of many settlements. Another case is that of the *ager Teuranus* (mod. Tiriolo), where the first habitation mound grows in extent and importance at the beginning of the third century BC, taking in more hamlets and enriching itself with public spaces and buildings, and a double perimeter enclosure to protect the inhabitants of the internal *ager* (Racheli and Spadea 2011; Tarditi 2015). The case of the site discovered at Castiglione di Paludi is different (Fig. 2), possibly the πόλις Ἡθαῖ defended by the Bruttii against Agathocles in 298 BC (Diod. Sic. 21.3), which in the fourth to third centuries BC demonstrates structures of a true urban centre: defensive walls with entry-gates and circular turrets, a theatre, private and public buildings, and streets (Novellis and Paoletti 2011).

Another urban centre was Petelia (mod. Strongoli), first Lucanian and then Bruttian, as shown by the coinage with the legend ΠΙΕΘΑΙΝΩΝ, which in chronology and characteristics appears directly linked to the federal issues (Rutter 2001, nos. 2453–2467). In Livy (23.20.4–10) it is described as an *urbs*, with its own *ager*, encircled by a wall of which very little remains visible today; it had a *senatus*, which sent *legati* and made decisions on foreign politics. In the fourth to third centuries BC Petelia was strongly Hellenized: magistrates with Oscan names expressed their control, in Greek formulae and language, over the local production of public bricks; and in the Greek inscription IG XIV 637 we read that gymnasiarchs with Oscan names administered the gymnasium of the city (Ampolo 2008; Costabile 2007; Poccetti 2014).

Other Bruttian centres, or centres which became Bruttian, are mentioned by the ancient authors – e.g. Aufugo, Berga, Besidia, Ocricoli, Linfeo, Argentano, Clamptia, Caulonia, Pandosia, Tisia, Mystia, Hyporon, Terina, Hipponium, Temesa – but identification on the ground is only certain for some of them (Cappelletti 2002, 225–237). For the Italiot centres of Hipponium, Terina and Temesa in particular their occupation by the Bruttii is confirmed by several pieces of evidence. After 356

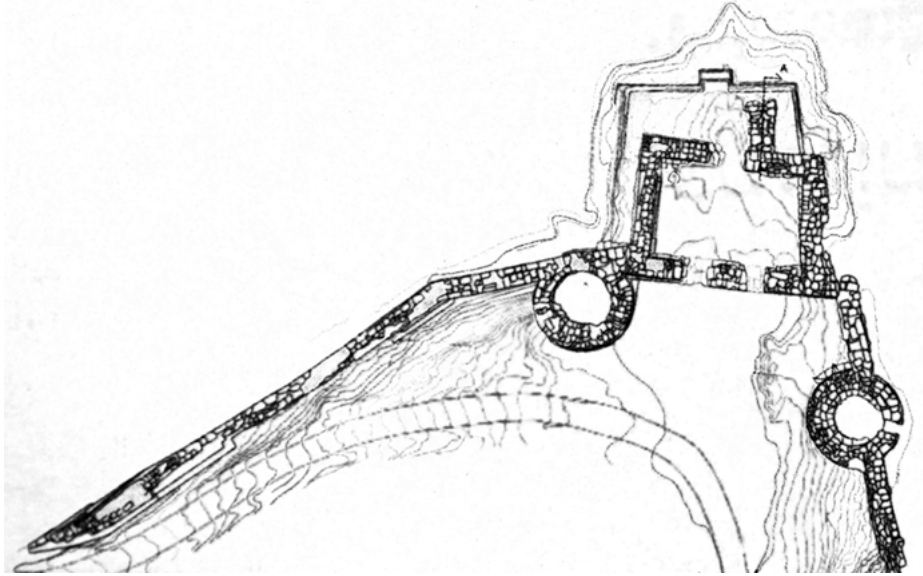


Fig. 2. Castiglione di Paludi. Northeastern Gate (from Brienza, Caliò and Lippolis 2011, 241).

BC Hipponium (mod. Vibo Valentia) minted bronze coins with Greek and Oscan-Greek ethnic names; on several examples the crab appears, the Bruttian federal symbol, as well as the Bruttian-Italic goddess Pandina; the first letters of the Oscan name *Niumsis* also appear, belonging therefore to an Italic magistrate (Rutter 2001, nos. 2243–2261; Taliercio Mensitieri 1993). The presence in Hipponium of a Bruttian elite, completely Hellenized and participating in civic government, is further attested by the richness of grave goods and numerous brick stamps with the Oscan names of the producers; important above all others is the Oscan stamp $\text{f}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{k}\text{o}$ on a fragment of tile from the end of the third century BC (*Imagines*, Vibo 3), which indicates production precisely of the *vereiia*, a typically Italic political-military institution administered by one or more *meddices* (Pocchetti 2000). The crab and the goddess Pandina also appear on the bronze coins of Terina (mod. S. Eufemia Vetere), and the presence of a Bruttian elite in the city is further attested to there by funerary evidence, among which are the rich grave goods of a chamber tomb from the beginning of the third century BC, known as the “treasure of St. Eufemia” (Fig. 3) and now in the British Museum (Taliercio Mensitieri 1993; Mancuso and Spadea 2011). Temesa, not far from Terina, has been identified in the fortified site of Pian della Tirena, in the area of Nocera Terinese. In the third century BC the centre minted bronze coins with the legends NOYKPINQN and NOYKPIN , which was the new name given to the city by the Bruttian conquerors; apart from the symbol of the crab, a number of other examples have the Oscan name $\text{\Sigma TATIOY}$, apparently belonging to a Bruttian magistrate (Rutter 2001, nos. 2437–2448).



Fig. 3. Treasure of S. Eufemia. Diadem (from Mancuso and Spadea 2011, 394).

III Religious forms and cult places

In the religious context, as well, the deep and spontaneous Hellenization of this people emerges; it seems they never felt the need to build their own new sanctuaries, but preferred to use those already founded in the Archaic Period by the Greek colonies. This emerges from the archaeological evidence of the fourth to third centuries BC of the extra-urban sanctuaries of Apollo Alaeus near the ancient Crimisa (mod. Cirò Marina – Punta Alice), and of Hera at Capo Lacinio near Croton. In particular the Oscan text φεζεις , “of Venus,” incised in 325–300 BC on a calcareous block recently found near the Doric temple of Caulonia (mod. Monasterace Marina) (*Images*, Caulonia 2), has shown that the cult of Aphrodite, active here from the Archaic Period, also continued during the Bruttian occupation of the city (Ampolo 2007). But it is from the Apollonion of Cirò Marina that the most interesting data comes: this discloses not only the place of the cult most attended by the Bruttii, but also the one which they themselves administered, as is deduced from two Oscan texts in Greek letters from the third century BC mentioning eponymous priesthoods, σακαρικιδιμαι (“during the priesthood of”) held by people with Italic names (*Images*, Crimisa 1 and 2; Poccetti 2001). In the course of the third century BC the sacred area was built into a monument, with Italic craftsmanship and taste, by neighbouring Petelia. In the second century BC the sanctuary was still important and frequented, actually appearing in the list of the θεαροδόκοι of Delphi from the beginning of the century (Manganaro 1964).

As regards the pantheon of the Bruttii, the more important pieces of evidence, especially bronze statuettes and iconographic coinage, concern the diffusion of the cult of Hercules (Fig. 4), an important cult in Bruttian and Italic society in general, structured according to soldierly rules and in pastoral contexts (Mastrocinque 1993). Numerous statuettes of Hercules from the fourth to second centuries have been discovered at Crotone, Cirò Marina, Reggio Calabria, and in the area of Cosenza (Genovese 2012, 116–120). The connection between the demigod and the Bruttii is



Fig. 4. Bronze figurine of Hercules from Cariati (from Lombardo 1989, 275).

also found in the literary sources, where Hercules appears as father of Brettos, born from his union with the nymph Baletia, daughter of the river Baletos in Brettia; from Brettos the people of the Bruttii may have obtained their ethnic name (Steph. Byz. s.v. Βρέττος). Further river cults of divinities are attested among the Bruttii, e.g. Acheloos and Aisaros, and cults of divinities linked to woodland contexts, to pastoral and farming activities and to their products, e.g. Pan, Dionysus, Demeter, Kore-Persephone, Athena, a number of whom are represented in the architecture of the Apollonions of Crimisa, of Castiglione di Paludi and of Tiriolo. It was at Tiriolo, the ancient *ager Teuranus*, that in 1640 the famous *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC was discovered, incised on a sheet of bronze; this was a document in which Rome determined to put a stop to the practice of Dionysiac meetings and rituals, which, particularly in these still little-controlled areas, could give rise to discontent and unrest (CIL X 104; Perri 2005; Stek 2010, 19–21; see di Fazio in the present

volume). Another divinity worshipped by the Bruttii in connection with their farming activity was the goddess Pandina, who figured on the coins of Hipponium and Terina with sceptre and wand; this was a very rare and non-Hellenic cult, perhaps inherited from the Oenotri (Arslan 1989). On the other hand a document from Hipponium of 300 BC gives us evidence of the adoption of the pantheon of Magna Graecia: it is an inscription in Oscan language and Greek letters on a small sheet of bronze, originally nailed to a support, which bears witness to the cult of Ζεύς Τροπαῖος who “throws into flight (the enemy)” and to whom a bull is about to be sacrificed, δίουφει φερσσορει ταυρομ (*Imagines*, Vibo 2; Untermann 2000, 844–845).

IV Society and economy

The literary sources do not offer much information on the socio-economic structure of the Bruttii. The few observations are generic and refer to the different military contexts in which the League took part. References to leaders of the army (*dux Bruttius*) and of the garrisons (ἄρχων τῶν Βρεττίων) (Livy 24.15.7; Plut. *Fab.* 21.5), to ambassadors (Diod. Sic. 21.8), and to a cavalry distinct from foot soldiers (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.1.1–3), attest to the existence of positions of superiority and responsibility, assumed most probably on the basis of an individual’s military ability and of criteria of family and high social level. Moreover, the existence among the Bruttii of a dominant class, on the basis of wealth and nobility, is further indicated by the same literary tradition that speaks, for example, of riches and property confiscated from many Bruttian ἄνδρες in 206 BC (App. *Hann.* 54), of Bruttian *familiae illustres* taken as hostages by Alexander the Molossian (Livy 8.24.4), of the brothers Vibius and Paccius, spokesmen for the League to the Romans in 209 BC and defined as “the most noble of their people” (Livy 27.15.3).

The existence of a socio-economic structure among the Bruttii is also drawn from the few, but impressive, subterranean chamber tombs belonging to men and/or women of high rank, such as those of Cariati, Strongoli, Pietrapaola, Cirò Marina, Tirio, and Gizzeria (Genovese 2012, 99 ff.). In their architecture and grave goods they differ notably from the more numerous burials, of the “Capuchin” or pit type, such as those found in the area of Moio at Cosenza, belonging indubitably to people of a modest social class. The rich and luxurious grave goods of the fourth to third centuries BC reveal the distinctive traits of the Bruttian nobility: a warrior ideology, to which the prevalence of arms and parts of armour bear witness, as do horses’ bits or indeed a whole horse buried beside the deceased; moreover, a style of life by now Hellenized, attested to by the presence of small and large vases and utensils used in banquets. These and other objects of precious material, such as those found in the tombs of women of high rank – largely jewellery, cosmetic containers and instruments – are almost exclusively of Greek or Italiot production. It is certainly possible that part of the rich grave goods, especially of men’s graves, could be the fruit of looting and sacking, but the larger part is explained through the existence



Fig. 5. Castiglione di Paludi. Stone relief of man's face (from Lombardo 1989, 278).

of a firm network of cultural and commercial relationships with the Greek world (Guzzo 1989). It is really in this context of contact and extra-peninsular exchange that the precious objects of Alexandrian production recovered in the centres of Tiriolo and Tresilico and the recovery, also at Tiriolo, of wine amphorae with stamps from Rhodes and Thasos should be appraised (Genovese 1999, 159 ff.).

There are on the other hand few objects of definitely Bruttian manufacture, whether found in the necropoleis or in the settlements: e.g. the numerous bronzes of Hercules, the fragments of large statues found in the tombs of Cariati and Terra-vecchia, the stone sculpture with a male face from Castiglione di Paludi (Fig. 5), belonging to a funerary or sacral context, and perhaps also the female sculpture, 20 cm high, found bricked-up in the walls of a house in Polella di San Lucido, possibly the ancient Clampetia (Sanginetto 2011). Finally, to be noticed are the vases and bricks produced in series at Tiriolo in the third to second centuries BC, marked with stamps, in Oscan and Greek, of the Oscan names of the factory owners. But in the majority of cases the objects' attribution to Bruttian artisans remains difficult, because the ceramic, metal and coroplastic manufacture found in their districts imitates – in technique, form, decoration and iconography – contemporary Italiot production, and the

relationship between the original from Magna Graecia and Bruttian work has still been too little investigated (Genovese 2012, 120 ff.)

This strong assimilation of the Bruttii to the surrounding Greco-Italiot society also emerges at the linguistic level. Ancient authors had already noticed this from the end of the third century BC, defining the Bruttii as *bilingues*, because they *et Osce et Graece loqui soliti sint* (Enn. 496V ap. Fest. 31, 25–27L). A situation of bilingualism and in general of biculturalism is confirmed by the sparse epigraphic documentation from the middle of the fourth to the third century BC discovered in Bruttian centres. The collection is very small: it contains mainly builders' stamps on tiles and bricks from Hipponium, Caulonia, Castiglione di Paludi, Tiriolo, and Temesa (*Imagines*, Vibo 3–9; Caulonia 3–5; Thurii-Copia 2; Teuranus ager 2–4; Nuceria 2), and short *defixiones* on lead tablets from Castiglione di Paludi, Cìrò, Petelia, and Tiriolo (Murano 2013, nos. 11–14). Most of the texts are in the Oscan language and in Greek letters; they are almost exclusively Oscan personal names, patronymics and family names, for example, Κερ., Κοττειρις, Τρεβας Τρεβατιες, Μινις Βιφιδης Λοικες – which are sometimes also Grecised, as Περκένος, Τρέβιος Περκένιος (Zumbo 1995, 265–270). In particular the *defixio* of Petelia has a Greek curse-formula in the last two lines of the text, after a long list of Oscan and Greek personal names. Other texts of public character, in Greek with Grecised Oscan personal names, have also been discovered at Petelia (see above). Another *defixio* in Greek, from the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century BC, was found at Tiriolo (*SEG* 44, 1994, 844), and finally the only Bruttian funerary inscription found to date – ΕΥΜΑΡΗΣ ΒΟΙ (*SEG* 27, 1977, 705) – incised on a Doric capital, possibly part of the architectural decoration of a monumental tomb found at Torano Castello, on which Εὐμάρης could be the Greek version of the Oscan forename *Mares* (Poccetti 1988, 139). We find Greek letters used for the theonyms Φεξεις and διουφει Φερσορει and the institutional terms Φερεκο and σακαρικιδιμαι in a few texts of sacred and/or public character. Ethnic names on federal and urban coins are written in the Greek alphabet, but more often actually in Greek, and sometimes initials of the Oscan names of the magistrates responsible for the minting also occur. So a diffused use of Greek, in writing and/or speech, and the adherence to Greek habit, e.g. in the single-member naming formulae, is a peculiarity of Bruttian documents which is not found in those of the Campanians, Lucanians and Mamertines though they are also in Graeco-Oscan (Poccetti 1988, 117–140; Triantafillis 2008; McDonald 2015).

V Bruttium in the second and first centuries BC

Because of the long and dedicated participation of the Bruttii in the war against Rome at the side of Hannibal, there were grave and notable repercussions: the end of the political organization of the people, and the impoverishment and gradual disappearance of different centres of habitation through the great loss of human life and of material resources. At the end of the first century BC the Bruttian settlements

were devoid of importance, and their institutions, customs, and language had by now disappeared (Strabo 6.1.2).

These statements are confirmed by the (admittedly) sparse archeological evidence: the second century BC sees the disappearance of centres such as Caulonia, Pandosia and Tiriolo, and also the abandonment of hill-top nuclei like Castiglione di Paludi, Torano, and Torre Mordillo (Paoletti 1994). In the course of the second and first centuries BC this did not prevent Bruttian centres and habitations, not more closely identified, from taking part in episodes of revolt, and offering refuge and support to individuals set against Rome, such as the gladiator Spartacus in 73–71 BC or Catiline in 63–62 BC (Oros. 5.24.2; 6.6.7). But these are isolated episodes, due to a certain amount of on-going political instability. The fact remains that the Bruttian people did not take part in the last great revolt of the Italic world against Rome, the Social War of 90–88 BC (Russi and Pareti 1997, 429–469).

The heavy punitive measures which Rome inflicted upon the Bruttii and their territory after 204 BC contributed above all else to the disastrous state of politics and settlement in the region. The Bruttii were excluded from regular military service and charged with servile duties for the provincial Roman magistrates: there were now *Bruttiani* who, as a public duty, passed on letters, and carried out flogging and chaining (Gell. NA 10.3.17–19; Strabo 5.4.13). The remains of an awareness of ethnic identity are found in this period only outside the Bruttian territory: in Greek inscriptions from Rhodes and Delphi single individuals specify their origin, e.g. Στράτιος and Πλάτων Βρέττιος, Ἡδίστα τὸ γένος Βρεττία (Zumbo 1995, 271–273; Nocita 2012, 135–137). But above all the Bruttii were punished by the confiscation of a large part of their territory, transformed into *ager publicus populi Romani* (App. Hann. 61; Pun. 256–257). To control this area Rome founded Roman and Latin colonies: Croton and Tempa in 194 BC, Copia and Vibo Valentia in 192 BC, Clampetia, Consentia and Scolacium in 123 BC. It was also in the second century BC that the Romans extended the Via Annia or Popilia, which connected Rome, Capua and Rhegium (CIL I² 638; Givigliano 1994, 287–289). In this way an infrastructure was created in Bruttium for the movement of men, merchandise and ideas, across which there evolved in parallel a process of cultural and linguistic Romanization (Lomas 1993, 125–187). This process was nurtured above all by contacts and co-habitation with people of Latin language and culture who lived in the Roman colonies. The process reached its peak in the first century BC when, on the basis on the *leges de civitate* of the years 90–88 BC, the Bruttii, like the other peoples of the peninsula, became Roman citizens. Throughout the century the old and new settlements of the region, in other words the *coloniae* and Roman *municipia*, were reorganized in order to adjust, from an urban and architectural viewpoint, to the necessary institutional and administrative changes tied to Roman citizenship (Bispham 2007, 161–246, 463–468). From the same necessity Augustus reorganized the entire Bruttian territory, joining it to the lands of the Lucani and so forming a single region, the *Regio III Lucania et Bruttii*, stretching from the rivers Bradano and Sele as far as the Straits of Messina (Russi and Pareti 1997, 445–493; Forte 2010).

The network of infrastructure created in the second century BC also enabled the Romans to exploit the Bruttian lands, which for centuries had offered notable resources: agriculture and sheep-rearing; timber and pitch; fish; mines and deposits of clay (Cic. *Brut.* 85; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.15; Intrieri 1995, 207–238). But it was an exploitation which Rome, especially in the first phases, did not succeed in carrying out and coordinating, because of the large extent of the *ager* and through the dominance of the private interests of Roman and local aristocracy. The arbitrary appropriation of *ager* on the part of senators and men of affairs, both Roman and local, gave way to a yet wider land proprietorship, of landed estates administered from their rural *villae* and cultivated by the abundant work-force of slaves. To these estates and also to the activities developed in small yeoman holdings spread throughout the region were due the production and export of the products for which Bruttium remained famous in the imperial age: wine, oil, grain, honey, tiles, dried fruit, salt fish, pitch and finally earthenware and ceramics, above all amphorae for containing and transporting Bruttian merchandise outside Bruttium to Italy and the rest of the Mediterranean (Sangineto 2013).

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Douwe Yntema

The Pre-Roman Peoples of Apulia (1000–100 BC)

I Introduction

Apulia is the well over 300 km long Italian region consisting of the c. 60–100 km wide coastal strip of south Italy along the Adriatic Sea (Fig. 1). It does not correspond to any pre-Roman tribal or cultural entity. The vast majority of its pre-Roman inhabitants spoke Messapic, an Indo-European language of the so-called “Illyrian” branch (of which Albanian is the only survivor). We are informed on the inhabitants of pre-Roman Apulia by ancient Greek and Roman authors, i.e. by people who were definitely outsiders to the tribal world of pre-Roman southern Italy. It is unknown how these peoples labeled themselves and whether these labels corresponded to names used by Greeks or Romans. Moreover, it is likely that the tribal organization of Apulia was subject to considerable changes during the hundreds of years covered by this paper (cf. Yntema 2013, 44).

The traditional subdivision of pre-Roman Apulia is based on the writings of ancient authors: the Daunians in the northern part (present-day province of Foggia), the Peucetians in the central part (present-day province of Bari, poorly known) and the Messapians in the southern part (corresponding approximately to the Salento peninsula). But when we look at the various cultural assemblages at, for instance, c. 600/550 BC (Fig. 1), at least five cultural groups can be distinguished that differed not only in material culture, but also in land use and in social and spatial organization (Yntema 2013, 41 ff.). In this paper we shall use the traditional labels, if only for the sake of convenience.

The story of the pre-Roman groups of Apulia is one of the Italic “pathways to complexity” (cf. Attema, et al. 2010). These groups changed from small-scale, rather dispersed entities at the beginning of the Iron Age into highly organized urban communities. They were to become constituent parts of the Roman state in the course of the second and first centuries BC. And whereas the small groups of the early Iron Age predominantly responded to the opportunities offered by their environments (subsistence economy), the “Apulians” of the fourth to first centuries BC devised completely new agricultural strategies. They actually transformed their natural environments into manmade landscapes that produced bulk goods for far-away markets (market economy).

This process of increasing complexity was not a gradual one. Decades of drastic change alternated with periods in which nothing much seemed to happen. These

Douwe Yntema: Institute of Archaeology, Research Institute CLUE, Faculty of Arts, VU University,
De Boelelaan 1105, 1081 HV Amsterdam; E-Mail: d.g.yntema@upcmail.nl



Fig. 1. Sites mentioned in this paper/chapter and cultural groups around 600/550 BC.

changes, moreover, did not take place in every district of Apulia with the same intensity and at the same pace. In the following sections we attempt to sketch both the general lines of change and the regional variability within Apulia during the first millennium BC.

II The Iron Age (900 BC – 600/550 BC)

Towards the close of the Bronze Age and in the early Iron Age (eleventh to ninth centuries) Apulia was only sparsely inhabited. In the coastal strip small groups of people lived in and around impressive monuments such as fortifications and burial mounds created by the more populous and more affluent societies of the Late Bronze Age. The latter had maintained intense contacts with the eastern Mediterranean, especially with the Mycenaean world of Greece (e.g. Vagnetti 1999). Although the intensity of the external contacts of Apulia was fairly modest in the eleventh to ninth centuries, the area was by no means self-contained: the presence of Apulian matte-painted pottery of the twelfth to tenth centuries at the Aeolian islands (Brigger 2007, 332ff.; Yntema 2013, 25ff.) and Apulian pottery of the ninth to sixth centuries in Dalmatia

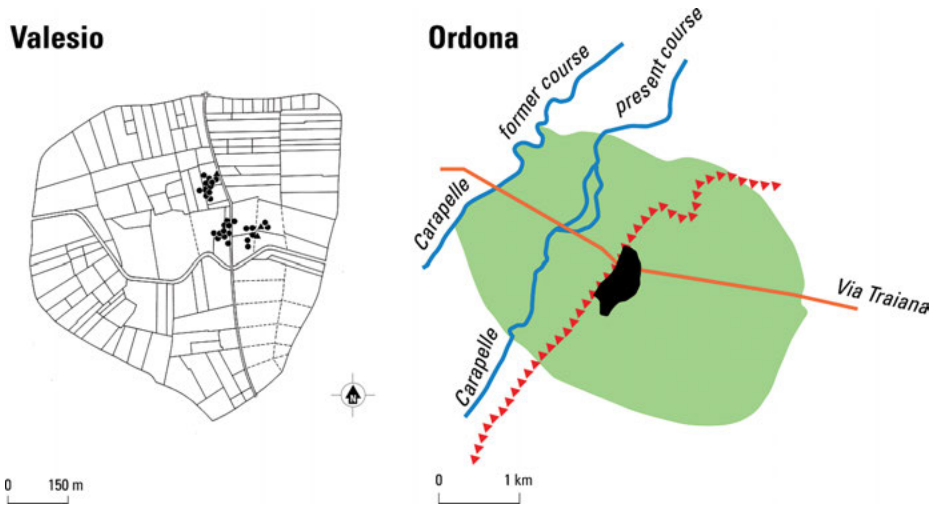


Fig. 2. Iron Age settlements: (left) earliest phase of Valesio, south Apulia (urban survey VU University Amsterdam); (right) extension of the Iron Age settlement of Ordona, north Apulia, compared to the extension of the Roman town of Herdonia (in black).

(Petric 1993; Yntema 1990, 230–231 and 242) suggests that the Apulian groups of those times were more dynamic than was currently believed. In the course of the ninth century the traces of human presence in the landscape become more numerous (D’Andria 1991, 397 ff.; D’Andria 2012, 554). It was, however, during the eighth century BC that radical changes can be observed: many new settlements were founded, external contacts intensified, social differences increased and material culture became more varied.

The clearest traces of colonization stem from the southern part of Apulia. Here, a series of urban and rural field surveys has been carried out that revealed this process. Between c. 760/740 and 720/700 BC the number of settlements more than doubled in the Salento peninsula (15 to 20 new sites). The locations selected for the new settlements, moreover, differed from those of the existing villages. Whilst the latter were often on the coast on somewhat marginal soils (well-suited for pastoralism), the new settlements were invariably in the inland areas and arose on well-watered, fertile soils admirably suited for agriculture. This suggests that the latter were agriculturalists’ settlements.

Those who colonized the inlands were no migrants from distant areas. They had their roots in the same district (cf. Burgers 1998, 186 ff.; Yntema 2013, 49). Initially these newly founded settlements were small. The urban surveys at the sites of Valesio and Muro Tenente (Brindisi district) suggest that they consisted of 9 to 15 wattle-and-daub huts in their earliest phase, having a population of approximately 45 to 90 people (Fig. 2). Some of these new settlements grew very rapidly: the site of Cavallino di Lecce, originating in the eighth century, was among the most important centres of south Apulia in the sixth century (see below).

There is ample evidence that similar changes occurred in both central and north Apulia. Field surveys carried out at the western fringes of central Apulia revealed similar trends (e.g. Small 2001, Small and Small 2005). The same holds for field work in north Apulia (Goffredo 2010), whilst a case study in the coastal strip of central Apulia – again – indicates that several sites here have eighth century origins (Riccardi 1999). By about the early seventh century Apulia had many smaller and larger settlements with a population ranging between 100–200 and 500–600 individuals.

These settlements were often highly dispersed. The large site of Oria (Salento isthmus) with an estimated population of 500 to 600 individuals had an extension of 70–90 hectares and consisted of various nuclei of huts which were often hundreds of meters apart (Yntema 1993, 157 ff.). The most extreme cases can be found in the plain of north Apulia (Arpi, c. 1,000 hectares; Ortona c. 800 hectares; cf. Yntema 2013, 53). The areas between the habitation-clusters probably contained fields, watering holes, animal pens, small burial grounds and areas used for communal activities such as rites, feasting and deliberations of family elders. These settlement areas, therefore, were a kind of human micro-cosmos amidst the Apulian wilds. The sites of Arpi (north Apulia) and L'Amastuola (south Apulia) suggest that the *agger* (earthworks made of heaped-up stones and earth) sometimes marked the dividing line between the human space and the natural environments (e.g. Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 100 ff.).

In the course of the eighth century the contacts between Apulia and overseas areas suddenly gained momentum. The Salento district of south Apulia became an important stepping stone in the large, predominantly Greek trade networks encompassing much of southern Italy and Sicily. The most important port of call was Otranto, only 70 km from the Balkan coast. The first Greek pots arrived here around 800 BC. Initially, these imports were not really numerous (some 600 specimens for the first 50 years in a 30 × 20 m trench), but grew into a flood in the second half of that century. There are thousands of pieces at Otranto dating to last third of the eighth century or the early seventh century (mainly of Corinthian type), both fine wares and transport vessels (D'Andria 1995 and 2012). This suggests that Otranto, only slightly beyond the threshold of the Greek world, maintained close contacts with Greek sailors and adventurers. Small groups of Greeks even started to settle in native settlements of the Salento district (Yntema 2000).

Greek sailors rarely ventured into the Adriatic Sea before the sixth century. The central and northern Adriatic was the domain of non-Greek seafaring in which both Istrian-Dalmatian and Italic tribes were involved. In this trade network metals from Slovenia, Baltic amber and matte-painted pots from Apulia circulated (Lo Schiavo 1984; Bietti Sestieri 2010). For north Apulia the “Daunian” settlement of Canosa was an important player in this Adriatic network. Finely decorated, matte-painted pots from Canosa ended up in prestigious burials around the upper Adriatic (the Italian Marche area, trans-Adriatic Istria, Dalmatia and Slovenia). North Apulian matte-painted pots in Campanian and Lucanian burials indicate that exchanges also took



Fig. 3. Corato-San Magno, central-Apulia, cist grave in seventh-century tumulus and burial gifts (photo VU University Amsterdam).

place with other regions of Italy by overland routes (Yntema 1990, 231 and 242). The trade networks in which north Apulia participated can be traced from the tenth/ninth century to within the later sixth century BC.

The eighth century was a period of rapidly increasing complexity: many new settlements, larger population densities and increasingly frequent and intense contacts with areas outside Apulia. And, whereas social differences were not clearly marked at the beginnings of the Iron Age, the eighth and seventh centuries witnessed the rise of local elites. These are especially evident in the funerary sphere. At Ortona, for instance, much time and effort were bestowed upon the construction of large tumuli for its eighth-century chieftains (Iker 1984). Similar burials are reported from central Apulia (in south Apulia formal burials make their appearance as late as c. 625/600 BC) (Fig. 3). Around 600 BC an important chieftain of Canosa was buried with a host of his own fine, widely “exported,” matte-painted wares (the kiln was close to his tomb), a magnificent bronze bowl, a bronze belt and a set of spits (Yntema 2013, 77). Each settlement had a few elite families that headed the local clans, controlled vital resources and regulated exchanges with external parties. Men of high status presented themselves as warriors. The sword was their most distinguishing feature. High-ranking ladies displayed their status by wearing a wealth of ornaments made of bronze, amber and gold (e.g. Celestino Montanaro 2010).

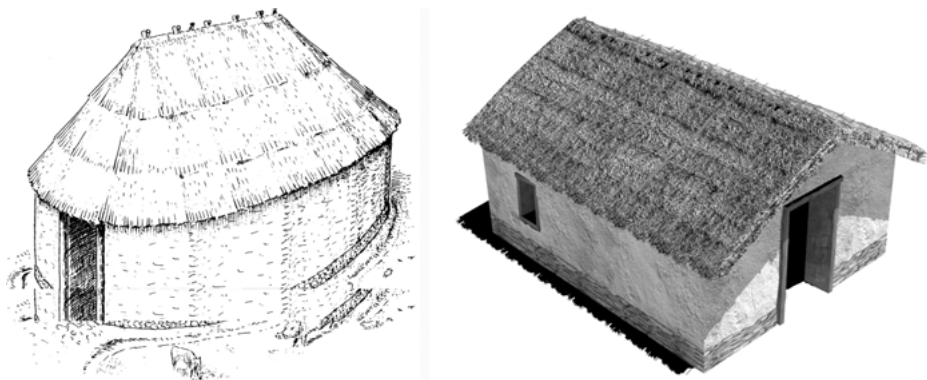


Fig. 4. (left) Valesio, south Apulia, reconstruction of early seventh century hut; (right) L'Amastuola, west-Apulia, rectangular house, seventh century.

In Iron Age Apulia craft was definitely *not* the domain of full-time specialists. The most common type of dwelling was the oval wattle-and-daub hut (Fig. 4). It was probably constructed by the family group. By the middle of the seventh century the rectangular one-room house made its appearance in a few coastal settlements (Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 70 ff.). This probably happened as a result of the presence of Greeks in the coastal strip on the Ionian Sea. This new type of building with a stone plinth, mud-brick walls and a thatched roof supported by wooden beams required no specialist skills either. Each settlement of some importance had its potter and its blacksmith. These were part-timers. The potters produced the characteristic handmade matte-painted pottery and the equally handmade south Italian variant of the dark-faced impasto wares. The often richly decorated matte-painted wares (with geometric ornaments) ousted the impasto pottery in the course of the seventh century: only large storage vessels continued to be produced in the impasto technique (Yntema 2013, 86 ff.). Whilst the matte-painted pottery was fairly uniform all over Apulia to within the eighth century, regional schools began to emerge from about 750 BC onward. The northernmost of these were the north Daunian “Tavoliere” school in the Tavoliere plain (well-known site Ordona) and the south Daunian “Ofanto” school in the northern part of the present-day Bari province (the most important site is Canosa). The coastal area of central Apulia was home to the Peucetian “Bari area” school, the southern Salento peninsula had its characteristic Messapian “Salento” pottery, while the western fringes of central Apulia produced the same “Bradano basin” matte-painted wares as the eastern fringes of adjoining Lucania (Yntema 1990, 144 ff.). The differences between these regional schools regard varieties in shapes and tempering, in decorative patterns, in the way the patterns are arranged on the pots and the use of either monochrome painting (dark brown) or bichromatic decoration (dark brown and reddish) (Fig. 5: jars c. 625/600 BC).

The most spectacular objects of the Apulian Iron Age are the anthropomorphic stelai that served as burial markers (predominantly seventh and sixth centuries).

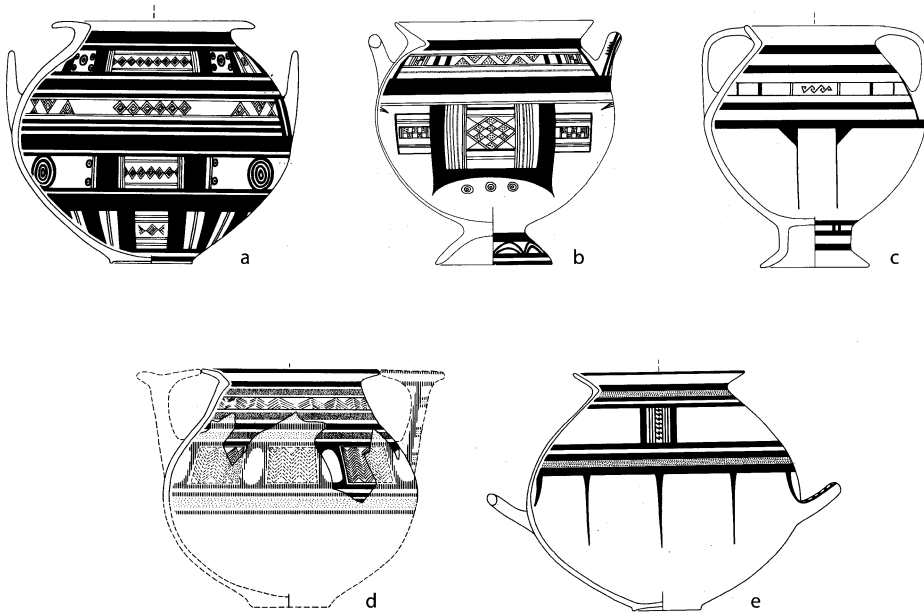


Fig. 5. Matte-painted jars of the late seventh century: a. “Daunian” Tavoliere district, north Apulia; b. “Daunian” Ofanto district, north/central Apulia; c. “Peucetian” Bari district, central Apulia; d. “Messapian” Salento district, south Apulia; e. Bradano district, western fringes of Apulia and adjoining parts of Basilicata.

These have been found in small quantities in south Apulia (D’Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008; Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 94). But hundreds of these limestone monuments have been collected from sites in north Apulia, especially from the sites of Siponto and Salapia (Nava 1980, Nava 2011). These so-called “Daunian” stelai (between c. 0.50 and 1.70 m tall) have incised decoration. Whereas all stelai display physical aspects (heads, necks, arms) and personal objects (necklaces, fibulae, swords and shields) of the deceased, quite a number of these have additional “scenic” decoration. These constitute a fascinating Iron Age picture book: chiefs riding chariots and hunting stags, warriors and fights, women working at looms, ships sailing the seas, etc. (Fig. 6). Similar monuments stem from the northern Adriatic, e.g. the stelai from Novilara (Marche region, Italy) and Nesactium in Istria (Fischer 1985).

Some scenes shown on these Daunian stelai depict religious activities (processions, people wearing masks or hoods). The traces of religion, however, are fairly faint in the Iron Age. Hardly any communal sacred places have been found (Yntema 2013, 85 ff.). Ritual acts to ward off evil or placate spirits were performed within the family group: at the south Apulian sites of Vaste and L’Amastuola small deposits have been unearthed consisting of pots containing food, deliberately smashed pottery and burned foodstuff suggesting ritual acts (cf. D’Andria 2012, 566 ff.; Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 74).

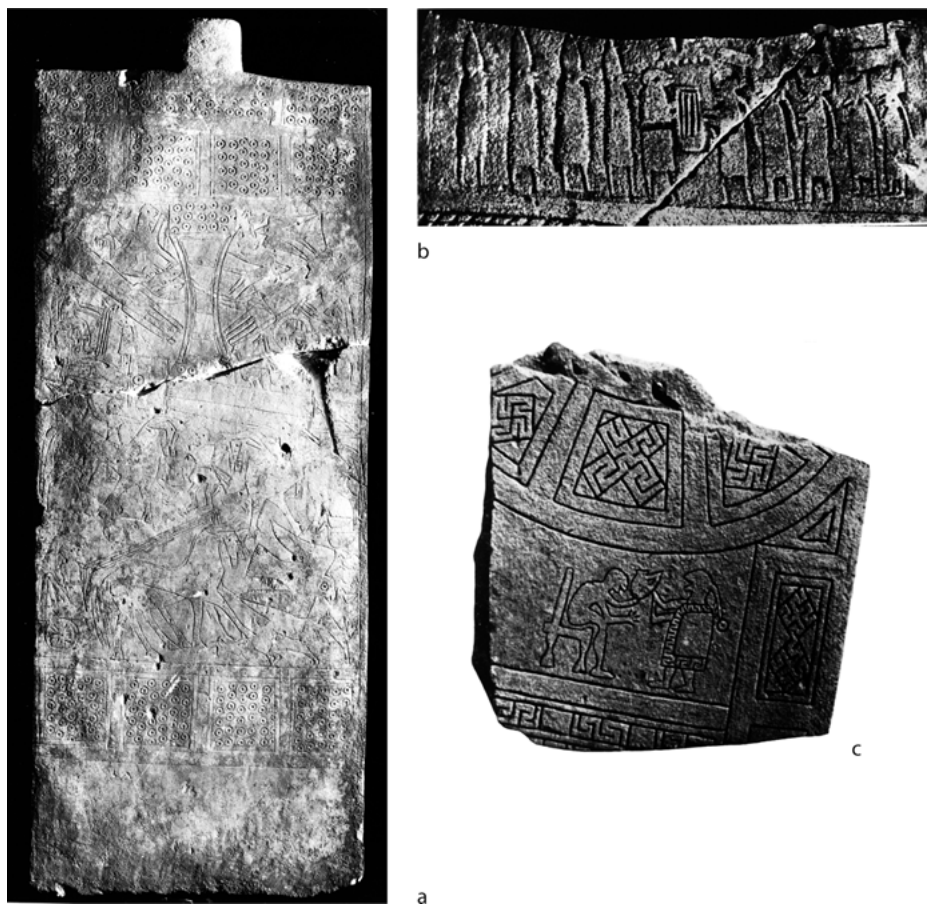


Fig. 6. Siponto, north Apulia: limestone stelai: a. stele Nava 1981, 620, front; (right): “scenic” decorations: b. procession with shamans (?), lyre-player and women, and c. woman offering a drink (*askos*) to a seated man (photos Ufficio Staccato Soprintendenza Foggia).

The exchanges with external partners supplied the Apulians with vital goods that were absent in their own districts. Metals from the eastern Hallstatt province (Slovenia) were among these. This suggests that the Iron Age groups of Apulia produced surpluses in order to permit of these exchanges. Although the bio-archaeological evidence is thin, the present data suggest that the Iron Age economies of Apulia were basically subsistence economies. People fed mainly on barley and wheat gruels, peas and beans cultivated within the settlement area (Burgers/Crielaard 2011, 93 ff.; Lentjes 2013, 9 ff.). Pigs supplied meat, sheep/goat wool, milk and cheese, and cattle were predominantly used for traction (Yntema 2013, 69 ff.).

The most important observation, however, is that north Apulia and south Apulia were part of two very different exchange networks. Whereas the “Daunians” of north Apulia maintained intense contacts with Italic groups on the central and northern

Adriatic and with the Iapodian tribes of Istria and Dalmatia, the south Apulian Salento peninsula was involved in networks that stretched from the Aegean to the shores of the Ionian Sea, eastern Sicily and ultimately to the Tyrrhenian coast. The societies of these two districts developed in different ways between the sixth and the third century BC because of the varying amount of contact each had with other places.

III The Archaic-Classical period (600/550–370/350 BC)

In north Apulia changes were slight during the Archaic-Classical period. The settlements – more populous than in the Iron Age – retained their dispersed character, chieftains continued to control the local clans and craft specialization was limited. The most significant change here was that the formerly frequent trans-Adriatic contacts seem to have lost much of their intensity: after c. 530/520 the Daunian Ofanto wares from Canosa are no longer found on the shores of the northern Adriatic. This change may be due to the penetration of Greek shipping into the *caput Adriae*. In the last third of the sixth century Greeks began to frequent the trade stations of Spina and Adria (close to the delta of the river Po) and the port of Nesactium in Istria. Their ships were faster and more maneuverable since these had more sophisticated rigging than the ships depicted on the stelai from Daunian Siponto or Novilara in Picenum. Canosa retained some of its former importance. It continued to be the dominant settlement in the district on the river Ofanto. The same role may have been performed in the more northerly Tavoliere plain by the large settlement of Arpi. Since the material culture of north Apulia of the later sixth and fifth centuries shows hardly any traces of external influence and since objects imported from other districts are rare, north Apulia displays a kind of “cultural parochialism” that may be the result of a drastically reduced intensity of external contacts.

In central and south Apulia, however, the sixth century was a time of drastic change. These were related to a new phenomenon that manifested itself at the periphery of these districts from the later seventh century onward: urban communities of which the inhabitants had partly Illyrian or Italic roots, partly descended from Greek migrants, but which proclaimed a patently Hellenic identity. These were the *apoikíai* on the Ionian Sea (e.g. Kerkyra, Epidamnus, Taras, Metapontion) that – by about the early sixth century – had grown into territorial farmer-states. These towns spoke Greek dialects, believed they had a Hellenic past, had Greek forms of socio-political organization and a material culture that was predominantly rooted in Aegean traditions. Since the native tribes of central and south Apulia maintained intense contacts with these new states, and with the numerous Greek traders from Aegean areas as well, the frequent contacts between these tribes and the Hellenic world resulted in drastic changes.

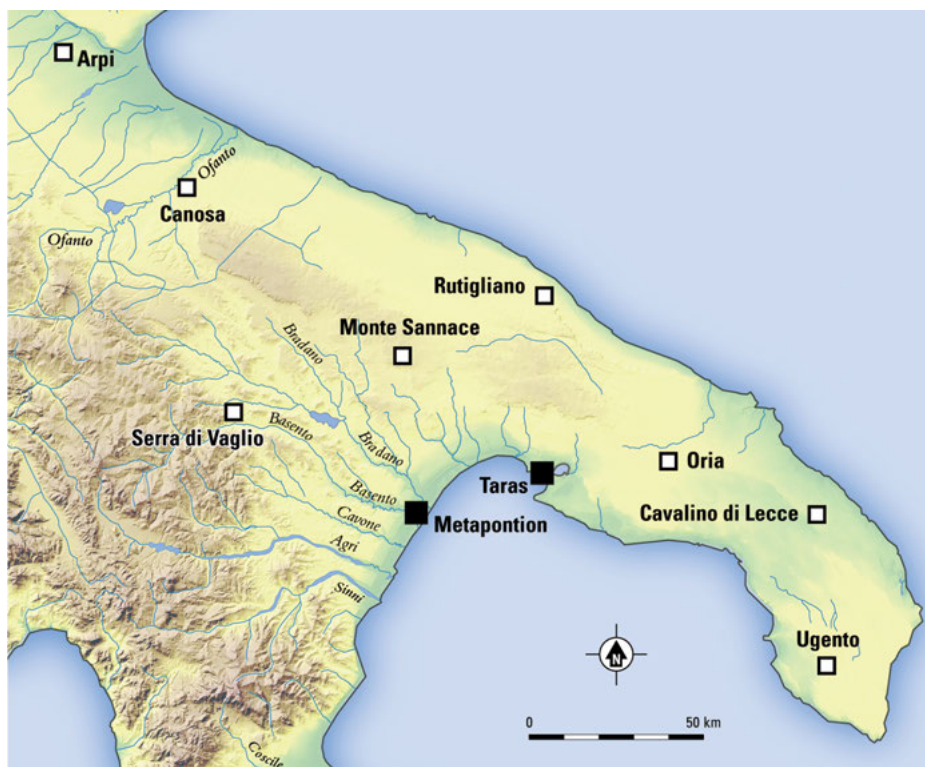


Fig. 7. Apulia. Settlements of major importance (tribal capitals?).

These innovations are illustrated by the site of Cavallino di Lecce in south Apulia. This site is only partly built over by the modern settlement of that name. It has been intensely investigated by teams from Lecce University since the 1970s (e.g. D'Andria 1977 and 2005). Originating in the eighth century as a new settlement, it developed into the dominant tribal centre in the central part of the Salento district during the Archaic period. By the sixth century a clear settlement hierarchy can be observed with few major centres dominating the remaining settlements. The Salento district had three or four of these major tribal centres (Oria, Cavallino, Ugento, perhaps Ceglie Messapica), whereas in central Apulia Monte Sannace, Rutigliano and Ceglie del Campo may have held a comparable high status (Fig. 7). Cavallino was surrounded by impressive fortifications. Its town wall was c. 6 m high, 5 m thick and 3.1 km long enclosing an area of 67 hectares. The area within the walls contained rectangular, tile-covered houses with stone plinths, mud-brick or stone walls and roofs covered with tiles (Fig. 8). These houses consisted of several rooms and a courtyard (D'Andria 2005). All of a sudden, it seems, the dispersed village of the Iron Age was replaced by an urban community. This, however, was not the case. At closer inspection Archaic Cavallino appears to have retained several traditional features. It had a central open area, a watering hole (*lacus*), and groups of houses alternating



a



b

Fig. 8. Cavallino di Lecce, south Apulia. Artist's impression of town wall and part of the settlement (courtesy Lecce University).

with “open” areas. In fact, nuclei of Archaic houses had replaced clusters of Iron Age huts. The spatial organization of the settlement, therefore, continued to reflect a tribal society in which family groups inhabited the various habitation nuclei. The impressive fortifications (obviously a communal effort) symbolize both the now much closer cooperation between the local clans and the newly won status of their settlement. The open areas within the wall contained animal pens (D’Andria 2005, 39), and probably vegetable gardens and cornfields as well.

Cavallino was not the only walled settlement of the sixth century BC in Apulia. Oria on the Salento isthmus, being of comparable high status, was surrounded by fortifications at about the same time (Yntema 1993, 169). The same holds for the remaining major tribal centres mentioned in the preceding paragraph. But smaller settlements of probably lesser status (10–15 hectares) could be fortified as well. Their walls were often partly or completely demolished when these settlements expanded in the fourth century (Burgers/Yntema 1999, 120). It is especially in those settlements, which were abandoned in the course of the Archaic-Classical period, that these walls are relatively well preserved, e.g. at the sites of Fani (Descœudres/Robinson 1993) and San Vito-Castello d’Alceste (Semeraro 2009).

These tribal societies of the sixth and fifth centuries were more hierarchically structured and better organized than those of the Iron Age and probably consisted of larger tribal entities. Ancient written sources (e.g. Thuc. 7.33) report the presence of *basileis* or *dynastai* in central and south Apulia who may have been chieftains of regional importance residing in the major centres. Herodotus (7.170) records a disastrous defeat suffered by the Tarantines at the hands of the Messapians. This event is indicative of the existence of relatively large tribal units with a fairly high level of organization. In many settlements the local warrior elites of the Iron Age evolved into local aristocracies which – although martial qualities continued to be stressed – adopted features of elite behaviour of Greek type. In their tombs objects pertaining to sympotastic activities soon made their appearance: Attic Black and Red-Figured kraters, basins, *oinochoai*, etc. These were followed by objects referring to the palaestra (*strigiles*, *alabastra*) (cf. Tarditti 1996; De Juliis 2006). In their tombs these native aristocrats resembled their peers in the Greek *poleis* on the Ionian Sea who used the same type of objects in order to express their elite status and display their *paideia* (Yntema 2013, 130 ff.). The burials dating to the period under discussion are not really numerous. This suggests that formal burials were reserved for only a limited part of the population in central and south Apulia. This may not have been the case in the less hierarchically structured Daunian societies in north Apulia, since the quantity of tombs (also moderately rich tombs) seem much larger here (cf. Iker 1984).

In the Archaic period the first clearly readable signs of communal religious activity can be observed in south Apulia (there is hardly any information on this subject for central and north Apulia). Religious acts were often performed in caves. A good example of this type of sacred place is the Monte Papaluccio sanctuary near the tribal centre of Oria, in the Salento isthmus (Mastronuzzi 2013). Here cult practices took place to honour one or more vegetation goddesses who resembled Demeter and Per-



Fig. 9. Ugento, south-Apulia. Bronze statue of god. Height 0.74 m, late sixth century BC (photo Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Taranto).

sephone. This was done by offering artifacts, corn, fruit and piglets (Ciaraldi 1997). In addition to these cave sanctuaries sacred enclosures were constructed (Cavallino, Ugento). The Ugento sanctuary contained a statue of the god Zis placed on top of a column (D’Andria/Dell’Aglia 2002) (Fig. 9). In all sanctuaries votive offerings



Fig. 10. Wheelmade ceramics with Greek-style decorations, from central Apulia, fifth century BC (photos Bari Museum).

were donated to the gods after the Greek fashion. These were stored in large votive pits. In these sanctuaries the local or regional tribal cohesion was stressed.

Whereas craft in the somewhat isolated north Apulia continued to be exerted in traditional Iron Age ways, craft in the districts with intensive contacts with the Greek world changed decisively. This happened around the middle of the sixth century in south Apulia: central Apulia followed some 25 years later. The best example of this change is the potter's craft. In both districts the richly decorated matte-painted wares (handmade) vanished almost completely. They were replaced by ceramics decorated with horizontal bands to which vegetal ornaments and creatures could be added (Fig. 10). These patterns were borrowed from pots produced in Athens, Taras or Metapontion (Attic Black- and Red-Figured, Apulian and Lucanian Red-Figured). These so-called "Banded wares" (Italian: *ceramiche a fasce*) were produced on the potter's wheel, had a limited set of forms and a standardized, somewhat lustrous decoration applied with a ferroid slip. Equally new was the appearance of the first coarse cooking wares (initially mainly in elite contexts, possibly imported; see Semeraro 2009; Notarstefano 2012, 51ff.): stew pots to make rich broths. These new ceramics were produced in small workshops (three to four people) having a strict labour-division. The enormous variety of metal objects (fibulae, farming implements, metal vessels, weapons, body armour), the terracotta and limestone mouldings (D'Andria 1977), terracotta roof tiles, limestone columns and the perfectly square foundation blocks of the houses (D'Andria 2005) all suggest that the number of specialists in craft increased considerably during the Archaic-Classical period.

The matte-painted pottery tradition died hard. It continued to live on in the funerary sphere. In most parts of Apulia the survivors were hybrids with traditional shapes (but now wheel-made) and Grecian decoration. The native "olletta-kantharos" of the Peucetian Bari area survived into the fourth century and was – to serve a non-Greek clientele – even produced in Attic and Apulian Red-Figured (Rob-



Fig. 11. Canosa, central/north Apulia. Handmade askos (traditional shape) with vegetal decoration, late fourth century (photo courtesy Bari Museum).

inson 1990a). In the Ofanto district around Canosa handmade, matte-painted wares (but with vegetal ornaments) were even produced to well within the third century (Fig. 11).

The information on the local economies of Apulia is extremely scant for the Archaic-Classical period. The numerous imports (metals, Greek armour and bronze vessels, Greek Black and Red-Figured wares) are indicative of a larger surplus production than in the preceding Iron Age. The few bone samples indicate that stock raising strategies were not really different from those of the Iron Age.

IV The Early Hellenistic Age (c. 370/350–230/200 BC)

The sudden and drastic innovations that characterize the later sixth to early fifth centuries lost their momentum in the later fifth to early fourth centuries. Shortly after the middle of the fourth century, however, a new set of drastic changes can be observed for which the ground must have been prepared in preceding decades. Again, these are particularly evident in central and south Apulia. During the late fourth century and a considerable part of the third century north Apulia continued to stick to its traditional ways of life and dimly reflects the profound transformations that changed the lives and landscapes of its southern neighbours of the “Peucetian” and “Messapian” districts.

The most astonishing change was the enormous increase in manmade landscapes, both urban and rural (Yntema 2013, 174 ff.). This process started around 340/330 and was completed by the early years of the third century. In central and south Apulia, many settlements expanded exponentially. The tribal centres continued to dominate their districts and grew in size. Population figures also increased substantially in the formerly smaller settlements of secondary importance. New nuclei of houses were constructed here at 200 to 300 m from the “old” settlement area. These settlement clusters were all enclosed by impressive fortifications. The town walls were between 2.5 and 4 km long, c. 5 m wide and c. 5–6 m tall, enclosing settlement areas of c. 25 to 140 hectares (D’Andria 1991, 445 ff.). They were impressive landmarks that transmitted the pride and prosperity of the various local communities. However, each cluster of dwellings within the walls did not contain the houses of a local family group (as in the preceding period). The elite families within the settlement had their dwellings and their burial grounds in the central area (also inhabited during the Archaic-Classical period). But the tribal farmers and artisans of the local clans lived in new habitation nuclei close to the new walls. Whereas the Salento peninsula had only three of four walled settlements with a few thousand inhabitants in Archaic-Classical times (the tribal centres), the district had at least 22 fortified settlements with a population of approximately 3,000 to 4,000 individuals each in the late fourth and third centuries BC (Fig. 12) and three or four even more populous tribal centres with defenses. Similar changes seem to have affected central Apulia (this has not been intensely researched), but fortifications in stone were absent at the dispersed settlements of north Apulia. Both a list of “able-bodied men” in Polybius (2.24) and population figures extrapolated from intensive field surveys suggest that tribal Apulia sustained a population of approximately 250,000–300,000 individuals in the third century BC (Yntema 2008). Never before had so many people lived in the region that is now called Puglia.

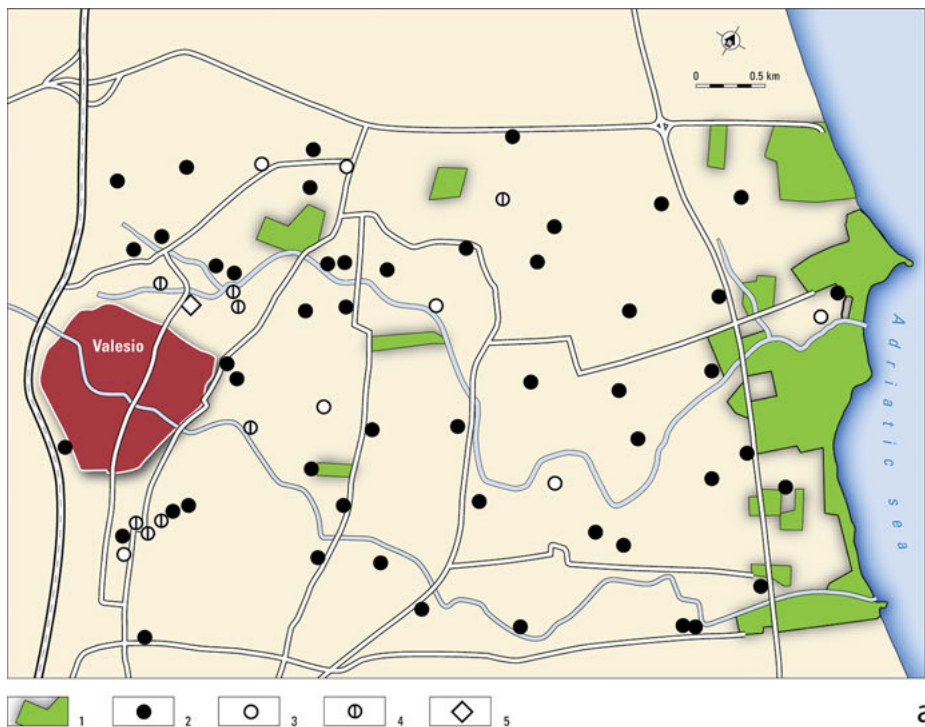
The creation of numerous “proto-urban” townscapes in central and south Apulia went hand in hand with the creation of manmade rural areas. Large patches of wild nature in the areas surrounding the newly walled settlements were transformed into



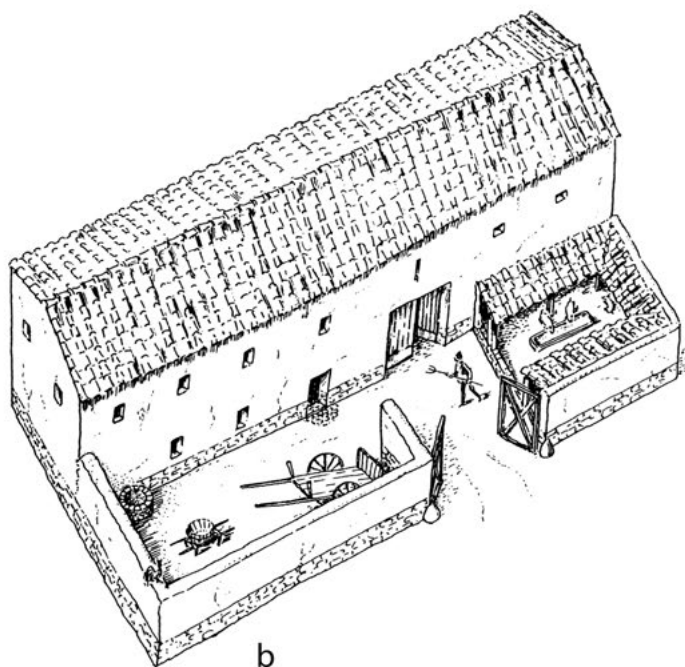
Fig. 12. Muro Tenente, south Apulia. Settlement (50 ha) with “old” centre, new peripheral quarters and new fortifications. Artist’s impression based on excavations, urban field survey and auguring (archive VU University Amsterdam).

cultivated fields (Yntema 1993, 182; Burgers 1998, 254 ff.). This new, rural landscape was completed by the construction of numerous hamlets of three to five farmsteads each and hundreds of “isolated” farmsteads. The farms were one-family units (Fig. 13). The rural areas produced food for the now more populous towns of Apulia, but began to cater for a much larger clientele as well. Their most important products were wine, corn and olive oil which were often processed at the farmsteads (attested by the presence of olive presses). Both olive oil and wine were packed for overseas transport in the characteristically south Italian “Graeco-Italic” amphorae (Vandermersch 1994). These made their appearance in the fourth century BC, contemporary to the reclamation of natural environments and the construction of the rural farmsteads. And, whereas more or less urban forms of settlement were initially still absent in north Apulia (here urbanization set in around the mid to later third century), the creation of manmade agricultural landscapes here is also dated to the Early Hellenistic period (Goffredo 2010). By about 290/270 BC large patches of formerly natural environments of Apulia had been transformed into highly productive, manmade landscapes.

The creation of these new urban and rural landscapes was an incredible achievement. New habitation quarters were constructed, the settlements were surrounded by impressive walls and many trees in the Apulian forests were felled in order to make room for agricultural plots. This all happened within about 50–70 years (between c.



a



b

Fig. 13. Farmsteads in south Apulia: (above) new rural sites of the late fourth and third century BC around Valesio; (below) artist's impression of the farmstead of Vaste-Lucernara, third century BC.

340/330 and 280/270 BC). Whereas the distance between the various foci of human activity was currently between 10 and 20 km in the Archaic-Classical period, the distance between the various settlements (farms, hamlets, towns) was rarely more than 500 m by c. 300 BC. Although forests and other natural environments survived in some areas (red deer is relatively well represented in the bone samples of the period under discussion), large stretches of Apulia were reclaimed for agricultural purposes. By the later fourth century, therefore, the Apulian societies must have been fairly populous, very prosperous and highly organized in order to complete so many large and energy-consuming projects within such a short time.

The drastic changes in the rural economy of the Apulian tribes are comparable to what had happened in the same sphere in the neighbouring Greek states. Here similar changes occurred in the sixth and fifth centuries when new areas were reclaimed for agriculture, rural farmsteads were built at, for instance, Metapontion (Carter/Prieto 2011), and when a new regional type of container vessel (“Corinthian B” amphora) was created for the long-distance transport of agricultural products (cf. Sourisseau 2011). The substantial changes in agricultural strategies in Apulia in the fourth century were inspired by the strategies developed in Greek states around the Ionian Sea during the later sixth and fifth centuries.

The members of the various local aristocracies of Apulia may well have been the organizers of the large projects that changed the landscapes. In the very centre of the site of Vaste (Salento) a square surrounded by houses and a 750 m² large L-shaped building have been excavated. The L-shaped building displays traces of ritual and feasting (D’Andria 1996, 429 ff.). It may well have been a meeting place of the leaders of the local clans (Fig. 14). These elite families could muster the work force among their clansmen to construct the defenses, reclaim woodlands for agricultural purposes and build new farmhouses, both inside the walls of the settlement and in the countryside. How all this was achieved (evidently without unsettling the local economies) is still open to question. These efforts must have required an enormous input of time and manpower. But Apulia was more prosperous than ever in the late fourth century.

The general prosperity is demonstrated by the sanctuaries and the burials of the phase under discussion. The former were lavishly supplied with votive offerings. The graves of the Early Hellenistic period were far more numerous than in the preceding Archaic-Classical period, especially in central and south Apulia. This suggests that more people received a formal burial now and/or that the population had increased considerably. Both options have a good claim to the truth. The burials of important chieftains continued to contain panoplies, the accoutrements of the symposium, signs of *paideia* and a host of pottery. The leading families of Apulia were buried in sumptuous chamber tombs having two or more rooms with painted walls (Lambolley 1982; Fig. 15). What is completely new in the funerary sphere, however, is the presence of a very large quantity of burials that are moderately rich. Since a very large percentage of the tribal communities of Apulia consisted of farmers, these are the most obvious candidates for being the “occupants” of these numerous



Fig. 14. Vaste, south Apulia. Square surrounded by substantial houses and L-shaped building (750 m²) probably used for ritual dining of the local elite of Vaste (adapted from D'Andria 1996).

tombs. Such tombs, moreover, do not only appear near the clusters of houses of the now walled towns: they are also found in close proximity to the isolated farmsteads and the hamlets in the countryside inhabited by farmers. These moderately rich burials contain a ceramic krater (or another vessel for mixing wine), one or more drinking cups (mostly skyphoi or kantharoi) and a few other objects. The krater that was previously the prerogative of the local elites, became a standard element in the tombs of the tribal farmers. In this case the funerary sphere reflects the world of the living: in the late fourth century a substantial portion of the tribal societies of Apulia had access to small luxuries such as decorated pottery, wine and well-prepared food. In the houses and farms excavated hitherto the wine cup (skyphos) appears to be the most common shape among the black-gloss table wares, whilst the sudden abundance of casseroles and stew pots suggest that by the late fourth century many people prepared their meals by baking and simmering food (e.g. Yntema 2013, 215 ff.).

The human bones from Early Hellenistic times confirm that the people deposited in relatively modest graves were well-fed. Although it must be admitted that the data on this subject are still scant, the information available at present suggests that their diet consisted predominantly of vegetables, whereas milk/cheese supplied proteins.



Fig. 15. Gnathia, central/south Apulia. Hypogaeum of the Pomegrenades, third century BC (photo courtesy Soprintendenza alle Antichità. Taranto).

Frequent consumption of meat was probably the prerogative of the local aristocrats. A few of these reached a venerable age, but the lives of most Apulians were considerably shorter. Those who survived infancy, had an average life expectancy of approximately 30 to 40 years (Yntema 2013, 198).

In the Early Hellenistic Age complexity in craft increased considerably. For the construction of the numerous new houses and farmsteads, stone masons, carpenters and tile makers were required. The smith producing armour, weaponry and bronze vessels may well have been a different person from the smith who produced the iron hoes, ards and coulter for agricultural purposes. The potters working in small workshops produced various types of pottery, serving a wide variety of purposes: large undecorated container vessels for the storage and transport of agricultural products, black gloss pottery serving as table wares and grave goods, *hydriae* and mortars in banded and plain wares to serve in the kitchen, and braziers, stew pots and casseroles for the preparation of food. The same potters shaped the terracotta

statuettes that were deposited in the sanctuaries and graves. In north Apulian Canosa the matte-painted pottery tradition persisted to well into the third century, exclusively for funerary purposes (Fig. 11). But alongside this Iron Age ceramic tradition, sophisticated Apulian Red-Figured wares were also produced here (Robinson 1990b).

Together with the landscapes the regional economies changed enormously. Whereas the Apulian societies of the Iron Age had an economy that was primarily based on subsistence with limited surpluses in order to acquire vital goods and whereas the Archaic-Classical period is likely to have witnessed a considerable increase in surplus production, producing foodstuff for overseas markets became an important aspect of the regional economies in the Early Hellenistic Age. This is particularly evident in the agrarian production. Stock raising began to focus on the production of wool and pork, but it was only in the second century BC that specialization became truly marked in this field (Veenman 2002).

V The Early Roman Period (230/200 – first century BC)

Apulia came into contact with the Roman world in the late fourth century. The north Apulian tribes (the *Apuli* in the Roman written sources) became in some way involved in the Second Samnite War. In 318 the settlements of Canosa (Canusium) and Tiati (Tea-num Apulum) concluded a treaty with Rome (Livy 9.20). At the fringes of north Apulia Rome founded the colony of Luceria (314), soon followed by Venusia (291). The Pyrrhic War (281–272) brought Taras and the south Apulian tribes into conflict with Rome. After the conquest of Taras in 272, the Roman armies started to “pacify” the tribal allies of the Greek colony. By 267/266 the Apulian tribes were all closely linked with Rome, either by force or by more subtle means. It was in 246/244 that the (Latin) colony of Brundisium was officially established at or near the “Messapian” town of Brindisi in south Apulia (but see Gabba 1958), followed by Sipontum (north Apulia) in 192 and Tarentum (formerly Taras) in 122.

During most of the third century the changes were slight in Apulia. The dispersed north Apulian settlements began to nucleate into settlements of increasingly urban character (Marchi 2009). Canosa continued to be the most important town here. But other dispersed “Daunian” settlements gradually changed into modest Roman towns between the later third and the first century BC (see Fig. 2). To date the best-documented of these is Herdonia (e.g. Mertens 1988 and 1995). Nothing changed among the numerous farmsteads and hamlets of the region and the walled settlements of its central and southern districts. These continued to carry out their activities in the same way as before the tribes were bound to Rome. Rome was far away and did not meddle with Apulian affairs as long as the tribes met their obligations. The now invariably pro-Roman tribal elites, protected by their powerful Roman friends, were responsible for peace and quiet within their units. It was only in the last

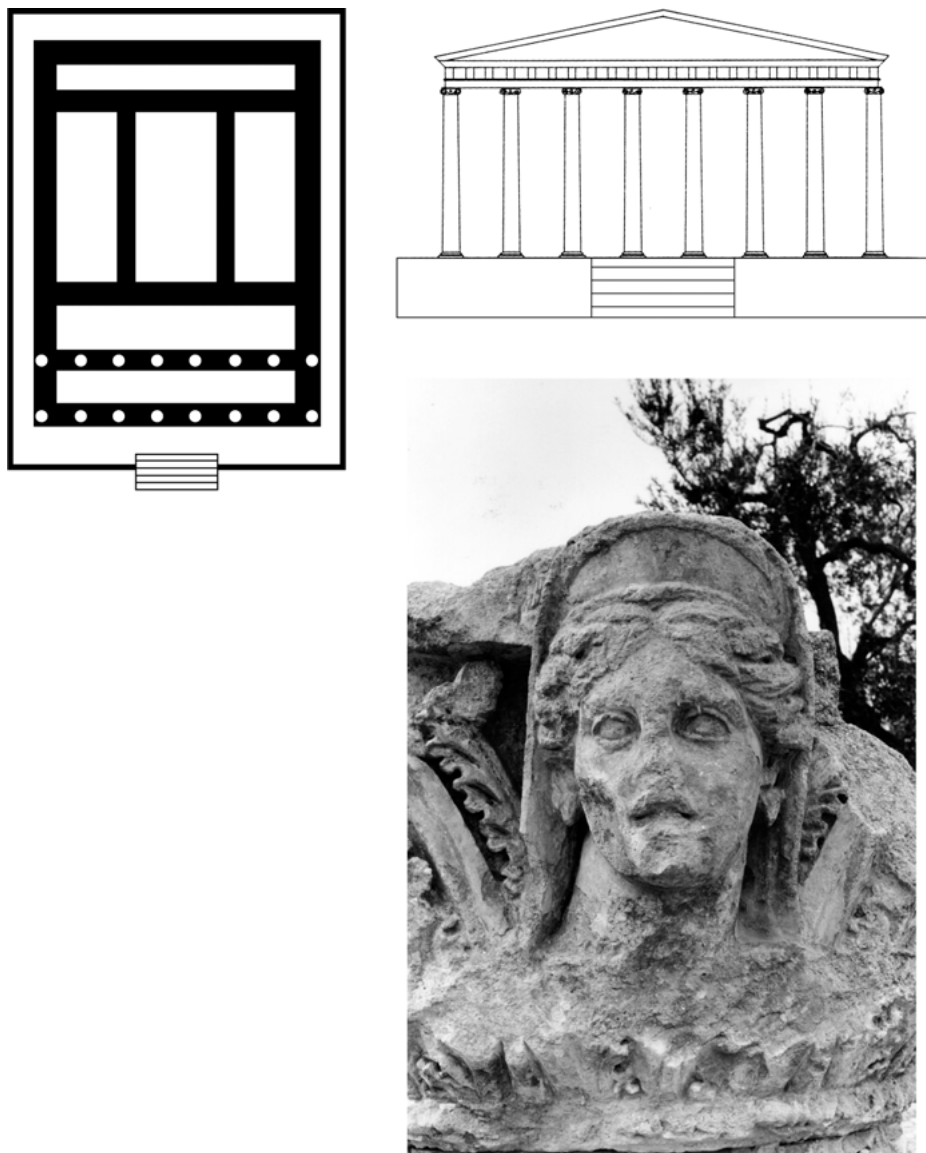


Fig. 17. Canosa, north Apulia: (left) groundplan of the large temple underneath the S. Leucio church (adapted from Dally 2000); (right) richly decorated capital of the same temple, second century BC (photo VU University Amsterdam).

modest *municipia* in Roman times (*Caelia* and *Azetium*). The often extra-mural tribal sanctuaries were abandoned. Public rituals were now performed in the very hearts of the new urban centres. Splendid temples of Italic type were constructed at the boom-towns of Canusium and Brundisium (Fig. 17), whilst more modest shrines were erect-

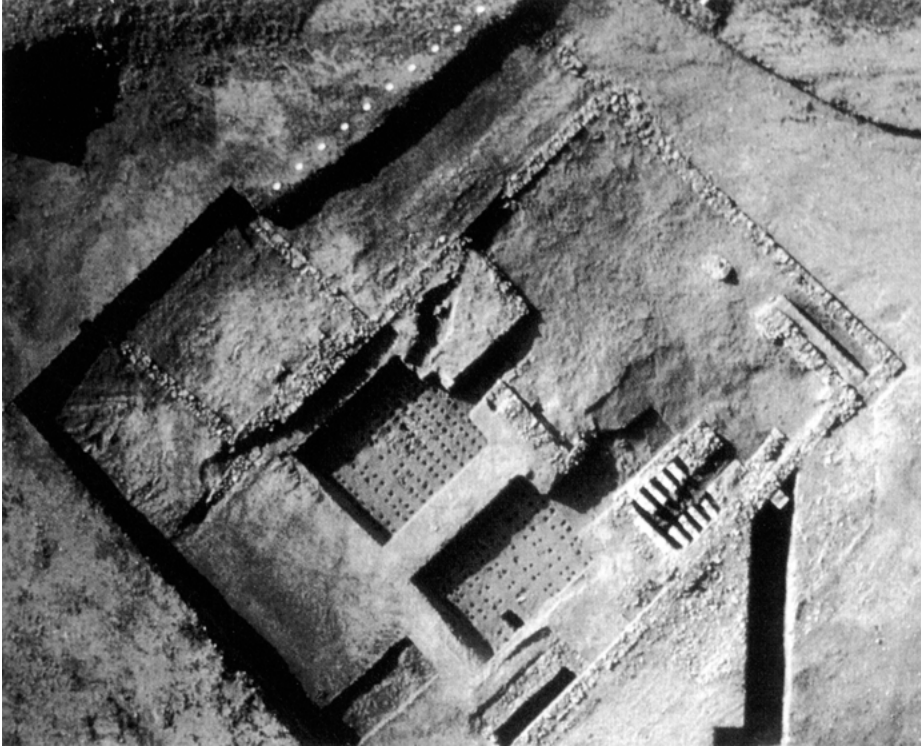


Fig. 18. Ápani, south Apulia. Large kilns producing Apulian amphorae (first century BC) (photo archive VU University Amsterdam).

ed in smaller urban centres such as Gnathia and Herdonia (Mertens 1988 and 1995; Dally 2000; Yntema 2013, 255 ff.).

A second set of changes can be observed in the organization of craft. The pottery production is comparatively well-studied and may be indicative of what happened in other sectors of craft. Whereas each settlement of some importance had its own pottery workshops before the late third century (Apulia must have had dozens of these), pottery production concentrated in the surviving, more populous centres in the first half of the second century BC. In addition to this “urban” pottery production, ceramics were now also produced in non-urban settings. The most impressive of these are the large kiln sites of Ápani and Giancòla, slightly north of Brindisi (Fig. 18). These produced enormous quantities of the “Apulian” amphorae from c. 160 BC onward (e.g. Palazzo/Silvestrini 2001). But smaller amphora producing units could be found as well in the coastal areas of Apulia (Déry 1989).

The third series of drastic changes regards the rural sector. Many farmsteads were abandoned. This did not mean that the countryside was actually deserted: a considerable part of the farmsteads (perhaps some 40%–50%) survived and evolved into much larger farms. These were probably comparable to the large

casa-farmstead described by the elder Cato (*De Agri Cultura* 10.1). Whereas the third century farms of Apulia were one-family units, the new farmsteads that made their appearance in the first half of the second century, housed some 25 to 30 individuals.

Changes resulting in increased specialization went hand in hand with both urbanization and rural change. This fourth set of changes can be observed in both craft (see above) and in new strategies in agriculture and stock raising. The second-century bone samples of various Apulian sites indicate that each of these specialized in a particular species (Yntema 2013, 265 ff.). Whereas south Apulia specialized in pigs (pork for the Roman armies and the eastern Mediterranean), central Apulia specialized in sheep/goats (Veenman 2002). The wool of Tarentum and Canusium (i.e. the hilly Murge area between these two towns) had a wide renown (Morel 1978; Grelle/Silvestrini 2001). The large-scale amphora production, moreover, suggests specialization in agricultural products (olive oil, wine) for far-away markets in central and south Apulia, whilst north Apulia became a granary of considerable importance.

These data suggest very radical changes indeed. When the tribal sanctuaries are abandoned, tribal cohesion no longer matters. Tribal societies with their proto-towns changed into urban societies. Since many walled settlements were abandoned, many farmers living in these towns left their homes, their lands and the graves of their ancestors. When approximately 50% of the farmsteads were abandoned and the remaining farmsteads were replaced by much larger agricultural units, it was again the formerly prosperous farmers who suffered. The changes discussed above point at (1) detribalization and urbanization (urban societies replaced tribal entities), (2) much larger social differences with peasantization or migration of the farmers, (3) rationalization in craft, agriculture and stock raising and Mediterraneanization of the regional economies: Apulia entered upon the large-scale production of corn, wine, olive oil, wool and pork for distant markets. This impoverished the group of the tribal farmers (smallholders), but brought great profit to the formerly tribal aristocrats who owned large plots of land.

The ancient written sources, though scarce, seem to support this picture. Profound social discontent is reflected by Livy mentioning “herdsmen’s conspiracies” and “slave revolts” (probably peasant revolts) for the years 186–181 (Yntema 2006, 98). These got so out of hand that it took six years and the help of three Roman (pro-)praetors to smother these uprisings. Evidently the elite had totally lost its grip on their restive clansmen. The wealthy Apulians of the late third and earlier second century are mentioned in Greek proxeny inscriptions and in the works of Greek and Roman authors. They maintained close contacts with both Greek states and influential Roman senators (Yntema 2006, 98 ff.).

Both elites and commoners made their choices and played their role in various Roman contexts. Many Apulian farmers may have migrated to the new Roman colonies in the far north (e.g. Placentia, Parma, Aquileia; see Verzar Bass 1983). Moreover, the Roman demands for troops played a significant role in placing their Apulian allies in contact with all things Roman. This observation holds true for the common

soldiers of the auxiliaries. But the regional, formerly tribal elites feature in both Greek and Roman contexts (Yntema 2009; Colivicchi 2011). Bouzos from Canosa was granted a proxeny by the sanctuary of Delos around 230. Busa (his daughter?) hosted a substantial group of survivors after the disastrous battle of Cannae (216) and was greatly honoured by the senate in Rome (Livy 22.52). Dasius from Brindisi was the commander of a Roman stronghold in the Po Valley when Hannibal crossed the Alps (Livy 21.48). Quintus Statorius from the powerful south Apulian clan of the Thaotoridas (name derived from the Messapian god Thaotor, Latinized “Stator”) was one of the most trusted lieutenants of the Scipio brothers in Spain: in 213 he was sent to king Syphax of Numidia in order to train Numidian infantry (Livy 24.48). His relative Gaius Statorius was a man of such high stature that he was granted a proxeny by the sanctuary of Delphi in 191. He may have belonged to the staff of the consul Acilius Glabrio who – much to the satisfaction of the Delphic amphictyony – destroyed the invading army of Antiochus III of Syria in that same year at Thermopylae. Rammius/Rennius (Livy 42.17) was an important man of Brindisi with a local pedigree: he feasted with Roman senators and Greek princes. The “Roman” poet Ennius from south Apulian Rudiae was intimately acquainted with various consular families. His patron was Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, cos. 189. Both high-ranking Apulians and Roman senators were active in elite networks that encompassed other regional elites of Italy as well.

At first sight the Roman influence on Apulia seems rather limited. But, with regard to some aspects of culture, Apulia influenced Rome. The first Roman poet was Livius Andronicus from Taras. We have already met Ennius, the father of Latin literature, from south Apulian Rudiae. The son of Ennius’ sister, Marcus Pacuvius of Brindisi, was the most important Roman painter and playwright of the second century BC. Whereas Roman culture had only little impact on the Apulians, the Roman political and military domination had enormous consequences. The asymmetrical power relationship between Rome and her Apulian allies was decisive in turning Apulians into Romans. The regional elites, though close friends with Roman senators, had to comply with Roman wishes and Roman demands. Rome, for instance, could found colonies (Roman control over Apulian soil). The colonists lived under Roman laws, spoke Latin and had a Roman form of public administration. As we have seen above, Rome could demand troops (Roman control over Apulian labour force). Apulians fought Roman wars and shared Roman victories. During their service in Roman armies they were confronted with Latin language, Roman attitudes, Roman views, Roman norms and Roman values.

For the later second and first centuries the archaeological data and the information supplied by literary sources are extremely scant (cf. Lomas 1993). It is, therefore, not possible to sketch the outlines of the most intense phase of becoming Roman in Apulia. In 89 BC the *lex Plautia Papiria* made all free Apulians into Roman citizens. The subsequent municipalization (when Roman forms of public administration were introduced) must have been a decisive period in the Romanization process of Apulia. It is, however, clear that by that time the population of Apulia had changed enor-

mously, especially in the central and southern part of the region. Of course, the Roman/Latin migrants in the colonies were part of that population. Of the formerly tribal farmers some stayed and were reduced to peasants, tenants or farmhands. A substantial group of these seem to have migrated to the north. Tribal craftsmen migrated to booming Brundisium, Aquileia or Rome. The regional elites may even have stimulated emigration in the troublesome 180s and asked their powerful Roman friends to include their former clansmen in colonies (the son of Ennius' patron, Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, for instance, was involved in the foundation of colonies in the 180s). It is clear that Brundisium was attractive to merchants and businessmen from all over the Mediterranean. The stamps on the Apulian amphorae make it patently clear that by the mid to later second century much work was done by imported slaves from Greek-speaking areas. Potters' names such as Cerdus (Greek for "gain"), Dulus (Greek for "slave") are telling. The same may hold true for the hard labour at the large "Catonian" farms. The elites may have stayed in the area: the "Daunian" Dasumii of Canosa, for instance, still feature in Roman honorary inscriptions of the town and in a bronze tablet recording the *ordo decurionum* of Canusium in AD 223 (Chelotti et al. 1992, 780). But many inhabitants of the Augustan *Regio II Apulia et Calabria* had their roots outside the region in which they lived, and many former Apulian tribesmen were the pillars of Roman societies in districts that were hundreds of kilometers from the lands of their ancestors.

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John W. Wonder

The Lucanians

While chronicling events in southern Italy, ancient Greek and Roman writers record a people called the Lucanians. Strabo (*Geog.* 6.1.1 and 6.1.4) describes their land, Lucania, as an area approximating modern Basilicata, northern Calabria and Campania south of the Sele River. Generally, most ancient references to Lucanians involve events of the fourth and third century BC, a time that coincides with the apogee of material culture in ancient Lucania. This period witnessed an increase in settlements, gravesites and fortifications, many with well-constructed walls, towers and gates. In certain locations, elements of a civic structure emerged including magistrates and deliberative assemblies. Large rural sanctuaries and smaller sacred areas also developed in ancient Lucania, many of these sharing a similar design and structure.

I Origins and ethnicity

By the late Republic and early Empire, authors often distinguished Lucanians in their narratives from other Italic people by means of their territory (Lucania) and common origins (Wonder 2014; Isayev 2007, 11–26 and 2010; Musti 2005, 261–284; Horsnaes 2002, 119–129). Pliny (*HN* 3.71) and Strabo (*Geog.* 6.1.2–3) both describe Lucanians as a people of Samnite origin who migrated south displacing populations in Lucania. Modern scholars debate when such a migration occurred, and dates range from the eighth to end of the fifth century BC. A movement of people from central Italy into Lucania was probably gradual. Longo (Cipriani, et al. 1996, 20–21) suggests indigenous people in Lucania experienced a complex transformation over time partly resulting from migrations of peoples from Samnium and partly from sustained contacts with Greeks and other Italic peoples.

Strabo (*Geog.* 6.1.2) proposes Greeks and Romans also identified Lucanians by their language, war-equipment, dress and political organization. Inscriptions have been found in Lucania, primarily dating from the fourth through the second century. The language is classified as South Oscan and is usually written in the Tarentine-Ionic alphabet, although some later Oscan inscriptions use the Roman alphabet (Del Tutto Palma 1990; Lejeune 1990). Oscan was also the language of the Samnites but is classed as a separate dialect. Strabo does not note which war-equipment or features of dress characterized Lucanians, but two possible examples are the triple-disc breastplate and the wide “Samnite belt,” the latter conceivably symbolizing

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John W. Wonder: San Francisco State University, Classics Department, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco CA 94132 U.S.A.; Email: jwwonder@sfsu.edu

status. Both items were used by other Oscan speakers but not by Greeks or Romans, and both have also been found in Lucanian tombs (Bottini 1994; Horsnaes 2002, 80–85). The triple-disc breastplate and perhaps the Samnite belt are depicted on tomb paintings from Paestum.

The above noted features are markers Greeks and Romans used to distinguish Lucanians, and Musti (2005, 261–280), in fact, suggests that the term “Lucanians” was initially employed extrinsically. Isayev further suggests people of ancient Lucania may have identified themselves primarily with a particular local settlement or area (Isayev 2010, 203; 2007, 54; see below on the concept of a *touta*). Nevertheless, various groups in Lucania, at some point, certainly identified themselves with larger collectives, although they undoubtedly continued to identify themselves with their local communities. Rural sanctuaries, such as Rossano di Vaglio, brought people together from different communities, in the same way that rural sanctuaries in the central Apennines fostered a sense of connectivity among the Samnites (Dench 1995, 136). Furthermore, the various wars Lucanians waged with Greeks and Romans in southern Italy from the end of the fourth to the first centuries BC undoubtedly engendered some affiliation among peoples with the same language and other similarities in culture. Indeed, coins from southern Italy with the appellation “Lucanians” are dated to the Second Punic War (Rutter 2001, 129–130).

II Lucanians in the ancient sources

The earliest extant works to cite Lucanians are Greek literary sources of the fourth century BC (for ancient sources on the Lucanians, see Russi 1999; Isayev 2010, 203–206; 2007, 11–21, 141–150; Musti 2005, 261–284; Horsnaes 2002, 119–125; Wonder 2014). Isocrates, in his mid-fourth century work *De Pace* (49–50), is the first known author to mention Lucanians, citing them in passing when contrasting barbarian and Athenian cultures. Pseudo-Scylax (*Periplus* 12), who possibly worked in the middle or the second half of the fourth century (see Musti 2005, 276 for dates), is the first writer to note the region Lucania. References to Lucanians or Lucania, however, are rarely found in extant works written before the late Republic, and most information is derived from authors of the late Republic and early Empire writing comments or brief stories of earlier events.

These writers associate Lucanians with a few fifth century occurrences. Both Polyaeus (*Strat.* 2.10.1–5) and Frontinus (*Str.* 2.3.12) record Lucanians as enemies of Thurii (c. 440), although Musti (2005, 261–277) questions Polyaeus’ use of the term “Lucanians” since the name may have originated in Roman sources as a general appellation for enemies of Thurii. Lucanians are also named as people who occupied Poseidonia (Strabo, *Geog.* 5.4.13, 6.1.3), an incident possibly dated at the end of the fifth century.

Lucanians are referred to in Diodorus’ chronicle of events for the first part of the fourth century. During the wars between Dionysius I of Syracuse and the Greeks of

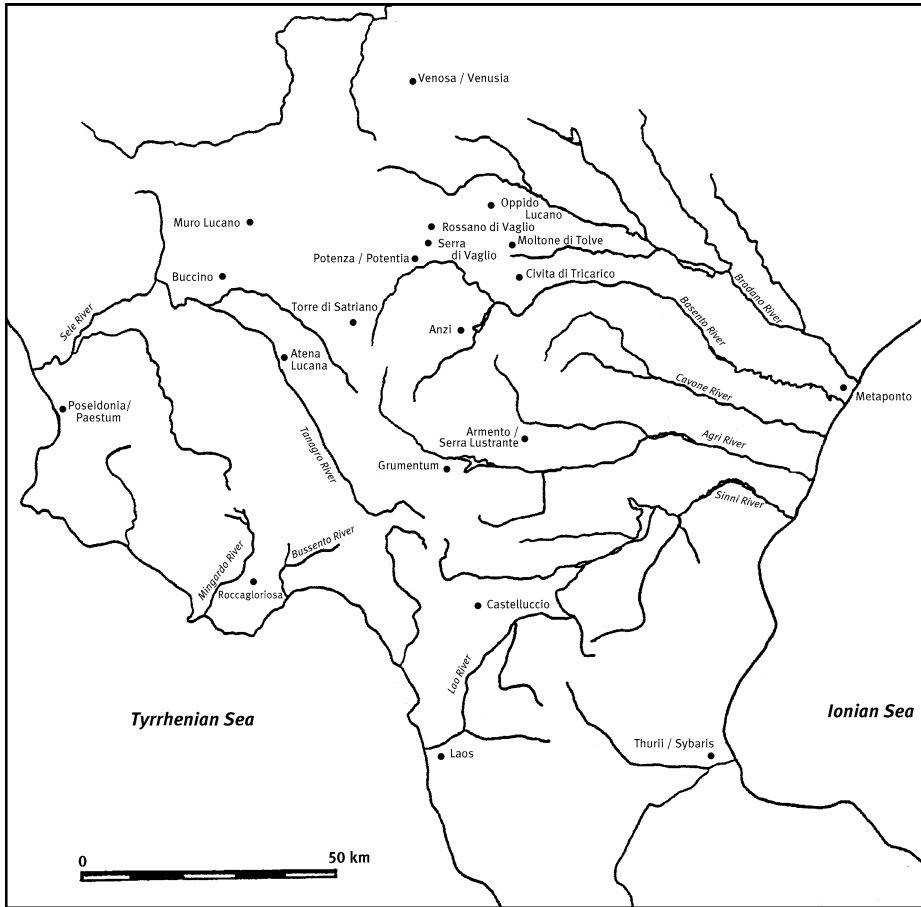


Figure 1. Map of Ancient Lucanian Sites. Modified from Isayev (2007), 5.

southern Italy, Lucanians as temporary allies of Dionysius I fought armies of Thurii whom they defeated in battle, c. 390 (Diod. Sic. 14.91–107; for the conflicts and interactions among these Greek city-states, Dionysius I and the Lucanians as well as the formation of Greek leagues in southern Italy at this time, see Wonder 2012). By the middle of the fourth century, the Lucanians play an important role in south Italian affairs. Diodorus describes battles between Lucanians and forces from Tarentum, who petition the Spartan king Archidamus III as an ally against the Lucanians (c. 345). Both the king and his mercenaries, however, were defeated and killed in Italy (Diod. Sic. 16.62.4–63.2; 16.88.3). Later, in the 330s, Lucanians are associated with the campaigns of Alexander the Molossian, sometimes as allies and sometimes as adversaries (Strabo, *Geog.* 6.3.4; Livy 8.24; Just. *Epit.* 12.2.1–14).

Toward the end of the fourth century and throughout the first half of the third, Rome became increasingly involved in southern Italian events as she successfully fought the Samnites, Pyrrhus of Epirus and Tarentum (Russi 1999, in particular

487–502). Lucanians often fought the Romans, but at times were allies, for example during the Third Samnite War (298–292). In fact, Samnite action against Lucanians was a major reason, or excuse, for Rome's last, major war against the Samnites. The inhabitants of Lucania, however, may not have always acted together as there was a Roman campaign against Lucanians in 296. Later, during the 280s, Rome established a garrison in Thurii to guard against Lucanians, and Pyrrhus utilized the Lucanians as allies during his campaigns in southern Italy (c. 280–275). The summaries of Livy and the *Fasti Triumphales* note a number of Roman victories over the Lucanians during the 280s and 270s. Then, in 273, Rome established a Latin colony at Paestum.

By 225, Polybius (2.24.12) notes Lucanians as allies of Rome against the Celts. After Hannibal's invasion of Italy during the Second Punic War and his victory at Cannae (216), the majority of the Lucanians joined the Carthaginian side, but in 209 many returned to the Roman alliance. By 202, the Romans had defeated the Carthaginians, and from this point forward events in Lucania are more difficult to follow in the sources. Nevertheless, in 91 we find Lucanians as forces in the Social War against Rome (Livy, *Per.* 77; Diod. Sic. 37.2.4; App. *B Civ.* 1.39.175).

III Fortifications and settlements

Material evidence from ancient Lucania indicates a demographic increase and a change in socio-political organization during the course of the fourth century. Fortified sites appear on plateaus and hilltops, many dated to the second half of the fourth century. Most fortifications have some evidence of earlier occupation and are positioned to control the surrounding region. Settlements and farmsteads existed in the countryside, some near fortified enclosures and others in the open country. The settlements in the country were either groups of habitations or individual dwellings. Rural sanctuaries also appear throughout Lucania in the fourth century. By the end of the third century, however, most of the fortified enclosures were abandoned or destroyed. A few, such as Roccagloriosa, continued at a reduced level. In the open countryside settlements continued into the second century, and some sanctuaries functioned into the first century BC (Isayev 2007, with catalogue; Horsnaes 2002, 39–52; Gualtieri 1993, 25–29; De Cazanove 2008, 561–568; and Tréziny 1983).

Evidence from many of the fortified enclosures indicates that habitations existed inside the walls. While indications of settlements within other fortified sites are lacking, many of these sites are not well excavated. The enclosures seem to have been built as a line of defense for those inside and a refuge for people in the surrounding countryside. The forts also confirmed the status and wealth of the community. The walls are normally of ashlar or polygonal construction without a binder and usually constructed of two curtains with rubble inside. Sometimes transverse walls are found between the curtains (à caisson technique). Evidence of towers and large gates is also found. Greek letters, sometimes called quarry marks, have been found on

some walls. The meaning of the letters, however, is not understood, particularly as the Lucanians used Greek letters to write Oscan. The Lucanian fortifications are of different sizes, but the walls are all of similar construction. The houses themselves (within or outside the fortifications) are often one or two room rectangular structures, although larger houses exist. Examples of well-excavated locations are presented below.

The site of Roccagloriosa lies between the Mingardo and Bussento rivers not far from the Tyrrhenian Sea. It has been the subject of extensive excavations and surveys of its territory (Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990 and 2001 with bibliography of earlier reports; Gualtieri 1993). The site is situated on a series of plateaus protected by a fortification wall on one side and cliffs on the other. Habitation existed inside the fortified enclosure as well as outside the walls. The earliest evidence on the plateaus dates to the seventh and sixth centuries, while the fourth and third centuries form the densest period of habitation inside and outside the enclosure.

The walls of Roccagloriosa are dated to the second quarter of the fourth century and made of well-cut stone with two curtains and rubble inside. There are several gates, a large tower south of the central gate, and possible evidence for a second tower north of the same gate. The houses range in size from one-room structures to more complex arrangements, many ordered by *insulae*. Complex A contains a number of rooms surrounding a paved courtyard, living quarters and a bath. Numerous loom weights and pottery have been found at this complex. There is also evidence of a sacred area in the courtyard, and the building may have partly assumed a public role. There is evidence for other major buildings in Roccagloriosa that may have served semi-public purposes. Tiles were used for roofs, and some houses had intricate drainage systems. The site declined throughout the course of the third century, and occupation at a lesser level continued into the second century.

Surveys of the surrounding territory bear testimony to a dense network of habitation outside the walls and a region crossed by good routes. Farmhouses in the countryside were similar to those found in the nucleated settlement. The highest density was within 5 km of the fortification walls, but throughout the territory there were isolated farmsteads and clusters of sites with tombs. Minor fortification walls are also found in the countryside. The fourth and third centuries contain a much higher density of population than earlier or later periods. By the second century, the population in the territory decreased considerably.

In central Basilicata, the Potentino area had the highest population density of ancient Lucania in the fourth and third centuries, and Serra di Vaglio was the largest settlement (for Serra di Vaglio, see Greco 1989–1990; 1988; 1982; Russo Tagliente 1992, 160–166.) This site controlled the valleys between the Bradano and Basento rivers, and evidence shows the presence of human activity at Serra di Vaglio from the last period of the Bronze Age. Greek influence from both the Tyrrhenian and Ionian seas is evident from the Archaic through the Classical period, and an Archaic sanctuary existed nearby at Braida. In the fifth century, there was a major change in the organizational structure of the site, and the sanctuary at Braida came to an end. The

greatest expansion of the site was in the second half of the fourth century, and a large wall with ashlar masonry was built around the settlement. A block that seems to have its origins in the fortification wall is inscribed with the dedication, “during the archonship of Nummelos.” Nummelos is an Oscan name, and the dedication was written in Greek (Lejeune 1985, 55; Crawford 2011, *Potentia* 39; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982, 153). During the second half of the fourth century, the whole plateau within the walls was utilized for habitation, and space was more restricted. A large sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio now existed to the north (see below). Habitation at Serra di Vaglio continued into the third century, and the site was destroyed in the middle of this century.

To the southeast of Serra di Vaglio lies Civita di Tricarico, another large and well-excavated site on a plateau with a fortified enclosure (De Cazanove 2008 contains a general discussion of the site as well as bibliography). Unlike the sites discussed above, the first known habitation is dated to the middle of the fourth century. By the second half of the century, the site was partly defended by a large well-built wall. Cliffs protected the other sides, combining walls and cliffs as at Roccagloriosa. Another wall protected the acropolis. In the first half of the third century (called Phase II by the excavators), there was increased building activity and enlargement of various houses. A number of well-excavated houses, in fact, have been uncovered at the site. In the second half of this century, a third wall was built as an intermediate bulwark between the large outer wall and the acropolis wall. There is evidence of destruction at Civita di Tricarico at the end of the third century, although occupation continued on the acropolis and the lower city until at least the first century AD. In fact, remains of a small temple and houses with courtyards have been found dated to the second century BC.

North of Civita di Tricarico the residential complex at Moltone di Tolve provides a good example of a large fortified farmhouse in the open countryside (Russo and Tagliente 1992, 39–47; Tagliente 1992, 173–180; Soppelsa 1991, 89–94). Excavators have identified three phases from the second half of the fourth century to the end of the third or first part of the second century BC. During its most affluent stage (end of the fourth or first part of the third century), there were several rooms surrounding a courtyard with a large tower on the southwest side by the major entrance. The main room lay on the east side, and it seems to have been used for domestic activity, since much fine ware was found there. The walls were painted, and good examples of decorated architectural elements have been found. The house contained a bath, and there was a kiln outside with evidence of tile and pottery making. During the last phase, the house changed substantially. More rooms were built, and there is evidence of manufacturing products such as metal objects and wine.

During the fourth century, there was a large influx of Lucanians into the Greek city and *chora* of Poseidonia (for the Lucanian period at Poseidonia/Paestum, see Cipriani, et al. 1996; Crawford 2006; Wonder 2002; Pedley 1990, 97–112). Poseidonia was founded by Sybaris c. 600 and became a flourishing Greek city in the fifth century. Strabo (*Geog.* 5.4.13; 6.1.3) notes that Lucanians occupied Poseidonia, and fourth

century burial evidence in the *chora* testifies to a major population increase in the territory. The type of burial deposits and the tombs themselves are unlike earlier Greek burials but similar to those found at Lucanian sites. Evidence suggests both Lucanians and Greeks lived in the city. The major sanctuaries and monuments continued to be used, and further structures were erected such as temples and stoas. Much of Poseidonia's fortification wall may have also been built during this period. An Oscan inscription has been found in the *ekklesiasterion*. It is a late fourth century dedication to Jupiter by a magistrate with an Oscan name (Crawford 2011, Paestum 1; Poccetti 1979, 116–117; Greco 1981).

IV Political organization

The nature of political organizations in Lucania is actively debated. There is evidence, however, that in certain areas of Lucania elements of a civic structure emerged, especially where a fortified center formed a nucleus of the political community (Gualtieri 2004). Nevertheless, the situation in Lucania was variable, and a model of emerging civic structures cannot be applied to all areas, as each local region must be studied independently.

Scholars deliberate the meaning of two terms that pertain to political organizations in Lucania: *touta* (a community) and *meddix* (a magistrate). Both terms are associated with Oscan people in general on inscriptions and in the ancient sources. Although *touta* may refer to a people or nation such as the Samnites, the term may also signify a more localized political community (Letta 1994). The terms *touta* and *meddix* have been found associated with Samnite peoples (Dench 1995, 135–136), with Oscan speakers of Campania (Conway 1967, 56, 87–88; Dench 1995, 136) and with an Oscan building inscription at Messina associated with the Mamertines (Dench 1995, 56). The term *touta* is also found in Umbria. Bradley (2000, 25–28, 83, 181–182) suggests that *touta* in the Iguvine Tables refers to a group such as the Iguvine or the Tadinat communities that form part of the larger Umbrian collective.

In Lucania, part of a bronze tablet has been found at Roccagloriosa with an Oscan inscription written in the Tarentine-Ionic alphabet and probably dated to the first half of the third century (Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001, 187–275; Gualtieri 2000, 55–59). The text is a fragment of a law that cites an adjectival form of *touta*, a *meddix* and probably a deliberative assembly. Gualtieri and Poccetti propose that data from this tablet along with information drawn from settlement patterns in Lucania indicate that Roccagloriosa was the center of a *touta* (with one or more magistrates) that encompassed the surrounding region of the site. Gualtieri suggests this community is to be identified with one of the groups (such as the Atinates, Bantini or Eburini) named by Pliny (*HN* 3.11.98) in his account of Lucania. The concept of emerging civic organizations at Roccagloriosa is further supported by the possible existence of public buildings at the site (Gualtieri 2001, 46).

The term *touta* is found in Lucania as early as the late sixth or early fifth century on a vase discovered at Castelluccio (Rix 1997; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982, 12–13; Arena 1972, 322–330). The inscription is written in pre-Lucanian using the Achaean alphabet and is possibly a dedication to a deity of the *touta* (for pre-Lucanian inscriptions of Lucania, see Rix 1997; Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001).

Further inland, inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio and Potentia (modern Potenza) note a collective called “Utiana,” and some scholars suggest the term may represent a *touta* or the name of the major community in this area. On every occasion, the term is connected to a deity, normally Mefitis. The inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio are dated from the fourth to the first century BC, and the cult seems to have eventually been transferred from Rossano di Vaglio to Roman Potentia (Lejeune 1990, 36–37).

As noted above, the bronze tablet from Roccagloriosa cites at least one *meddix*. A number of instances of this term may be found in Lucanian inscriptions. An Oscan text, for example, incised on a stone building block from Muro Lucano dated to the fourth century can be translated as “Mais Arries during his term of office as *meddix*.” Thus the inscription seems to connect the building of the fortification wall to the magistrate’s period in office (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 46–48; Lejeune 1985, 50–55). The term for *meddix* is also found inscribed on lead plaques from Laos/Marcellina dated to the fourth or third century (Pugliese Carratelli 1992, 17–19). The tablets, discovered in a chamber tomb, seem to place a curse on individuals with Oscan names. These people appear to have been leaders or aristocrats from Lucanian Laos, and some of the personal names are associated with a form of the term *meddix*. The name of one of the *meddices*, in fact, matches the symbols for a name found on bronze coins from Laos of this same time period (for the coins, also see Rutter 2001, 178; for further information on curse tablets, see Crawford 2011).

Evidence of deliberative bodies has also been found in Lucanian inscriptions, dated from the third century and later. An inscribed stone block from Atena Lucana (now lost), apparently dated to the second century, refers to a senate and cites two names, possibly of magistrates. The inscription seems to note the construction of a building on the advice of a senate (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 35–41; Crawford 2011, Atina Lucana 1). Inscriptions discovered at Rossano di Vaglio, many from the third and second centuries, also note a senate and magistrates (Lejeune 1990, 36–39). A deliberative assembly is furthermore mentioned in a passage of Livy (8.27.6–11) who refers to a meeting of Lucanians that apparently includes an assembly of citizens, a deliberative body and magistrates. According to Livy in 326 the Tarentines, by means of a plot, convinced certain Lucanians to leave an alliance with Rome and join Tarentum. At this time, the Lucanians convinced their magistrates to convene a senate (see Isayev 2007, 132 for discussion of the passage).

Finally, the word “king” (*peyo*) is found on a second century inscription from Rossano di Vaglio associated with the images of two bronze statues. Strabo (*Geog.* 6.1.3) states the Lucanians normally used democratic methods for governing, but in times of war they chose a king from the magistrates. Nevertheless, many schol-

ars suggest “king” in the inscriptions represents a major deity (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 108–115; Del Tutto Palma 1992, 67–70; Crawford 2011, *Potentia* 1).

V Sanctuaries and deities

Fourth century material evidence in Lucania indicates an increase from previous periods in the number of religious sites, some of which acquired monumental buildings. The proliferation of sacred areas occurred at the same time as the emergence of fortifications and an increase in settlement patterns (Isayev 2007, 31–41; Fracchia and Gualtieri 1989; Horsnaes 2002, 99–105). Many of the sacred sites were structurally similar: a large open-air paved courtyard surrounded on three sides by rooms and sometimes porticoes. A small temple-shaped shrine, of terracotta or stone, or an altar has been found in some courtyards. The courtyards frequently contain channels associated with a water source (such as natural springs), statues, votive deposits, sacrificial pits and, at times, a monumental doorway leading into the courtyard. The typical Greek or Roman monumental temple, as an edifice, is not associated with these sites (except for later buildings built from the second century on). Banquet vessels have been found, and some rooms have been interpreted as dining spaces for communal banquets. The large rural sanctuaries apparently served a geographical area as a meeting place and, as such, were politically and economically significant, being sites where communities could contribute their wealth. The function of Lucanian sanctuaries may have been similar to that of Samnite sanctuaries (for Samnite sanctuaries as important centers, see Dench 1995, 136). During the third and second centuries a number of the sacred sites in Lucania declined.

Some scholars have classified Lucanian sanctuaries into three types: large rural sanctuaries presumably serving settlements in a region, smaller rural sacred areas, and sacred areas within settlements (Fracchia and Gualtieri 1989, 218–219). The rural sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, located in the Potentino region, is the largest sacred site discovered and an example of the first type of sanctuary. Although located in the countryside, it was not far from a number of Lucanian habitation centers (for an overview of Rossano di Vaglio and the finds, see various authors in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 62–90; Lejeune 1990). The sanctuary was established in the second half of the fourth century and, with different rebuilding phases, lasted until the first century AD. Inscriptions indicate the main deity worshiped was Mefitis. The monumental complex has an open-air paved courtyard measuring 21 × 37 m, surrounded on three sides by rooms with porticoes. A large sandstone altar, belonging to the first phase of construction, dominates the courtyard. The complex is built of limestone and some sandstone, and water basins and channels, that once carried water from springs near the sanctuary, are found in the courtyard. The many finds include coins, statuettes, parts of marble statues, jewelry, ceramics and the largest collection of Oscan inscriptions found so far. Evidence suggests that after the Social War the sanctuary was no longer managed by a Lucanian community but by Romans

and the people of Potentia. At the end of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire the cult of Mefitis was moved to Potentia.

South of Rossano di Vaglio, the sanctuary of Serra Lustrante near Armento may have served the valleys of the upper Agri and Sinni rivers (Russo Tagliente 1995). The sacred complex was created in the fourth century with rebuilding and expansion in the third, and finally ending in the second century. By the third century the sanctuary consisted of two terraces joined by a staircase. An open-air paved courtyard with water channels surrounded by buildings existed on both terraces. The lower terrace also contained porticoes around the courtyard, a small shrine and an altar. Architectural terracottas, votives, coins, ceramics and other objects have been found. There is also evidence for communal dining. Due to certain finds, some scholars have suggested the site was dedicated to Hercules. Not far from the site are tombs dated from the Archaic period to the third century with impressive artifacts.

An example of a sacred area within an urban settlement is Complex A at Rocca gloriosa (Fracchia and Gualtieri 1989 and 1993; Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990, 101–136). The cultic area is surrounded by living quarters and is thus within a domestic setting. There is a paved open-air courtyard, and evidence indicates a roofed portico with columns (partly constructed of limestone) existed on three sides. Items found within the courtyard included a drainage canal, a votive pit and a small limestone shrine with a tile pitched roof (1.10 × 1.30 m). Within the shrine a number of offerings were found: fine ceramic ware, lamps, mirrors and terracotta statuettes, eighteen of which depicted a seated female. The statuettes are dated to the mid-fourth century, while a red-figure vase from the top layer of the votive deposit is dated to end of the fourth century. There is also evidence of palmette antefixes and painted plaster walls as part of the courtyard complex, and the entire series of rooms of Complex A appears to have been part of an elite residence. Sacred activities seem to have taken place in other elite households at Rocca gloriosa. Complex A, however, is the largest, and activities of a quasi-public nature possibly occurred here where people outside the household came to worship.

At the settlement of Serra di Vaglio there is a possible cultic area in a building within a habitation zone, dated to the second half of the fourth century (Giovanna Greco 1982, 78; Fracchia and Gualtieri 1989, 230). The space consists of a large open-air courtyard surrounded by rooms, and finds include fine ceramics, jewelry, votive deposits and drinking and pouring vases (for information and bibliography on other sacred areas in Lucania see *Il sacro e l'acqua* and *Da Leukania a Lucania*).

Evidence of Lucanian deities is often obscure. Many votives are terracotta statuettes resembling Greek figurines. It is not known if they represent a donor or a deity. If a deity, they may simply be a non-specific representation (often female) embodying Greek iconography. Inscriptions at Rossano di Vaglio indicate Mefitis was the main deity of the site, although other deities were also worshiped here (see Lejeune 1990 for this goddess). Mefitis seems to have represented many characteristics: a goddess of fertility, the underworld (perforations in the bottom of vases suggest libations for the underworld), the sky, agriculture and possibly water with its healing proper-

ties. She might be identified with Demeter, Kore and other Greek goddesses. Inscriptions at Rossano di Vaglio indicate the epithets *aravina* (working the land) and *caprovina* (connected to goats) were associated with this goddess (Crawford 2011, *Potentia* 14–16).

Ancient sources and inscriptions establish that Mefitis was connected to other sites in southern Italy, some outside Lucania (see map in Lejeune 1990, 46). In Lucania itself, physical evidence for her worship has thus far been found at Rossano di Vaglio, *Potentia* and *Grumentum*. A site to Mefitis even existed in Rome on the Esquiline Hill, and two more are located as far away as northern Italy, although, as Lejeune suggests (1990, 47), the northern Italian sites may be due to colonists from southern Italy.

Inscriptions to Jupiter in Oscan have also been found at Rossano di Vaglio, and some inscriptions suggest that Jupiter was occasionally paired with Mefitis (Lejeune 1990, 56–57; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 86–88, 137–138; 1992). As cited above, an Oscan inscription at this site notes the erection of bronze statues of kings, and scholars have suggested they represent divinities. Some have proposed a divine couple, Jupiter and Mefitis (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 108–115; 1992). As stated earlier, a late fourth century dedication to Jupiter has also been discovered on a stele in *Poseidonia*.

Evidence has been found for other deities: Mars at Rossano di Vaglio (Lejeune 1990, 58; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 117–119, 121–125), Hercules at Rossano di Vaglio and Armento (Nava and Proccetti 2001; Russo Tagliente 1995, 65–67), Venus, associated with Mefitis, at Rossano di Vaglio (Lejeune 1990, 59–61; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 63–66) and the minor deities Numulos and Oina at Rossano di Vaglio (Lejeune 1990, 57–59; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 121–125).

VI Cemeteries and burials

In general, cemeteries may help determine locations of rural settlements when actual evidence of habitation is difficult to find (e.g. the discussion of the Sinni and Agri valleys in Isayev 2007, 99–104). Distribution patterns of tombs within cemeteries may also assist in interpreting the internal organization of settlements, as tombs can be dispersed in clusters suggesting family groups. The excavators of La Scala cemetery outside the walls of *Roccagloriosa*, for example, believe the twenty-two burials, many of them elite graves, are organized in family clusters (Gualtieri 1993, 140–226; Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990, 207–212).

Graves in Lucania are generally either trench or chamber tombs, with trench graves being more common. Both types of tombs vary in size, and the walls of chamber tombs vary in height. Although the earliest chamber tombs date to the first quarter of the fourth century, most are dated after 350 (for a general description of burials in western Lucania, see Horsnaes 2002, 52–99 who also includes material from the sixth and fifth centuries). At *Roccagloriosa*, the chamber tombs are normally constructed of limestone blocks, although one tomb was made of wood with a tile

roof (Gualtieri 1993, 140–226; Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990, 207–212). Most of the tombs in Lucania contain one burial, but a few chamber tombs have two. At Marcelina, a chamber tomb was discovered with the skeletal remains of a man, woman and a horse along with armor and many other grave goods (Greco and Guzzo 1992).

Grave goods in the richest tombs often include bronze objects, warrior equipment (e.g. helmets, breastplates), horse gear, diadems, strigils, jewelry, mirrors, fibulae, tripods, red-figure or black-glaze pottery and banquet paraphernalia. Coins are rare, but are found in graves at Paestum in the mouth of the deceased or near the head. A bronze belt among grave goods appears to indicate the military and elite role of the male deceased (for grave goods, see Horsnaes 2002, 58–93; Gualtieri 1993, 140–226; Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990, 207–212).

Inhumation in a supine position is the normal method for deposition of the deceased. At Roccagloriosa, however, the excavators found evidence of cremation with remains of pyres. The tombs with cremated remains are dated to the third quarter of the fourth century, and the evidence suggests they are heroic male burials that involved intricate funerary rituals. The third quarter is also a time when chamber tombs predominate at Roccagloriosa, and Gualtieri suggests the tombs reflect an amalgamation of the local aristocracy into dynastic families (1982 and 1993, 140–226; Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990, 207–212).

In ancient Lucania, evidence of graves starts to disappear from the first quarter of the third century on. From the middle of this century to the middle of the second century there is little burial evidence, even when there is indication of continued habitation in an area. During the second half of the second century there are signs of burials once more but now connected to Roman settlements. This pattern can be discerned in La Scala cemetery at Roccagloriosa. The last burials date to the first decade of the third century. Although habitation continues in a more diminished way, there are no further burials at La Scala. This evidence may indicate an end of elite burials in this cemetery (Gualtieri 1993, 162). It is difficult to know, however, why there is a lack of evidence for burials (elite and non-elite) in other parts of Lucania, even with indications of continued settlement. Perhaps this is due to the difficulty in detecting smaller samples.

As noted above, the increased number of fourth century tombs in the *chora* of Poseidonia/Paestum signals a Lucanian presence (Pontrandolfo, Rouveret and Cipriani 2004; Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1982; Pontrandolfo 1979). Tomb walls in some Paestan chamber tombs are painted. Painted walls are rare in ancient Lucania, although there is a painted tomb in Anzi and one in Buccino. Painted tombs are, however, found in Campania (just north of Paestum) and Apulia. Horsnaes (2002, 56) suggests earlier Etruscan culture in Campania may have influenced the custom of painting tombs. In Paestum, tomb paintings last throughout the fourth century. The “return of the warrior” motif is a common scene. The scene depicts a warrior on horseback, often with a three-disc breastplate and weapons, facing a woman holding a vase or container. This scene has been interpreted as a warrior returning from battle and meeting his wife who holds a libation container. Many other scenes

are also depicted including: hunting, seated women, women lying in state for a funeral, funeral games with chariot races or warriors fighting to the death (Pontrandolfo, Rouveret and Cipriani 2004).

VII The decline of Lucanian sites and Romanization

The nature of evidence from the third through the first century BC in Lucania is complex, and there appears to have been regional differences with respect to continuity of sites (Small 1999; Gualtieri 2003; Isayev 2007, 150–185). Archaeological testimony indicates that a number of Lucanian sites were abandoned by the end of the third century. Some sites, such as Oppido Lucano, Serra di Vaglio and Torre di Satriano, appear to come to an end by the middle of the century. At many sites, however, the archaeological evidence is not sufficient to indicate precise dates for abandonment in the third century or to be specific with causes. Better-excavated sites tend to show continuity throughout the third. Additionally, analysis indicates that certain ceramics (used for dating) were produced throughout the third century and did not cease production at the beginning of the century, as previously believed.

Fracchia (1993, 265–270), in her discussion of ceramic evidence at Roccagloriosa, observes that some scholars have proposed a chronological break in the archaeological record (approximately 300 to 225 BC) for various areas in Lucania, based particularly on pottery remains. This period represents the time between the end of Lucanian ceramic production (such as black-glaze and Greek inspired products) and the beginning of Roman imports in the area (such as Campana A). She notes, however, that recent evidence suggests this third century gap should be reevaluated. While Roman presence in Lucania certainly altered the pattern of indigenous sites, current survey results and excavations indicate that Lucanian ceramics were produced and thus many settlements occupied later than previously supposed. These habitations were often on or in close proximity to previous fourth century nucleated sites. Furthermore, it appears Roman wares and imitation of Roman pottery were used earlier than assumed formerly. This continuity of habitation can be found at Laos, Lavello, Serra di Vaglio as well as at Roccagloriosa (which included a pottery workshop and kiln).

After the Hannibalic War and with subsequent Roman influence, new communication routes and economic centers developed. Eventually, Grumentum, Venusia and Potentia became important centers, while much of the rest of Lucania was inhabited by villages and farmsteads. Evidence suggests that some sites with continued occupation throughout the third century were abandoned by the middle of the second. Other areas, such as Roccagloriosa and the surrounding region, continued at some level through the second and first centuries. By the middle of the second century the Roman-style villa appeared in Lucania, and slowly Oscan gave way to the Latin language. Nevertheless, testimony for Oscan personal names is found as late

as the imperial period, indicating some continued existence for a people that once dominated much of southern Italy.

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I Geography

Before beginning any discussion of ancient Campania, it is essential to define the area to which this refers. Ancient Campania never constituted a politically homogeneous and stable territory but was rather always a geographical space, complex and multilayered, already perceived so by the ancients (Beloch 1989). Even a definition of its borders is not easy (Lepore 1989).

When Augustus divided Italy into administrative regions, Campania became part of a unit which includes a section of Latium, up to the mouth of the Tiber: Regio I. However, we must look to the Greek historiography of the Hellenistic period to find a first conception of a geographical definition of this region, as exemplified by a passage of Polybius (3.91) from the second century BC. This definition, inspired by earlier conceptions, was destined to influence subsequent testimony, from Strabo to Pliny the Elder.

The name of Campania does not appear in an unambiguous and definitive manner until the imperial period. The area which was first given this name was in fact that of the plain of the Volturno, around Capua: in the fifth century BC the people of Campania appear, taking their name from the word *campus*, from the plains around them. The Greeks also associate the territory of Campania with Latium and Etruria in the fourth century, in the broader geographical designation of “Tyrrhenia” (Philist. Fr. 41 in Steph. Byz.; Arist. *Pol.* 7.1329b). A parallel literary tradition perhaps saw instead the coastal part of the Campania region as distinctive, with its maritime activities and ports, as opposed to the hinterland characterized by wide, fertile plains of *mesogeia* (Ruffo 2010).

The Campania to which these sources refer is basically limited only by the sea to the west, and by mountain ranges and rivers on the other sides. To the north it can be considered defined by Mount Massico and the volcano of Roccamonfina, while on the coast the boundary stretches to the ancient city of Sinuessa. Here the Garigliano River defines the border. The left bank of the river and the coastal plain which begins from there, occupied by the Ausoni and considered a suburb of Campania, should nevertheless be taken into consideration. To the south the border, which was originally marked by the *promunturium Minervae* of Sorrento that closes the gulf and the Athenaion of Punta Campanella, was extended in the Augustan redefinition to include the Ager Picentinus to the Sele River, beyond which opened Lucania. To the east the boundary is provided by the Apennine peaks that separate it from Sam-

nium. Starting from the north, we are first in the Ager Falernus between Massico and the Savone River, and we arrive in the fertile plain limited on the north and south from Mt. Tifata and Vesuvius; this has as its hub the city of Capua, and is crossed by the Volturno River, and to the south by the Clanis. The Savone and Volturno constituted waterways towards the Molise and Samnium, entering the valley through which the Liris and Sacco reach Latium. The southernmost area of the plain, which should be distinguished by some peculiarities and named *mesogeia*, orbits the centers of Nola and Avella. From here one passes into the Sarno Valley, crossed by the river itself, a navigable road that joins the hinterland to the sea: the plain is bounded on the east by the Lattari Mountains and the Sorrento peninsula, with the urban centers of Pompeii and Nocera; through the narrow river valley of the Fuorni one comes to the coastal plain of the Ager Picentinus, focused on the settlement at Pontecagnano and bounded by the river Sele, which, along with the Ofanto and Tanagro, lead the way through the Vallo di Diano to the Ionian coast. The area where Greeks chose to settle in the mid-eighth century BC is that of the Phlegraean coast and its islands – Pithecusa/Ischia and Cuma at the northern limit of the Gulf – and then Naples: this area always remained focused on the sea and the large coastal space that characterizes it (Cerchiai 2010, 9–11) (Fig. 1).

II Ancient literary sources for pre-Roman Campania

The area thus defined is therefore less extensive than the modern region of Campania, and divided into spheres of influence belonging to different populations, whose definition already proved problematic for ancient writers (Fig. 2). A tradition about the succession of the various *ethne* in Campania was consolidated at the time of Polybius. Strabo derives his narrative (5.4.3) from Polybius and Timaeus, elaborating on their information by adding elements perhaps drawn from intermediate sources such as Artemidorus and Posidonius (Lepore 1989). In the controversial passage of Strabo, Campania is populated at a first stage by Opici and Ausoni, although the temporal alternation of them is unclear. Polybius, cited by Strabo, considered the Ausoni and Opici to be separate groups; at odds with this view was Antiochus, who saw them as the same people to whom two different attributions had been made. Strabo says that the Osci followed the Opici and Ausoni; in this he does not follow Polybius, but perhaps Timaeus instead.

After the Osci came the Cumaeans, followed in order by the Tyrrhenians, Samnites and Romans, a sequence that poses a key challenge in the light of our historical knowledge of the peopling of ancient Campania. The picture is even more complex if, returning to the beginning of our chain, we keep in mind that by other traditions the Ausonians (considered to be indigenous) are interchangeable not only with the Opici, but also with other peoples, like the Enotri – who were not believed to be indigenous but immigrants from Arcadia, and the oldest Hellenic strain in Italy. They were also interchangeable with the Sicilians and the Iapigi, a people (by tradition



Fig. 1. Map of Campania (Cerchiai 2010, 10, Fig. 1.1 – Carocci).

Greek or Illyrian in origin) divided from north to south into the Dauni, Peucenti and Messapi. In fact, Greek historians at least from the sixth century down to Polybius had pursued a generic concept of the Ausoni as so widespread in the peninsula as to place them in a very large area, corresponding to a large part of southern Italy. It is therefore clear that an initial, superficial interpretation, with the superposition of different sources, has created misunderstandings and gaps for the periods of transition, and thus an extreme confusion in defining the population phases of Campania. This superficiality could have a Mycenaean origin, but it is one more likely to date back to the earliest stages of Greek colonization in the West by the Euboeans-Chalcidiceans. In any case the Greek colonization of the Campanian coast was already underway under the control of Opici – according to Thucydides (6.4.5) Cuma was founded in Opicia, and so the Opici may correspond to the so-called *Fossakultur*

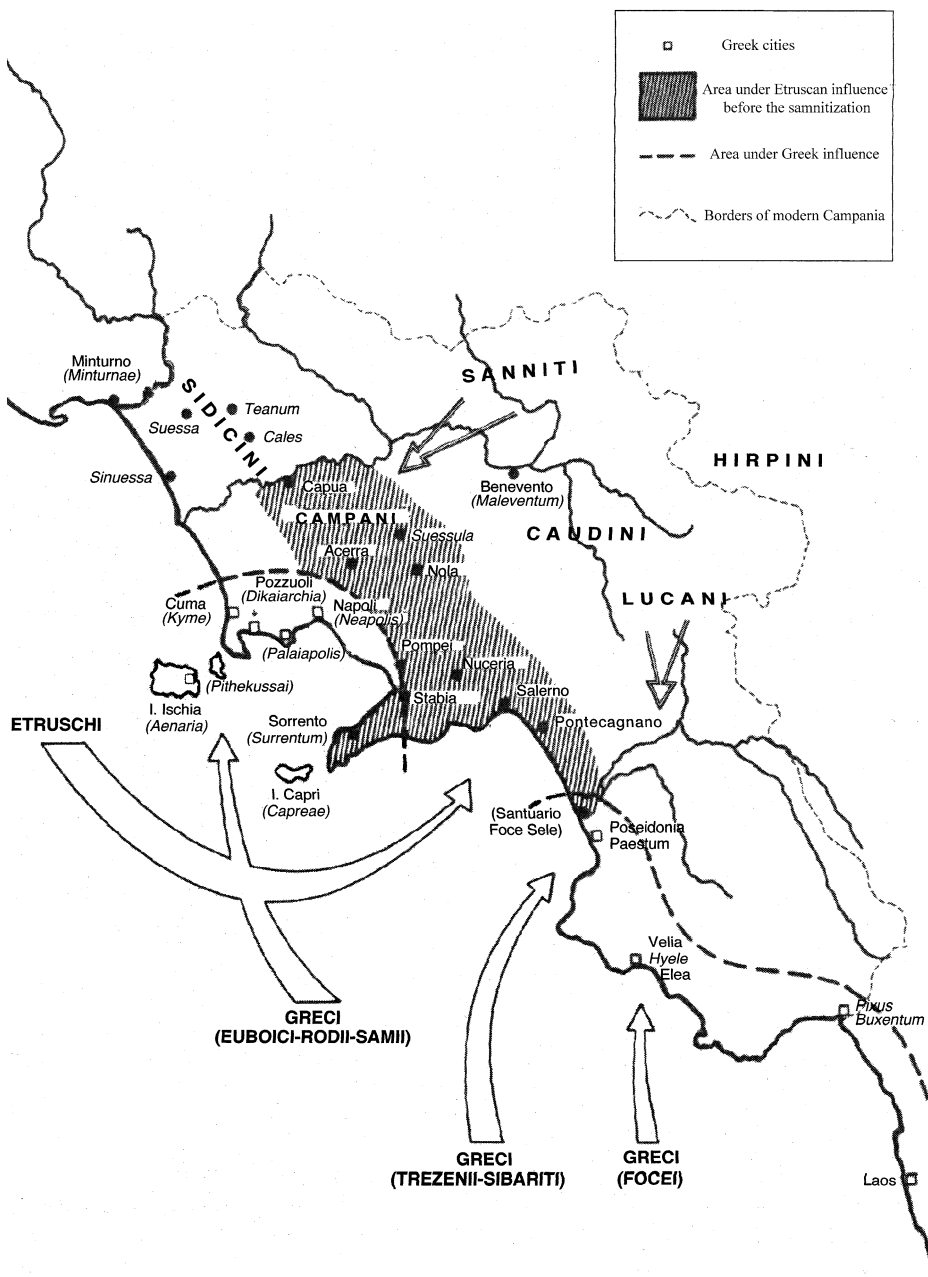


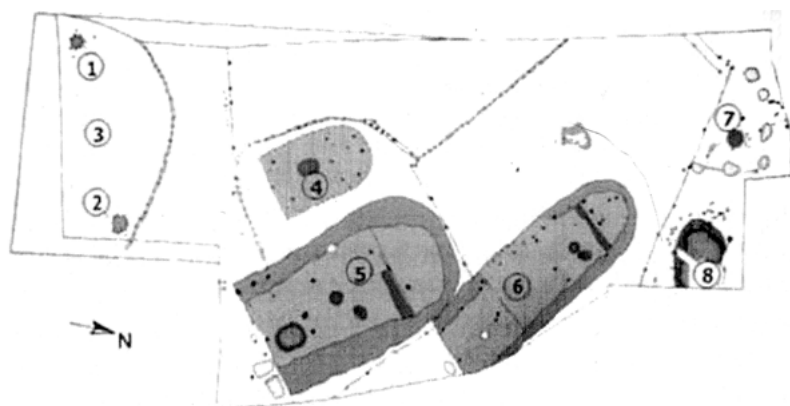
Fig. 2. Map of Campania between eighth and fifth centuries BC (De Juliis 1996, 56, fig. 50 – Edipuglia, modified by the author).

(Culture of Fossa Tombs) of the Cuma-Sarno Valley complex. The Opici should be culturally closer to the later and difficult to define Osci, while the Ausoni were relegated to a peripheral area, that is northern Campania and southern Latium. These people suffered a serious blow with the invasion in the sixth century BC of the Volsci, a Sabellian people, who also change their name from Ausoni to “Aurunci” in Roman times (Lepore 1989; De Juliis 1996, 15–26; see also Smith in this volume).

III The Bronze Age

If the written sources are to be considered a limited resource, the many archaeological discoveries of recent decades help to clarify a historically and culturally complex picture from the end of the third millennium BC. In terms of the earliest phases, we can outline a full picture of the Bronze Age. The “Palma Campania culture” develops in the early Bronze; it is named after the site where it was identified in 1972, on a hill at the foot of Vesuvius near Nola. It develops from the later part of the first era of the Bronze Age, around the end of the third millennium, up to the early centuries of the second millennium. The settlements related to this culture were destroyed and buried by a violent eruption of Vesuvius, evident from the so-called “pumice of Avellino,” traditionally dated around 1750 BC, but now placed earlier at around 1935–1880 BC (Livadie 1999; Bietti Sestieri 2010). The eruption sealed the sites as they appeared at the time of the disaster, allowing the recovery of artifacts of material culture which are generally difficult to detect, such as dirt roads with traces of wheel-ruts, fields with evidence of tillage, human and animal footprints, and casts of items of perishable material found at the site of their original placement. So far at least 70 settlement complexes have been identified, located in central and northern Campania, both in coastal and interior locations. Among the best known sites include Vivara-Punta di Mezzogiorno (Isola di Procida), Nola-Croce del Papa, Palma Campania, Afragola, Gricignano, La Starza, and Benevento. The occupation of the land was intensive with villages in the plains, by waterways, or on low hills, surrounded by areas used for cultivation and pasture. Villages placed on high ground were perhaps for seasonal use. In particular at Croce del Papa, near Nola, four rectangular huts were identified with apsidal sides, of different sizes, part of a larger settlement, which also included fences, animal enclosures and wells, perhaps occupied by various groups of families (Albore Livadie and Vecchio 2005) (Figs. 3–4). The cemeteries, which include S. Abbondio, have pit burials, covered with lava chips, tuff and volcanic pebbles, with the deceased generally placed in a crouching position. The funerary equipment consists of ceramics and sometimes bronze objects (daggers, axes). In some cases the burials have ceramic vessels broken at the time of burial (Albore Livadie and Marzocchella 1999; Mastroberto 1998).

The reorganization of this society after the eruption appears rapid. Already during the Early Bronze Age life resumed, to continue into the Middle Bronze Age, whose initial phase is characterized by the occupation of coastal areas (a phase called Pro-



1-2. Wells; 3. Subcircular enclosure; 4-5-6. Huts; 7. Cage with goats; 8. Waterhole

Fig. 3. Plan of the site of Croce del Papa, Nola (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 104, Fig. 11 – Carocci, modified by the author).

toapennine B, sixteenth to fifteen centuries BC). In Campania, the most significant settlements are those on the volcanic island of Vivara (Procida), near the headlands of Punta del Mezzogiorno (sixteenth century), Punta d'Alaca (fifteenth century), and Punta del Capitello (fourteenth century) (Fig. 5). These villages develop significant contacts with the Aeolian Islands, their first Mycenaean connections there. These Aegean connections lead to significant technological changes in metalwork. These contacts, however, seem to disappear in the fourteenth century, at the end of the Middle Bronze Age (AA.VV. 1991 and 1994). The marsh village of Longola di Poggiomarino at the Sarno River, made up of artificial islands reinforced with wooden palisades, also dates to the Middle Bronze Age. The settlement continues until the beginning of the sixth century (Albore Livadie and Cicirelli 2012). The settlements of Acerra-Pozzillo, Buccino-Tufariello, and Grotta di Pertosa in the Vallo di Diano, on the edge of Campania, are attested in the Campanian interior in this period.

In the following period, at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, with the spread of the Apennine culture (fourteenth century), the occupation of the territory changes, sometimes with discontinuity from the previous period. It consists of stable centers, sometimes fortified, for agriculture and grazing, cave sites, and temporary settlements on high ground. The role of Vivara becomes obscured in terms of Mediterranean commerce by settlements on the neighboring island of Ischia (Castiglione, Mazzola and Monte di Vico). New areas are occupied on the opposing coastline, from the Campi Flegrei (uncontextualised material has been found on the acropolis of Cuma), to the Volturno and the Sele, and up to the Vallo di Diano. The sites of Avellino-La Starza, Capri-Grotta delle Felci, Gricignano, Poggiomarino and Sorrento (the caves of Nicolucci) are also significant. The settlements increasingly reduce in number during the Late Bronze Age (thirteenth to twelfth centuries), when many sites are abandoned

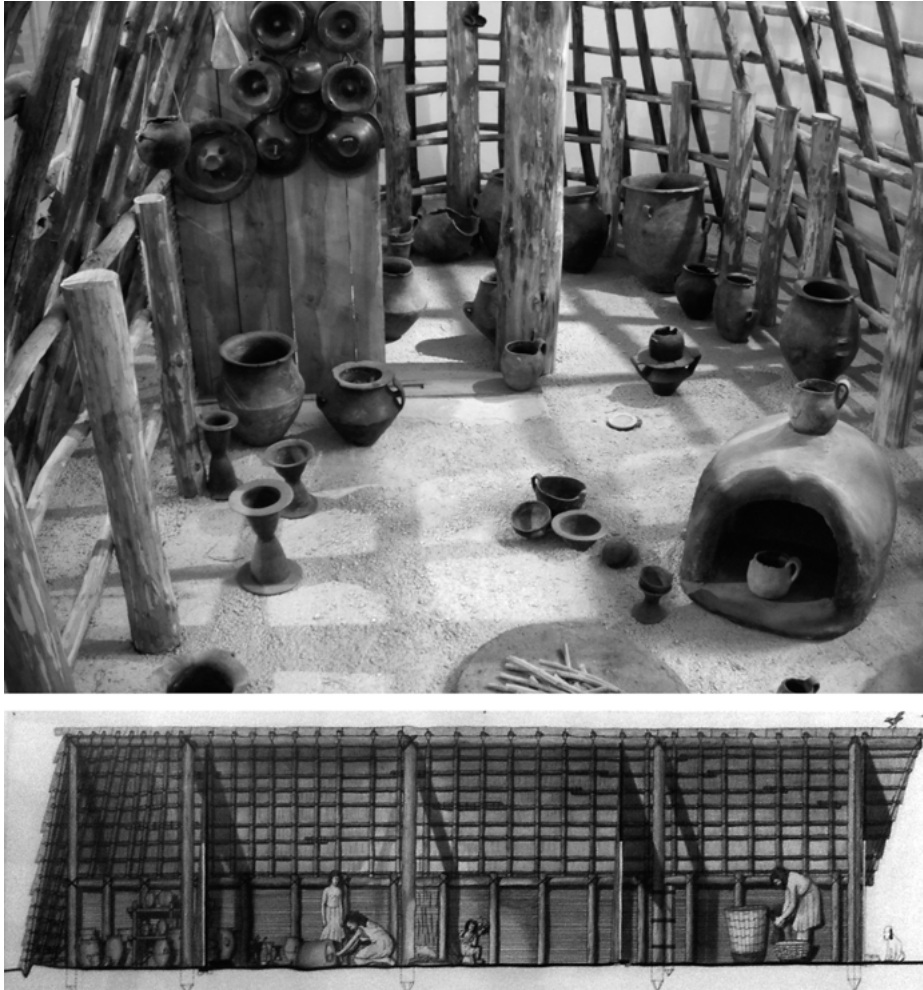


Fig. 4. Museo Archeologico dell'antica Nola. Reconstruction of a hut at Croce del Papa (Photos by author).

in line with a new tendency to focus on larger population centers (Albore Livadie 2007; Albore Livadie, et al. 2004).

IV The Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age

Between the Late Bronze Age (eleventh to tenth centuries) and the early Iron Age (tenth to ninth centuries) Campania is an increasingly important pole of attraction for Mediterranean seafarers. It becomes an important center for the acquisition of raw materials for the Aegean, and grows more clearly organised. A new area of in-

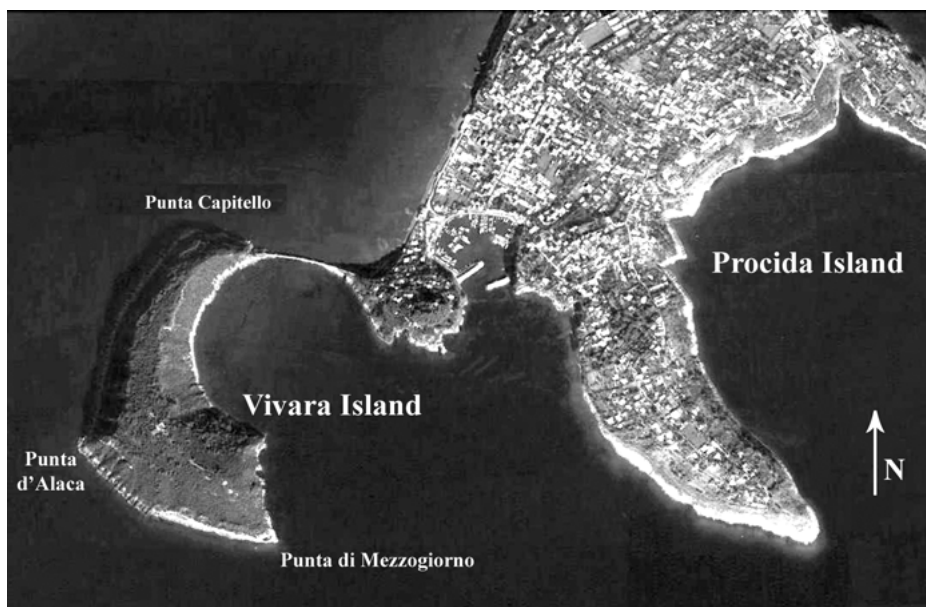


Fig. 5. Vivara Island (Photo by author).

terest emerges at the mouth of the Sele River, where Pontecagnano develops. At the same time in northern Campania, Cuma and Capua acquire increasing importance. At this stage two distinct cultural facies appear in funerary rituals: cremation and inhumation of the deceased, characterizes respectively the Proto-Villanovan and the Tombe a Fossa or *Fossakultur* facies. From the Late Bronze Age contacts with southern coastal Etruria become more intense and systematic, fostered by navigation along the coast in the form of cabotage, but also by land, through the river valleys that connect southern Latium and Campania. Villanovan settlements in Campania operate in well defined areas characterized by the presence of important waterways and very productive agricultural land, such as the broad plains of the Volturno (Capua), Ager Picentinus (Pontecagnano), and Vallo di Diano (Sala Consilina); the latter area is characterized from the outset by a strong indigenous component that absorbs the Villanovan element. These nuclei are placed in centralized positions of control, to dominate not only the surrounding cultivated areas but also the main trading lines with adjacent territories. They gradually evolve into true “proto-urban” centers, with planned occupation and space that distinguishes the residential areas from the funerary, and in turn separate these off from land intended for cultivation. Cemeteries are characterized by cremation-burials, generally in biconical urns containing the rest of the funerary equipment, which is then placed in a pit or cave. Among the most interesting examples of the Late Bronze Age cemeteries are those at Sant’Angelo in Formis (Caserta) and Gricignano (Aversa), which resemble contemporary sites in Latium in some aspects of their ritual and funerary equip-

ment (Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2004; Marzocchella 2004; Albore Livadie 2007b). Southern Villanovan groups appear fairly homogeneous at the beginning of the Iron Age, and differentiate themselves only gradually. Among the larger funerary complexes is that of Pontecagnano, with over 9000 tombs distributed around the settlement, and strongly influenced by southern Etruria (d'Agostino and Gastaldi 1988; De Natale 1992; Gastaldi 1998; Cinquantaquattro 2001; De Natale 2016). Capua interacts more with centers of *Fossakultur* (Johannowsky 1983), while Sala Consilina develops close links with the valleys of the Sele and Tanagro, and with the Enotri (De La Genière 1968; Ruby 1995).

The *Fossakultur*, evidently an indigenous one, develops between the coast (Cuma, Sarno Valley, and the Campanian plain), and the inside (culture of Oliveto Citra-Cairano). The former area is not only dominant, but also more open towards the outside. Cuma in particular acts as a commercial hub between Etruria and Latium, its fertile hinterland and the eastern Mediterranean, becoming in the end a permanent outpost for the Greeks who at this stage frequent the coasts of Campania perhaps together with the Levantines. The pre-Hellenic necropolis of Cuma has significant similarities with southern Italian necropoleis of the same period (e.g. Torre Galli in Calabria, and Incoronata-San Teodoro in Basilicata), and shows increasing signs of pre-colonial contacts with the Aegean, which, moreover, appear very early (Brun, et al. 2009; Criscuolo and Pacciarelli 2009). The more indicative context, partly because it has been recently and extensively excavated, however, is Longola di Poggiomarino, where the settlement has in this phase its maximum development (Fig. 6). On artificial islands, some used as homes and stables, various craft activities took place, including work in metal, amber (Baltic and non-Baltic), pottery, bone, stone and wood. The presence of Villanovan material is testament to the contact between the two cultures co-existing in Campania at this time, but orbiting around different areas and with different modes of employment (Albore Livadie and Cicirelli 2012).

The cemeteries of the Sarno Valley are mirror images of the settlement at Longola di Poggiomarino, and are among the better known of the *Fossakultur* funerary contexts. They spread over a large territory but have not yet been related to corresponding settlements, which should still be located not far from the modern centers of Striano, San Marzano and San Valentino Torio. The burials in this area are characterized by the frequent presence of a horseshoe-shaped channel – open to the northwest, with the feet of the deceased toward the opening – that surrounds the pit, and that marks, in this chronological stage, adult burials. In them, the emerging male burials are highlighted by the presence of the sword in the equipment, as in Capua, Pontecagnano and Cuma, which would seem to signal the dominance of warriors in their society (Gastaldi 1979) (Fig. 7). The area characterized by the culture of Oliveto-Cairano, between the valley of the Sele and the high valley of the Ofanto, seems more aligned with the Adriatic coast, and with Puglia and Illyria (Bailo Modesti 1980).

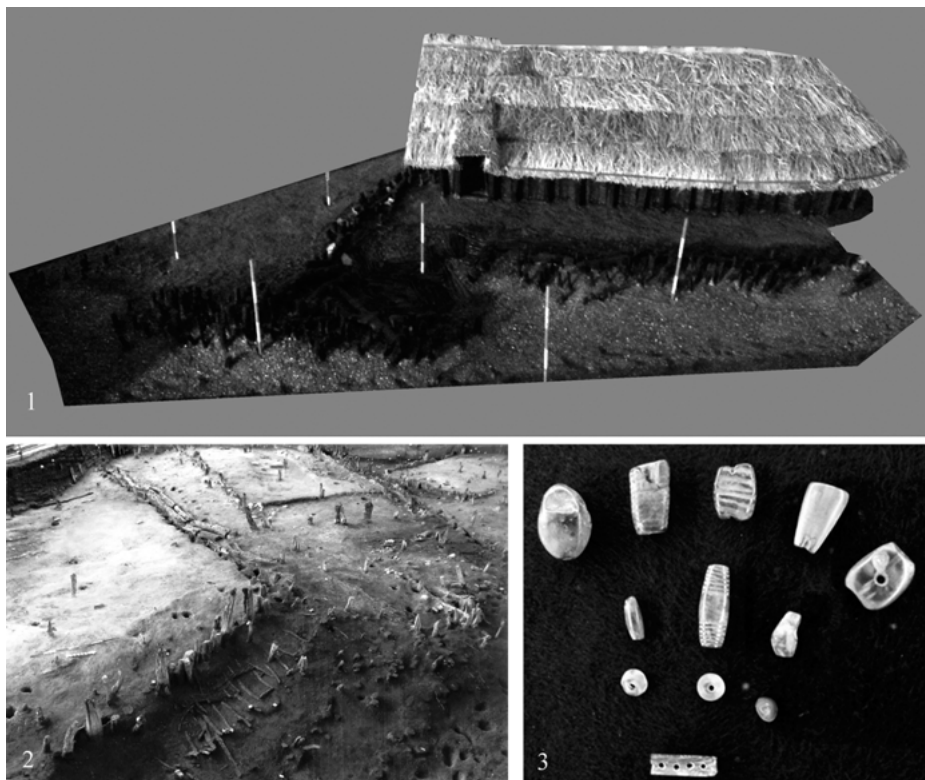


Fig. 6. Longola di Poggiomarino. 1. Reconstruction of a hut; 2. Panoramic view of the “island” IV; 3. Amber beads (6.1–6.3, photos by author; 6.2 from Albore Livadie and Cicirelli 2012, 330, Fig. 123 – L’Erma di Bretschneider)



Fig. 7. 1. San Marzano sul Sarno, necropolis; 2. Tomb 1486, Orientalizing period (Photo and drawing by local Soprintendenza. Study and publication authorized).

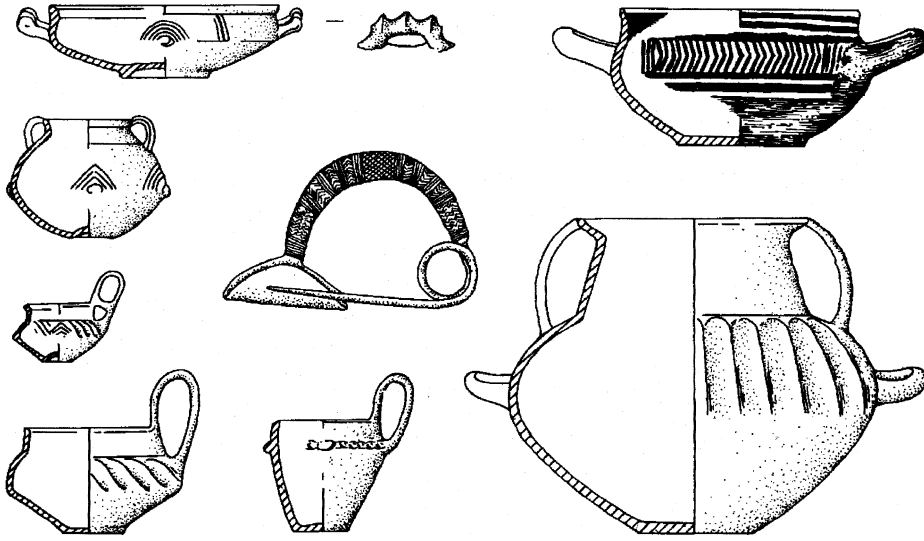


Fig. 8. Objects from tomb Osta 3, Cuma (De Juliis 1996, 30, Fig. 12 – Edipuglia).

V The Orientalizing Period

In the second phase of the Iron Age the situation gradually consolidates, coinciding with the intensification of trans-Mediterranean relations. From 780/770 BC Euboean, Cycladic and Attic cups decorated with hanging semicircles, chevrons, meanders and birds appear in the tombs of Capua, Cuma and Pontecagnano (Fig. 8). In the mid-eighteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier, the Euboean Greeks settled on the Phlegraeen coast, founding Pithecusa and Cuma. In the beginning the first settlement perhaps had more of a manufacturing and commercial purpose, in anticipation of movement to the fertile agricultural plains of the opposite coast. In any case the Greeks on the Phlegraeen coast, among which there was certainly a Phoenician minority, begin an immediate dialogue with the local population, through the circulation of manufactured goods, food and people, notably of craftsmen. Some of the native Campanians certainly also lived in the Greek centers, as it seems possible to infer from the analysis of the goods from the necropolis of San Montano, Ischia. Some burials in fact have impasto pottery and iron tools, and sometimes the deceased are in the fetal position, signs perhaps of the presence of a people with a different ethnic identity (Buchner and Ridgway 1993; Nizzo 2007).

At this stage throughout Campania there are interregional exchanges and international contacts, making it an extremely complex area not always easy to interpret. The circulation of raw materials and luxury goods helps to set a market in motion and contributes to the centralization of wealth in the hands of groups of people that are soon identifiable as elite classes. The organisation of the city of Cuma in

the second half of the eighth century led to more complex relationships with other centers, especially with Pontecagnano. In both cities an aristocracy developed who share the same values and cultural models of Homeric heroic type, exemplified by a particular type of princely cremation-burial in a bronze cauldron and stone box (a *cista*), typical of Euboea, the origin of the Greek settlers. The progressive expansion of control over the territory of Cuma, already documented on the hill of Pozzuoli from the middle of the seventh century, contributes to changing the political and social equilibrium.

From this point until the beginning of the sixth century, Campania comes under the influence of that broad cultural phenomenon defined as “Orientalization” which spreads throughout the Mediterranean basin, particularly in the center and east. Capua then becomes the main agricultural site of northern Campania. Under the control of these new dominant centers, the smaller communities reorganize their land management: satellites and smaller settlements clump together, and we witness a phenomenon of centralization that affects the whole of the indigenous Campanian world. Suessula, Calatia, Nola and Avella develop at this time: the functional planning of Campanian spaces that are defined in this period will last until the Roman era. Even in the necropoleis we witness a restructuring of space, with the definition of clearly defined areas that can be connected to family groups, which are easy to see emerging. If adult males are still characterized by the presence of weapons in the funerary equipment, the female graves are enriched now with a complex funerary costume, including numerous ornaments, often in precious metals and amber. Domestic activities also become visible, indicated by the presence of tools for weaving and spinning, as well as in some cases knives and axes, perhaps evidence of rituals carried out by women. At this stage objects related to oriental-type banquets also appear: skewers, andirons, knives and metal pottery are found in prominent male and female graves, along with precious objects from all over the Mediterranean and sets of vessels for the consumption of wine. In some instances traces of wagons and harnesses are also found, clear signs of the high position of the deceased.

VI The Etruscan period

At the end of the eighth century the Villanovan centers of Capua and Pontecagnano evolve into communities deeply influenced by Etruscan culture, as evidenced by the emergence of the Etruscan language, already documented in the first half of the seventh century. New urban planning affects both cities under the leadership of the aristocracy (Fig. 9). At Pontecagnano the old cemeteries are abandoned in favor of two sites behind the town, to the east and west respectively, which are reclaimed for this purpose. At the same time other areas of the town are dedicated to craft activities and probably sacred spaces. The same phenomenon of repositioning burial areas is also observed in Capua, where an urban necropolis develops which will remain in use until the sixth century (Cuozzo 2003; Cuozzo, et al. 2005; *Gli Etruschi e la Cam-*

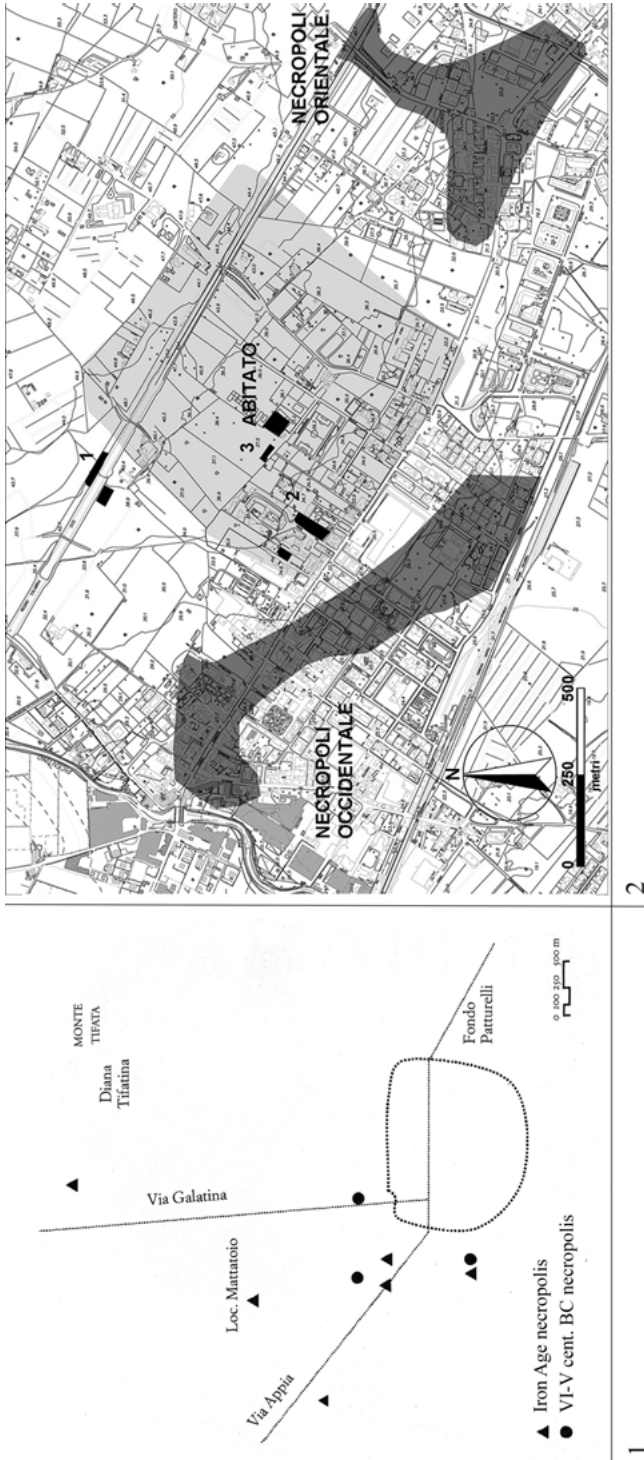


Fig. 9. 1. Capua. Plan of the settlement and sanctuaries with Iron Age and sixth-fifth centuries BC cemeteries (Cerchiai 2010, 15, Fig. 2.1 – Carocci); 2. Pontecagnano. Plan of the settlement and cemeteries (Cinquantaquattro 2013, Fig. 36 – Collège de France).

pania settentrionale 2011). As part of *Fossakultur*, even in the Sarno Valley, a social hierarchy is a progressively obvious. In the necropoleis it is possible to note the adherence to the same cultural models outlined in Etruscan sites, even if the “orientalizing” trend is not detectable in the residential areas, apart from Longola di Poggiomarino which keeps its artisanal and commercial site characteristics. This area is one of the key partners for the Greek cities of the coast because of its position in the north-south passage, and a large amount of ceramic material and oriental luxury items flows from here to the valley (De Spagnolis 2001).

The beginning of the sixth century sees the expansion of the Etruscans, coming from Capua in the north and to the south from Pontecagnano. From the extant epigraphic documentation it is clear that Etruscan becomes, from the sixth century onwards, the most spoken language in Campania, while Oscan strains remain in onomastic forms in Greek and Etruscan inscriptions. Etruscan, together with the Greek monopoly of the Phlegraean coastal sector and the Gulf of Naples, leads to the marginalization of Oscan, which survives in the outlying areas. In particular, in the most northern part of Campania, between the Liri and Garigliano rivers, a number of indigenous communities occupied the territory in a dispersed manner, divided into villages, whose meeting-points were in sanctuaries. In the area of Teano are located the Sidicini, whose settlements orbit the course of Savone River and along the inland road that leads to Capua, which acted as a nodal point between Latium, Samnium and the Campanian plain. They find their fulcrum in the two sanctuaries of Loreto and Fondo Ruozzo, which are decorated in the Campanian manner, perhaps specifically through the influence of Cuma. The two places of worship are dedicated to a goddess who protects the community and fertility, and in later inscriptions is called *Pupluna* (Sirano 2006). The Ausonians/Aurunci instead occupy, as mentioned above, the coastal plain of the Garigliano; the sanctuaries at which they meet are those of Marica and Panetelle (Rescigno 1993; Talamo 1993; see Smith in the present volume).

The “Etruscanization” of Campania attests to the success of the urban model, catalyzing the different forms of territorial occupation then present, which established themselves as a dominant element. The final urbanization of Campania comes about through the agency of all of the cultural components present there: Greeks, Etruscans and natives. City planning was based on the layout of roads, and then by a distinction being made between residential areas (constructed in blocks), artisanal districts, public spaces and sacred areas. One of the momentous steps which can be observed is the monumentalization of sanctuaries, which are conceived of as public places in all respects, fully functional for the entire political community, occupying the urban core and in turn helping to define it as an urban space. The sanctuary becomes not only the place where the community comes together, but also a place of meeting and exchange, and the embodiment of the community to neighboring groups. This phenomenon is attested early in northern Campania, where Cuma and Capua – the latter mentioned by Strabo (5.4.3) as a metropolis at the head of a league of twelve Etruscan cities – encourage close interaction. This relationship leads to the definition of common architectural and decorative models, exemplified



Fig. 10. “Mother” from Fondo Patturelli sanctuary (Photo by author).

by the so-called “Campanian roof,” laid by skilled labor capable of operating on a regional scale, and thus a testament to the wide cultural affirmation also of these two urban centers. This model spreads to Pompeii, and further south, to Fratte and Pontecagnano (Rescigno 1998). Various areas of suburban cult are also identified in Capua, whose pre-Roman urban environment is difficult to read because of the modern town overlying it. The most important site is Fondo Patturelli, on the east side of town, where a complex shrine with an adjoining *lucus* (sacred grove) was dedicated to a female divinity connected with fertility and motherhood, the so-called “Campanian mother.” She appears as female figure on a throne suckling a child or children in swaddling clothes (Fig. 10). At Sant’Angelo in Formis, on the border with the territory of Cuma, and with the obvious function of “patrolling” this boundary, there was instead a shrine dedicated to Artemis/Diana, known from numerous sources, while a shrine located in the vicinity of “Hamae” is known from the *Tabula Ca-*

puana – a Capuan liturgical calendar engraved on a clay slab, dating back to ca. 470 BC – and Livy (23.35), but not yet identified on the ground (Cristofani 1995; Rescigno 2009; Cerchiai 2011).

The arrival of the city brings with it territorial remodeling on a large scale. The crowding of populations into larger centers, with the relative crisis of the aristocratic system based on a few dominant families managing large agricultural areas, leads to new requirements and dynamics. The growing needs of an aggregated population, which continues to increase, cause a precipitous increase in the volume of trade, and the development of craft activities with more standardized and intensive production, such as that of bucchero pottery, which after an initial stage of the importation from southern Etruria begins to be made locally at the start of the sixth century (Minoja 2000). If Cuma is privileged with respect to connections with Latium and Etruria, Capua instead manages trade with the Ionian coast, through the internal routes that it controls. This period is characterized by the arrival in Campania of luxury goods from many quarters, which are routed through the two cities, and then throughout the region, making them available to the ruling classes. Symposiastic goods from Etruria, figured Corinthian and then Attic pottery, and metallic pottery from Laconian workshops, are imported in great quantities, accompanied by another consumer product that takes on more cultural capital: wine. Towards the end of the sixth century Capua begins production of fine metallic pottery, which it exports to the indigenous lands of Hirpinia, Basilicata and north-central Puglia (Sharp 1987). The latest examples of funerary ostentation date back precisely to the middle of the sixth century, such as the Capuan tomb of Quattordici Ponti containing an Etruscan chariot and a rich collection of precious objects from Greece and Etruria (Bellelli 2006). The nature of the citizen groups that are created, however, remains difficult to discern. Certainly free men who participate in political life ought to form a closed and elitist circle; they live together with a larger population that remained excluded, and the control they exert upon this population inevitably generated friction.

The gathering of people in a few large centers, though rich in opportunities, of course leads to a demand for an increased food supply. Arable areas, managed in a more rational manner, both in intensity and scope, are controlled by the urban centers. The farming villages lose their appeal and reason to exist, and new settlements sometimes come to overshadow older ones. This is the case with Nola, Nocera, Pompeii, Stabia, Vico Equense and Fratte. In particular, Fratte outshines the nearby and until then dominant Pontecagnano. This dynamic is particularly evident in the Sarno Valley: the cemeteries do not seem to continue beyond the end of the century, and the site of Longola di Poggiomarino comes to an end. A significant phenomenon of displacement towards the coast due to a change in economic, productive and commercial dynamics in the plain leads to the emergence of Nocera and Pompeii. In particular Pompeii, defined by Strabo (5.48.8) as an *epineion* (port) on the Sarno, and whose walls and first road network date to the beginning of the sixth century, becomes the main point of control of the coast and the agricultural hinterland. The area limited by the walls was not fully built at the beginning, although it was exten-

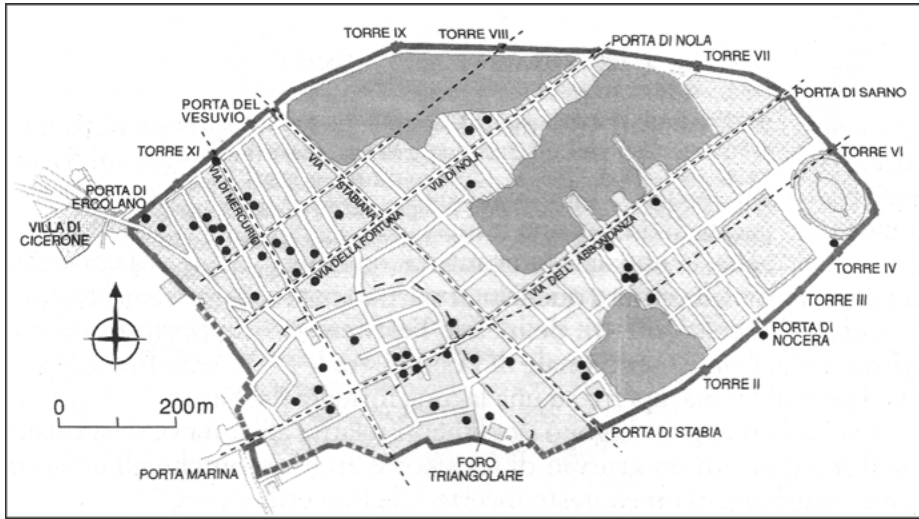


Fig. 11. Pompeii. Plan of the city with archaic finds (Cerchiai 2010, 72, Fig. 4.6 – Carocci).

sively occupied and planned: the south-western sector of the town has produced the most evidence for this period, and its heart, the intersection between Via di Mercurio and Via Marina, consists of the temple of Apollo next to the city-square which in Roman times will become the forum (Fig. 11). The temple is of Etruscan type, built in perishable materials, and has a “Campanian” roof. In the Triangular Forum, in a raised space that dominated the lagoon and harbor below, stands the Temple of Athena and Heracles. It was of Greek type and made of stone, perhaps with Poseidonian influence. The presence of two diverse sacred areas emphasizes the open nature of the settlement, in which the Etruscan element lives on but is open to Greeks (De Caro 1986; De Waele 2001).

The birth of Fratte, in the Etruscan Ager Picentinus and in the orbit of Pontecagnano, should also be placed at the beginning of the sixth century, and this should probably be ascribed to the initiative of aristocratic groups. The location of the settlement is evidently due to the need to control simultaneously the exchange routes by land and sea and to the north, in the direction of Cuma and Capua, and to the south, looking toward neighboring Poseidonia. The opening of the site to the outside is also evident in the epigraphic documentation: on an Etruscan linguistic basis we find Greek and Italic elements, with writing in Greek or Oscan in the Poseidonian alphabet. The integration of different ethnic and cultural components appears fully accomplished between Fratte and Pontecagnano, so that Greek aristocratic names can be adapted to Etruscan forms (for example in the inscription engraved by Tomb 3757 at Pontecagnano), while the Greek and Etruscan peoples are associated in an inscription relating to symposiastic events (on an *olpe* from Fratte, Tomb 26/1963) (Pellegrino 2010) (Fig. 12). With the establishment of Poseidonia and the consolidation of Fratte during the sixth century it seems that Pontecagnano shrank and gradually

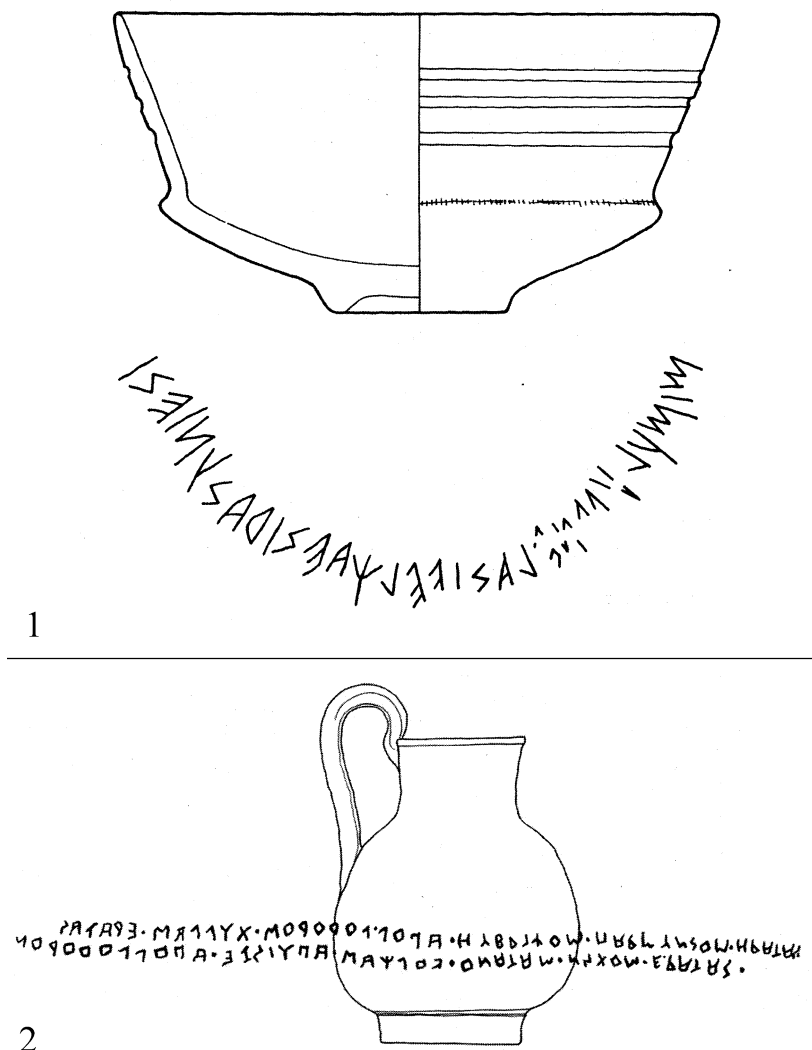


Fig. 12. 1. Pontecagnano. Etruscan inscription from Tomb 3509; 2. Olpe from Tomb 26/1963 (Cerchiai 2010, 37, Fig. 3.1 and 79, Fig. 4.10 – Carocci).

turned to an agricultural economy, and the dominant aristocratic classes are less evident in the necropolis. This also had an impact on the generalized and monumental space-planning for the urban center of Pontecagnano. Its urban fabric was divided by establishing roads that delimit blocks in a previously unoccupied area, while simultaneously establishing the first fortifications. The city also equips two places as shrines at the limitations of civic space. The first, to the south, is dedicated to Apollo – also worshiped under the Etruscan name *Manth* – and his cult seems heavily influenced by Poseidonia. Placed to the north is a wetland sanctuary dedicated to a

female divinity of chthonic type, similar to Demeter/Ceres (Bailo Modesti, et al. 2005; Pellegrino Rossi 2011).

VI From Etruscan to Oscan influence

At this point, the Etruscans are the main group interacting with the Greeks in Campania. With their rapid growth and increasing control of the agricultural hinterland and south reaching the Sele, they seem to become in the middle of sixth century stronger competition for Cuma. One can explain the interruption of continuity of life at Partenope at the hands of Cumans or the Etruscans, and the foundation of Di-cearchia in 531 BC to Samians fleeing Polycrates, aided by the Cumans who wanted to strengthen their control over the coast. One can date to 524 an attack on Cuma, carried out according to tradition by Etruscans from the Po area, Umbrians and Daunians with the help of barbarian forces. One suspects that Capua was involved, although it is not mentioned in our sources. But Capua would certainly have benefited from this attack. The victory of the Cumaeans under Aristodemus leads the latter to acquire great popular favor. In 505, this same Aristodemus is sent by the oligarchs of Cuma to the aid of Aricia, which was attacked by Arruns, son of Porsenna, during his war against the Latin cities. His unexpected victory at Aricia allowed Aristodemus to overthrow the government of Cuma on his return and to establish a tyranny that lasted until 485–484. Nevertheless, Aristodemus was assassinated ca. 490: the conspiracy against him was organized by the exiled nobility of Cuma, with the help of the aristocracy of Capua, where the exiles had taken refuge. After these events Cuma does not seem to have returned to its previous splendor. One might attribute to the time of Aristodemus the growth of the urban space at Cuma and major public works such the Temple of Apollo on the Acropolis, the restructuring of the walls and the creation of a large sewer, perhaps the so-called Fossa Graeca (Lepore 1989, *Gli Etruschi e la Campania settentrionale* 2011).

With the fall of Aristodemus Campania has a less privileged relationship with southern coastal Etruria, while a new maritime power in southern Tyrrhenia arises in Syracuse. Accordingly it is from Syracuse that Cuma asks for help in 474 BC, when it is attacked by an Etruscan fleet. The Greek victory in the waters of Cuma are seen as a Syracusan victory over the barbarians, whereas the Campanians receive a secondary role. Cuma is in fact forced to submit to the protection of Syracuse, and within a few years has to cede control of Pithecusa. The political instability of Cuma at this time might be reflected in the three weight systems for its coin issues between 480 and 421: a “Chalcidean” system, an “Attic-Syracusan” one, and a third “Phocaean-Campanian” one introduced by Elea. Thanks to the protection of Syracuse Cuma can consolidate its territory, and then reoccupy – in an act of refoundation with the Chalcidians, Pithecusans and Athenians – the site of ancient Partenope, which becomes “Paleopolis” (old city), as opposed to Naples (i.e. “Neapolis,” the new city), founded in 470 (Fig. 13). The new city will soon replace Cuma in the man-

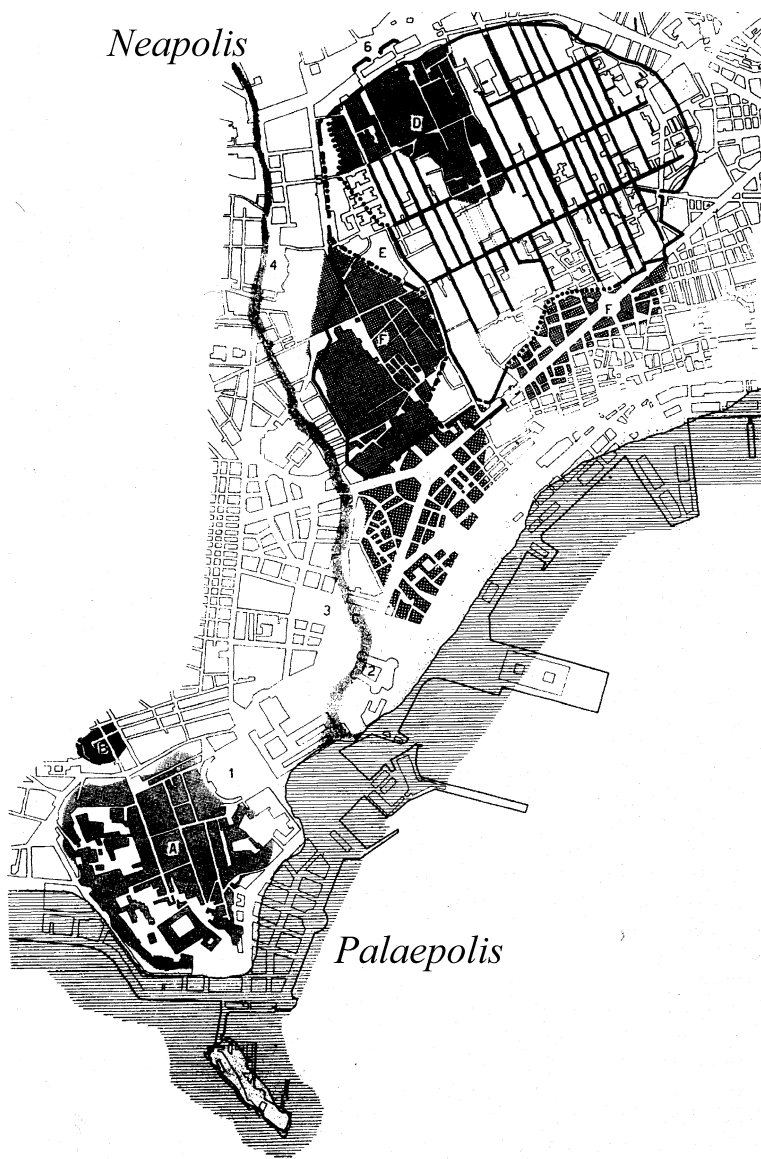


Fig. 13. Plan of Neapolis and Palaepolis (De Juliis 1996, 203, n. 19650 – Edipuglia, modified by the author).

agement of maritime traffic, taking control of important stations like Punta della Campanella, Capri and Pithecusa – abandoned by Syracuse in 466 because of an eruption – and building a privileged dialogue with Athens. Athens had participated in its foundation, and during the Peloponnesian War (431–404), when Athens had difficulty managing its own agricultural areas to obtain supplies, exchanged fine painted ceramics for Campanian wheat; these are found throughout the region.

The central role of Neapolis in Tyrrhenian commerce is confirmed by its coinage weight-system, which from the beginning was “Phocaeen” (De Juliis 1996; Mele 2009).

Greek Neapolis sits in contrast to the Oscan “new city” Nola. The interaction between the two worlds is such that according to Strabo (5.4.7), as a result of internal conflicts, the citizenry of the Greek city was expanded to the point that people of Campanian origin even serve in the main magistracy, the Demarchy. The proximity between Naples and the Campanian element is demonstrated by silver coin issues, minted in Naples between the end of the fifth and the first two decades of the fourth century, on behalf of indigenous communities identified by ethnics that are not always recognizable (Cantilena 2000). For their part, the central plains are at this stage subject to profound cultural changes, such that the inscriptions on tombstones in a Paleoitalic dialect are gradually replaced by texts in Samnitic language, written in the Etruscan alphabet. This could be due to the arrival of the Italic peoples in Campania, and their progressive integration into the previous substrate, perhaps after the expedition against the Cuma in 524 BC (Colonna 2005).

The return of oligarchic faction in Cuma also marks a moment of crisis in the system of relations between different cultural worlds, albeit their interest in commerce, integration and mutual growth remains. Latium, southern coastal Etruria and Campania are in crisis. They assert themselves as conservative oligarchies whose wealth is again based on the monitoring of agricultural resources; they have less interest in trade, and try to crush the artisan classes with commercial interests which had so far been responsible for their growth. This restored oligarchy put a stop to non-agricultural productive activities, and also stops the government assistance that had shaped the city in the previous century. Capua, for example, is also affected by this reformulation of the political structure. Its ruling oligarchy, with a clever conservative strategy, more and more emphasized its Etruscan origin. Livy (4.37.1–2) reports that in 423 BC the city of Volturum, the ancient name of the Etruscan city, about to be conquered by the Samnites, was called Capua after the conquest. The name, Livy continues, makes reference to the name of the Samnite commander, Capi, or it is more probably an allusion to the plains around the city. The Italic conquerors then restored the ancient name of the town as known from the sixth century sources, changing it from “Volturum,” perhaps a name that comes from an act of “refounding” by the oligarchy. From Diodorus (12.31.1) we learn that in 438, through an oath between the indigenous aristocracy and the army, “the people of Campania” was formed – a name derived precisely from *campus*, the agricultural territory as opposed to the urban space (Matzke 1992).

The Campani are actually not an external entity, but represent the aggregation of the indigenous communities living in the plain of the Volturno, integrated into a system managed and guided by Etruscans and Greeks. Their ruling classes seem perfectly integrated into the cities of Cuma and Capua, and even share their public spaces and funerary languages. This group of people who formed the basis of the work force for the Greek and Etruscan cities are identified as living precisely on the *campus*, in

the agricultural area, in the *chora* as opposed to large urban centers. It is from these centers, and their wealth, that the Campanians were excluded, and thus they were able to find support in the lower classes and the middle classes of artisans in the city, dominated as they were by the aristocratic oligarchy.

In 423 BC Capua, as already mentioned, was conquered by the Campani (D.H. 15.3.7), who were equated by the Romans to the Samnites (Liv. 4.37.1–2), after an initial phase in which they were accepted in the city. We are not witnessing an invasion, but the outcome of an internal political struggle, already well under way. Two years later, in 421, Cuma is also taken. The city seems not to lose its Greek characteristics: the old citizens are simply replaced by Oscans, even acquiring the houses and women of previous occupants (D.S. 12.76.4; Ex. 5.4.4.) and restoring the political structure of the city with new elements. The economic and social structures of these new centers maintain a strong continuity with the past: the cavalry remains as an essential aristocratic institution, which is reflected in the Oscan *vereia*, a troop led by a commander-official, the *meddix* (La Regina 1981). The ruling elite is characterized by a strong military ideology. The role that Campanian mercenaries played in the struggles of Magna Grecia and Sicily between the end of the fifth century and the middle of the fourth should not be underestimated. This mercenarism is an important alternative to the acquisition of land in Campania, which is in fact in the hands of the aristocratic classes of *equites* (Tagliamonte 1994).

At Capua, however, an Etruscan aristocratic class remains, detectable for example in a tomb, probably belonging to an Etruscan, which has a dedication in Oscan in the Etruscan alphabet. Thus the binary relationship Cuma/Capua is re-established, although now under the control of a new ethnic group, while the Lucanians press further south to Poseidonia, Elea and Laos. At this time silver coin issues are produced by the mint of Naples, which serves as something of an intermediary for the new indigenous political realities, now that they feel the need to assert their identity.

Between the fifth and fourth centuries there seems to be something of a crisis whereas in the previous period there had been a robust period of economic growth: for example at Pompeii, where entire districts are depopulated, and also at Fratte, which at the end of the fifth century is actually abandoned. Fratte had arisen to serve as a commercial hub, with one of the main axes directed towards Cuma. However, after 474 BC the Greek city, as we have seen, loses its leading role in the coastal trade from Campania, where Naples had played a central role. The inability of Fratte to fit into the new exchange dynamics would also lead to an ongoing crisis (Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990; Pontrandolfo and d'Agostino 1991).

In contrast, a phase of re-occupation of the plains seems to begin, which favors farming towns like Nola and Nocera. In particular Nola seems to be the only urban center to issue its own currency, but with the name in Greek (*Nolaios*, *Nolaion*). Pontecagnano, frozen for some time in its agricultural economy, maintains a certain vitality, albeit showing little dynamism. Political and social changes are apparent in funerary contexts. In fact, although the burials dated after the first quarter of the fifth century are quite similar to each other, we can notice the presence of tombs be-

longing to an aristocratic class that was able to concentrate in its hands a traditional kind of wealth based on land ownership. This privileged minority uses mainly cremation, and relies heavily on Hellenized cultural language, which emphasizes participation across aristocracies that use the same language. Standing out among all these are Tombs 5681 and 5746, where a large number of Attic red-figured vases are linked to the presence of wine-bearing amphora, a clear reference to the symposium. The arrival of new groups has been documented at Pontecagnano, including some coming from Samnium which seem to arrive by the middle / third quarter of the fifth century. They occupy marginal parts of the oldest burial grounds, but also spaces hitherto unused (Cerchiai, et al. 1994; Pellegrino 2014).

If the spaces intended for settlement and burial are subject to different dynamics, a marked continuity characterizes the use of sanctuary-space, which generally survive in the locations where they had existed before, although their cult activity undergoes major changes. Earlier deities are replaced by those corresponding to the Italic pantheon, which maintain their functions after this makeover. At Capua, the sanctuary of Uni/Hera at Fondo Patturelli became one of Ceres. So worship related to the maternal sphere remains, enriched with ceremonies in honor of Jupiter Flavius, a Jupiter especially pertaining to lightning, to protect a funeral cult connected to the ancestors (probably for the aristocratic classes), evidenced by the presence of *iuvilas*, small stele of terracotta or volcanic tuff, with inscriptions in Oscan. The same phenomenon affects the sanctuary of Athena at Punta Campanella, where the goddess is assimilated to Minerva (AA.VV 1992; Zavaroni 2006; Rescigno 2009a; Ruffo 2010).

The ever increasing demand for figurative ceramics, satisfied up to now by Attic workshops, leads from the second quarter of the fifth century to the creation of local workshops. They use iconographic motifs already present on imported vessels, and their activities will continue throughout the fourth century in workshops between Nola, Capua and Cuma. During the fourth century the iconographic repertoire – both on pottery and painted in tombs – focus on themes and figures that are more closely linked to Campanian culture. Especially prominent are painted chest or chambers tombs with images that celebrate the deceased, and which are entirely foreign to Greek ideals. The main examples of these are found in Capua and Nola, but there are also examples in Cuma, Afragola and Sarno (Fig. 14). Most of those at Pontecagnano are southern in style, notably in the style of those of Lucanian Paestum, and belong to a different tradition. There are basically two dominant motifs: for the burials of males, the representation of a warrior on foot or horseback wearing Samnite armor; and for females, depictions of women involved in everyday or ritual activities, dressed according to local fashion (Trendall 1989; Valenza Mele 1990; Benassai 2001; Laforgia 2003; Cipriani, et al. 2004).

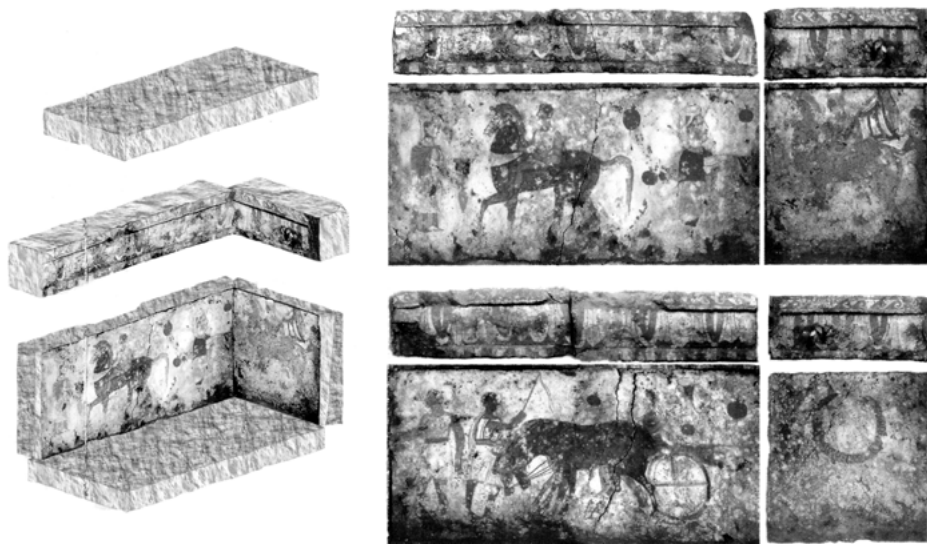


Fig. 14. Sarno, Galitta del Capitano. Tomb 1801 (Photo and drawing by local Soprintendenza. Study and publication authorized).

VII The Roman period

At the beginning of the fourth century, Campania is separated along an ethnic divide into two large areas: one in north-central Campania, projected along the coast, among which are Capua and Nola, the latter more oriented towards the Samnite world; and another more southerly area, under Samnite influence, focusing roughly on the Agro Picentino. At this stage certainly the control of Capua and its fertile plain leads to conflicts with the Samnites, who can count on a real league for support, and whose sphere of influence stretches from the Adriatic to Tyrrhenian Campania. In 343 BC, in a complex game of alliances, Capua, attacked by the Samnites, calls in the Romans to help them and submits to Roman control, coming under its influence for the first time (the First Samnite War, 343–341). During the Latin War (340–338), however, the city joins the opponents of Rome; not all Capuans agree with this choice: the *equites* in fact prefer to maintain faithful to Rome, to protect their interests. After the Roman victory, Capua loses the Ager Falernus, which is divided among Roman settlers.

In subsequent years Capua, Cuma, Suessula, Acerra, Atella and perhaps Calatia obtain the status of *civitas sine suffragio*, which allows them to maintain a certain autonomy, while Cales (Calvi Risorta) becomes a colony with Latin rights. Meanwhile, with the construction of the Via Latina, Rome extends its influence to the main roads of southern Latium. The origins of the Second Samnite War (327–304 BC) can be found in a dispute over Naples, key to the control of the southern Tyrrhenian

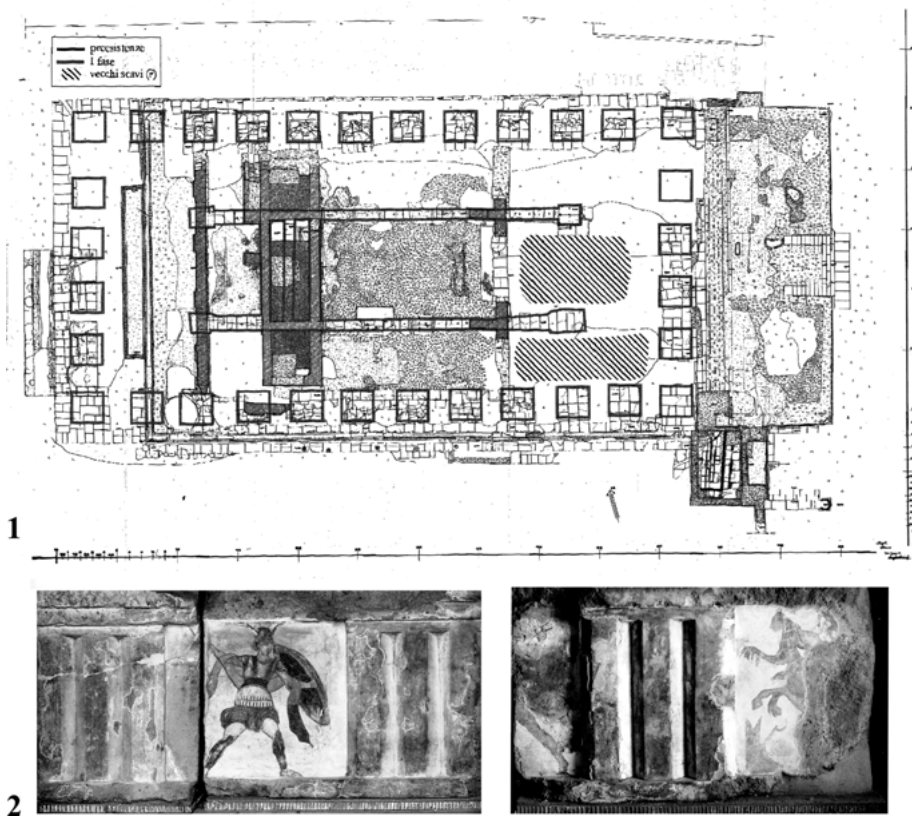


Fig. 15. 1. Cuma, Capitolium (Petacco and Rescigno 2007, 79, Fig. 2 – Naus Editoria); 2. Metopes with centauromachy (Rescigno 2008, 250, Fig. 1. Electa Napoli, modified by the author).

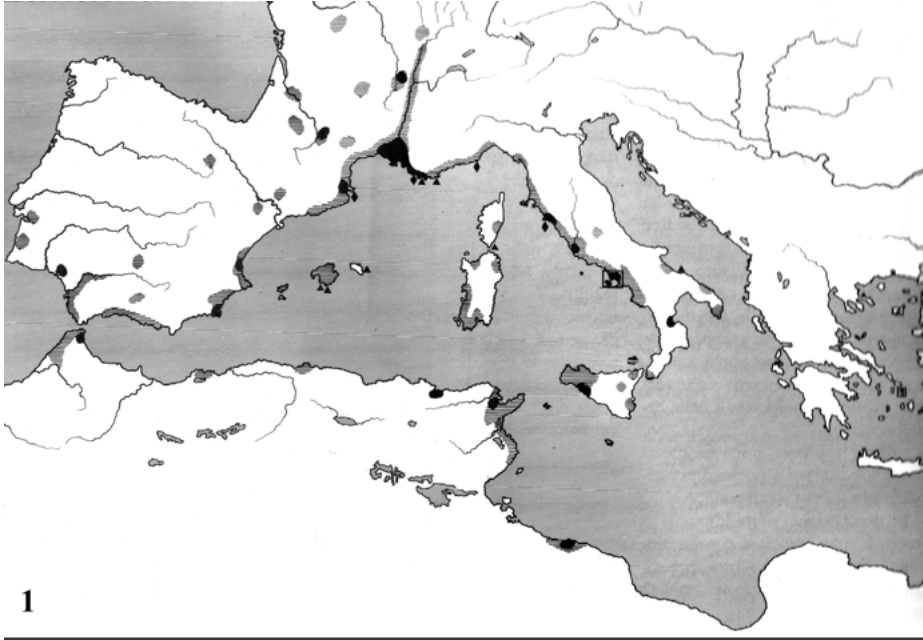
coast. Perhaps beholden to its Samnite connections, Naples sided against Rome with Nola, Tarentum and the Samnites. Again the population appears divided between a pro-Roman aristocratic class and the lower classes, who see in the clash the possibility of acquiring control of new agricultural lands. In 327 BC, after a year under siege, the city capitulated, remaining fundamentally in the hands of the aristocracy, and managing to maintain some autonomy; in exchange it becomes a Roman allied state. After the surrender of Naples and brief moments of disorder, the whole of Campania becomes subject to the military control of Rome through the foundation of Roman and Latin colonies. The last to surrender are Nola and Nocera, respectively in 311 and 307, which become allied cities (Frederiksen 1984).

Campania's passage into the Roman orbit marks the beginning of a phase of territorial reorganization and a comprehensive policy. This policy prioritizes the need to reform and renew the system through a new institutional balance although one based on traditional power structures. The region enjoys renewed prosperity, aided by the intensive management of agricultural resources and the repopulation of the

countryside. The cohesion of the Campanian world was disappearing, while individual urban centers were enhanced and restructured, with the resumption of major projects related to public housing. This was driven by the idea of a city surrounded by walls, arranged in rectangular blocks inside, and divided by a road system on orthogonal axes. The new centers are designed from scratch according to this scheme and the existing large cities adapt to it.

Acerra is urbanized, the plan of the city articulated on a main intersection between a *cardo* and *decumanus*, and the same thing happens in Teano, whose foundation comes from the aggregation of the older, scattered nuclei; because of its favorable position on the *Via Latina* it becomes one of the region's most important centers (Sirano 2009). At Cuma the entire forum square appears, dominated by a *capitolium* whose podium has a Doric frieze in volcanic tuff, decorated with metopes painted with the representation of a centauromachy (Rescigno 2009b) (Fig. 15). The same phenomenon is found at Capua, Calatia and Suessula, where at the same time we see intensification of the exploitation of agricultural land. This is made more productive by the streamlined exploitation and installation of widespread farms, which occasionally evolve into actual villages. Naples itself is affected by deep urban changes, most notably by the creation of a large port serving the massive volume of trade that the city now manages. This is reflected in the impressive production of transport amphorae and black-glazed pottery, which spread throughout the Mediterranean (Fig. 16). Naples also reorganizes the old *agora*, which becomes a double forum devoted to both religious/political and commercial functions. In the southern part of the region this phenomenon is particularly evident in the case of the Sarno Valley, with centers at Pompeii and Nocera, and on the extreme end at Sorrento. In Pompeii the walls are rebuilt, while the eastern part of the urban space, far less densely occupied, is organized on a regular plan centered with the main axes of the *Via Stabiana*, the *Via di Nola* and *Via dell'Abbondanza*, intersecting with them a right angle. This choice is all the more significant when we consider the substantial difference in orientation compared to the oldest urban sector in the southwest section of the town. Great elite residences are built, obvious manifestations of the persistence of the old ruling classes, in whose hands wealth is centralized, while great suburban villas appear – Villa Regina for example, in Boscoreale – aimed at controlling agricultural production. At Nocera too the walls are restored and the urban plan remodeled. In both cases, the two cities are “refounded:” the planimetric transformation thus takes on a political and cultural significance, in which the figure of the god *Sarnus* serves to emphasize their roots and independence at a time of strong political integration into the Roman sphere of influence. Sorrento probably undergoes the same treatment in this period, with a plan organized according to the same pattern (De Caro 1992; Russo 1999; Rescigno and Senatore 2009; Ruffo 2011).

The great economic power of the cities, and in particular that of Capua, leads to a major investment in public works, especially political and religious monuments. These are partly reconstructed and enriched with architectural decorations, which are now no longer limited to the local repertoire, but open to the Hellenistic world



1



2

Fig. 16. 1. Campana A pottery: map of distribution; 2. Campana A pottery from the Grand Congloué shipwreck (AA.VV. *Napoli Antica* 1985, 374–375. Macchiaroli, modified by the author).

of Magna Graecia, especially Tarentum. At Capua the temple of Diana Tifatina is rebuilt according to the Etruscan and Italic podium model, while at Fondo Patturelli multiple *iuvilas* and dedications of mother figures – in terracotta or tuff – now bear in their womb up to twelve infants, perhaps related to the dedicant's ability to pay. At Teano the monumental shrine in the locality of Loreto is reconstructed in monumental form. In Pompeii sanctuaries get a new life, and the architectural decoration of the Triangular Forum temple is completely renewed. In the sanctuary of Punta Campanella, which remains important throughout the second century, a clear reference to Homeric Athena is made by the introduction of a Phrygian helmet, which emphasizes a shared Trojan descent with the Roman conquerors, and extends

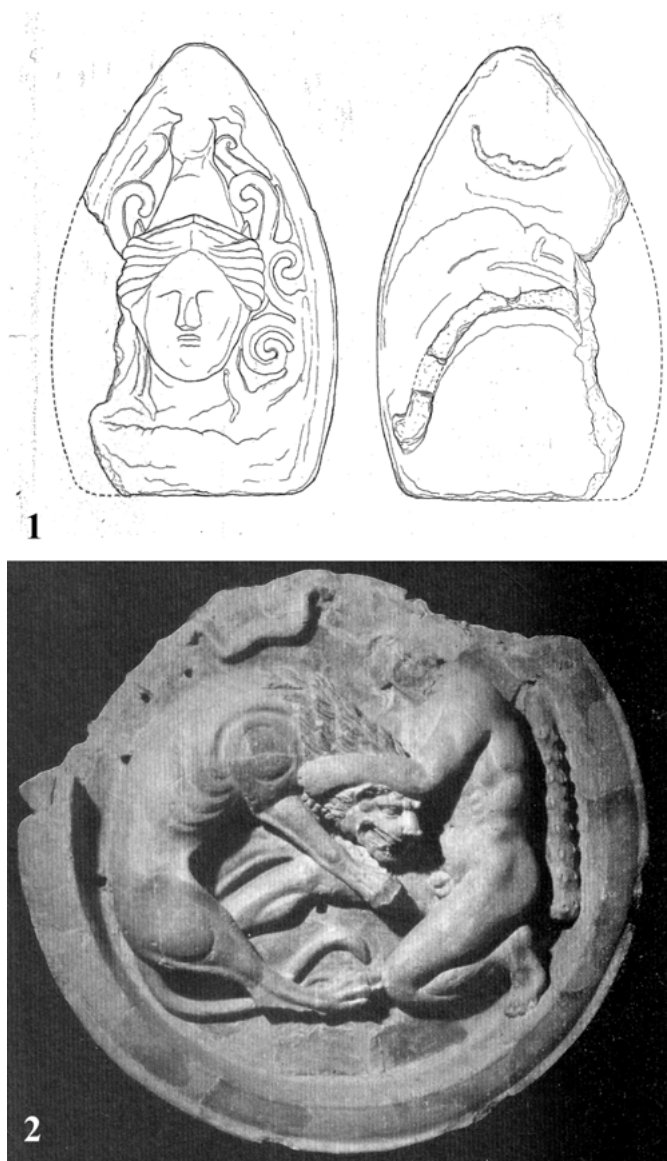


Fig. 17. Fratte. 1. Antefix with head of Athena with Phrygian cap; 2. *Kalypter egemon* with Herakles and the Nemean lion (Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990, 66, Fig. 74 and 68, Fig. 78. Franco Cosimo Panini, modified by the author).

this ideological message to the entire coast from Pompei in Pontecagnano (Cerchiai 2002). Votive production multiplies, becoming larger and more standardized, following various cultural threads as related to their specific commissions: for those better educated and Hellenized, or for the lower classes with multi-serial production linked

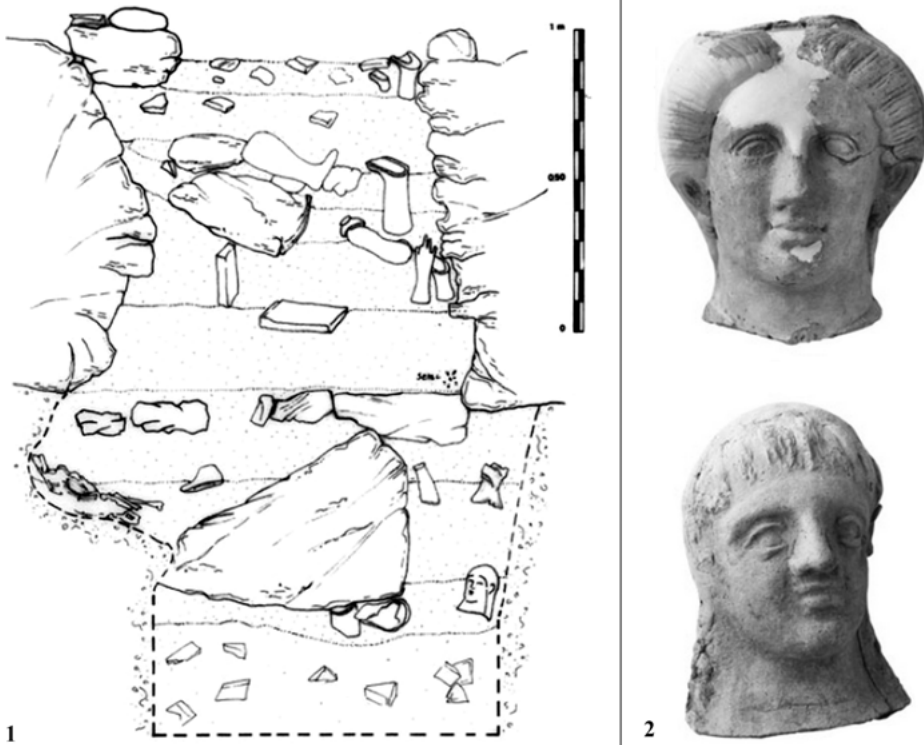


Fig. 18. Pontecagnano, southern sanctuary. 1. Section of votive pit; 2. Terracottas from the pit (Baillo Modesti, et al. 2005, 582, Figs. d, e, f – Edipuglia).

to local or central Italian traditions and style – a phenomenon that is probably to be attributed to the Roman element now in contact with Campania (Comella 2005).

Different dynamics are at work in southern Campania, corresponding to the *Ager Picentinus*. Here, in fact, at the end of the fourth century, Fratte comes back to life, probably due to its ability to monitor the roadways. Politics seem to be regulated by a dominant aristocratic group. The citizens assert their own identity in a cult area located on the acropolis, and their vitality is demonstrated by the large amount of architectural terracottas and votives found there (Fig. 17). However, this recovery was short-lived. Towards the middle of the third century, the village shrinks and disappears in favor of the nearby, recently-founded Salerno. Pontecagnano seems more stable, where it maintains a certain social and political balance. Although on the edge of the areas most subject to change, even Pontecagnano sees building renovations, particularly clear in the city-walls and in the two sanctuaries. The cemeteries show a continuity of use until at least the middle of the fourth century, when areas that were not previously occupied come into use; these are used by the ruling class, and their burials are characterized by chamber tombs with very Hellenized funerary goods found within. However, Pontecagnano itself is in crisis at the beginning of the

third century: residential areas are abandoned, as are the sanctuaries, with evidence of rites of closure and deconsecration being performed there (Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990; Bailo Modesti, et al. 2005) (Fig. 18).

In 272 BC the foundation of a Latin colony at Paestum is the last step in the Romanization of Campania. In 268 BC Picentia was founded, as a new political and administrative center to control the territory between Salerno and the Sele, and this land is centuriated for the new settlers.

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Gianluca Tagliamonte

The Samnites

The term Samnites is normally used for a group of peoples and communities that in the pre-Roman period occupied a large and mostly mountainous area of central-southern Italy. In the traditional historiographic view (Salmon 1967, La Regina 1989, Tagliamonte 1997, Bispham 2007; cf. Scopacasa 2015) the concept of the Samnites has an ethnic and historical value, and includes, more or less conventionally, groups of different membership (community, tribe, ethnic group) defined already in antiquity in terms of different backgrounds and of possible, simultaneous, levels of belonging. And so the concept of the Samnites includes not only all those single communities of the territory that constituted political entities and autonomous states (Caudini), but also groupings of people that would appear to have had a “tribal” dimension (Pentri and perhaps Carricini), or at least from a certain moment would seem to have an autonomous ethnic appearance that was perceived by the ancients as an *ethnos* (Hirpini, Frentani). Somehow holding these communities together were links of an ethnic type, forms of coalescence and inter-community and inter-tribal solidarity that we more usually meet in circumstances of war (Senatore 2006), and that in time, joined to other factors, should indeed favor the emergence of a “tribal” or ethnic type of identity (Bourdin 2014, Tagliamonte 2014).

I The ancient tradition

The most ancient attestations of the Greek form of the *ethnos* of the Samnites (*Saunitai* in Greek) do not seem to go beyond the first half of the fourth century BC, with the evidence provided by Philistus of Syracuse (*FGrH* 556, F 41 and 42) and Pseudo-Scylax of Caryanda (*Periplus* 11.15). In these and other passages from Greek authors of the second half of the fourth century, such as Theopompus of Chios (*FGrH* 115, F 204) or Timaeus of Tauromenium (transmitted via Strabo 5.4.12; 6.1.3; 6.1.6; 6.1.15), the implication is clear enough that the use of the ethnic term *Saunitai* was widely accepted: it seems to indicate, over and above the peoples of Samnium and those of Samnite origin in Campania, the Lucani and Brettii, too (Musti 1992). These last two peoples were placed by the ancient tradition of the following period in direct descent from the Samnites, but were nevertheless distinct from them.

In later Roman sources, and Greek ones in the Roman tradition, there is a tendency to distinguish and differentiate between the various peoples considered under the *nomen* of Samnites (Musti 1984a). This tendency develops above all with reference to the historical notion of the Samnites, which therefore often becomes

no longer coincident with the ethnographic notion. It appears closely connected to and for many aspects functional to the historical and political events of the Romanization of Samnium, and is frequently translated into portrayals tending to maintain an autonomous profile for Caudini, the communities of a Campanian area, the Hirpini, and the Frentani, as contrasted with the peoples of internal Samnium (Pentri, Carricini). If in time the historical concept of Samnites was progressively drained of content, ending with being reserved only for the Pentri, the ethnographic concept, however, maintained its vitality in the sense of a wider sense of the term, embracing a series of peoples and communities, sometimes also structured in “tribal” forms (Pentri and perhaps Carricini) (Bourdin 2012, 163; 2014, 210–211).

With reference to the name of the Samnites and the region (Samnium) inhabited by them is concerned, the various forms (Greek, Latin, Oscan) noted throughout the literary, epigraphic, and numismatic sources are explained by the ancient authors through false etymological conjectures. Among these the most significant is that which connects the Greek name of the Samnites (*Saunítai*) to *saunion* “javelin” (Fest. 546 L; Paul. Fest. 437 L; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* 2.20; Schol. Isid., *ad etym.* 14.4.18; etc.). In such a view the name comes to constitute a so-called “speaking ethnonym,” highlighting an important stereotype of that population, i.e. their war-like nature. According to modern scholars (Rix 1957, Prosdocimi 1987, De Simone 1992) the various ancient forms (Greek, Latin, Oscan) of the ethnonym and the toponym all appear to be derived from a common root **sabh-*; the ancient names of Sabines and Sabelli are also linked to this. It is likely that in the root **sabh-* we may identify an extended form of the original Indo-European reflexive pronoun **s(w)e* (Bader 1985, 76). If this is so, we should assume that the process of the Samnites’ (and the Sabines’) ethnic self-identification was realized, as ethnographic comparisons often testify (Barth 1969, Rübekeil 1992), by means of a contrasting identity, across a relationship of opposition/confrontation with external ethnic entities, sensed as other (the “others”) and toward which progress is made to a full affirmation of “themselves.”

The ancient Greek and Latin authors also provide information on the origin of the Samnites. For the ancients the themes of the origins of peoples and the history of population essentially coincided with a question of provenance and appeared as though linked to precise and personalized events. Around such a question, therefore, various complex traditions were born, often contradictory, being the results of erudite reconstructions carried out by ancient historians and antiquarians: they responded as much to the varied interests of ancient tradition or of individual authors, as they do to the needs of an ideological, political and propagandist character. This is true also in the case of the Samnites.

According to the best attested tradition (Varro, *Ling.* 7.29. and ap. Gell. 11.1.5; Fest. 546 L; Strabo 5.4.12; App. *Samn.* 4.5; Paul. Fest. 437 L; Schol. Isid., *ad etym.* 14.4.18), the Samnites were originally from Sabinum and their migration was realized in the ritual form of a *ver sacrum* (Sacred Spring). In Strabo’s account, which is the most complete, the migration was led by a bull, then sacrificed to

Mars, when they arrived in the country of the Opici. In the account of Festus, epitomator of Verrius Flaccus, the migration was led by the *dux* Cominius Castronius and reached the locality of *collis Samnius*, from where the new people drew their name. An independent tradition of *ver sacrum* also existed for the Hirpini (Strabo 5.4.12; Fest. 93 L; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 11.785): in this instance the animal-guide was a wolf (< *hirpus*), from which the Hirpini got their proper name (see Di Fazio in this volume for more on the Sacred Spring ritual). At least as far as the Samnite Pentri are concerned, the data provided by the literary sources just quoted, or from others (Ps.-Plut., *Parall. Min.* 37b) with regard to their Sabine origin, perhaps allow us to recognize three localities more or less explicitly accredited in the role of metropoleis (“mother-cities”) for the Samnites: Bovianum (Strabo), *collis Samnius* (Festus), and Touxion (Ps.-Plut., *Parall. Min.* 37b) (Colonna 1996).

Strabo himself (5.4.12), however, reports another tradition on the origin of the Samnites: that of a common origin (*sunioikia*) between Spartans and Samnites. Strabo’s source is Timaeus of Tauromenium, probably also the source for Justin (20.1), the epitomator of the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus, who indeed seems to assume a Spartan origin for the Samnites. This tradition of a “Spartan” origin probably originated at Tarentum, a Sparta colony, in the course of the fourth century (Mele 2014; cf. Russo 2007). To this we can also ascribe bits of information about the Samnites, such as those concerning the existence of severe matrimonial laws of a Laconian spirit (Strabo 5.4.12; Nicol. Damasc. ap. Stob. *Anth.* 4.2.25. 109 = *FGrH* 90 F103c), or the participation of the Caudine C. Pontius, father of the hero of the Caudine Forks, at a meeting which was set (erroneously) in 349 BC at Taranto in the presence of Archytas and Plato (Cic. *Cato* 39–41).

These traditions about the Samnites’ Sabine or Spartan origins are then contrasted with information from Strabo (6.1.3; 6.1.6; 6.1.15) of the very ancient Samnite presence (from the eighth century) in some centers of Magna Graecia (Petelia, Rhegium, Metapontum). Information about the foundation of cities in the Samnite area by the Greek hero, Diomedes, such as Aequum Tuticum, Beneventum, and Venafrum are assigned to a later horizon connected to Roman expansion into southern Italy (fourth–third centuries) (Musti 1984b; cf. Russo 2010).

II The history of the Samnites

The literary sources, above all those in the Roman annalistic tradition (Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, etc.), provide us with historical accounts of the Samnites. The most ancient events in which the Samnites appear in the historical narrative are those connected to the Samnite conquest of the Etruscan city of Capua in 423 BC (Liv. 4.37.1–2), and then the treaty that the Samnites drew up with the Romans in 354 (Liv. 7.19.4; Diod. 16.45.8). The historical reliability of this information has been, for various reasons, the object of different assessments. It is in any case interesting to note that from the very beginning the Samnites’ history appears inextricably



Fig. 1. A Samnite warrior on a red-figured bell-krater from Montesarchio (Caudium), Grave 1005 (after *I Sanniti. Guida alla mostra*, Auxiliatrix. Benevento: Arti Grafiche 2003, cover illustration).

linked to war. Likewise, the image in the ancient accounts, above all in the Roman ones, describes the Samnites as a rough and proud people, dedicated to the practice of war and raiding activities (Dench 1995, 98–103, 126–129; Tagliamonte 1997, 13–17; *contra* Scopacasa 2007; 2015, 41 ff.) (Fig. 1). Ancient authors identify them as the *hostis pertinacior* of Rome (Liv. 7.33.16), consider them a *gens opibus armisque valida* (Liv. 7.29.2), and enumerate them among the *gentes fortissimae Italiae* (Plin. *Nat.* 3.11.106). This austere and martial image of the Samnites is linked, from the perspective of the geographical determinism of ancient thought, to the mountainous and wild nature of the country they inhabited (Liv. 9.13.7: *montani atque agrestes*).

In 343 BC the Samnites attacked the Sidicini who asked help from the Campani. These latter, also attacked by the Samnites, put themselves in their turn under the protection of the Romans. The successive events led to the outbreak of the first of the three so-called Samnite Wars (343–341; 326–304; 298–290 BC). The traditional historical reconstruction of the Samnite Wars, based mainly on the narrative given by Livy in books 7–10 of his work, was first the object of a radical chronological revision of the events (Sordi 1969, Firpo 1994) and then, in more recent years, of a de-

constructionist analysis, which highlighted the artificial and completely modern character of such reconstructions (Cornell 2004, cf. Grossmann 2009).

What is interesting to note here is that the account of the history of the Samnites between the middle of the fourth century and the first decades of the third coincides with the endemic conflict with Rome in this period. The military events are little known and often confused and contradictory. Attempts to reconstruct the historical topography of the Samnite Wars (e.g. La Regina 1989) need to take account of various problems (Oakley 1995, 131–134). The ancient authors suggest that in many instances the conflict between Romans and Samnites were resolved in military operations of modest importance – in rapid attacks, sorties, ambushes, and raids. Open field battles must have taken place more rarely. Even the most celebrated episode, that of the shameful Roman disgrace near the Caudine Forks in 321 BC (according to the traditional chronology), was not the outcome of a battle but of an ambush, which forced the Romans to surrender without fighting.

In the course of the decades events moved, however, in the direction of Roman success. An important stage of this was the so-called “Battle of the Nations,” fought near Sentinum (the present day Sassoferrato, in the Marche region) in 295 BC by a coalition of Etruscans, Umbrians, Celts, and Samnites against the Romans, which ended with a hard-won Roman victory. In the traditional historiographic reconstruction the fourth renewal, in 290, of the treaty of alliance between Rome and the Samnites (Liv. *Per.* 11) marked the end of the so-called Samnite Wars. But from at least 284 there were signs of renewed conflict that lasted until 272. The crucial moment of the new phase of clashes is marked by the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy in 280 at the request of the Tarentines. In 279 the Samnites also joined the side of Pyrrhus against Rome. After the defeat of Malventum (275) and the following departure of Pyrrhus from Italy, the Samnites were exposed to harsh Roman reprisals, and their lands were confiscated and damaged.

In the following decades, about which we are unfortunately ill-informed, the Samnites seem to be forced into a *pax necessaria* with Rome, lasting around fifty years (Liv. 23.42.3; cf. Plb. 3.90.7). This did not, however, stop them from revolting several times, of which the ancient tradition conserves memories for the years 265 (D.C. ap. Zonar. 8.7) and 259 (Oros. 4.7.12; cf. D.C. ap. Zonar. 8.11). Like the other Italian peoples allied to Rome, in 225 the Samnites counted their men (70,000 foot soldiers, 7000 mounted men) to put into the field to face the imminent danger of a Gallic invasion (Plb. 2.24).

During the Second Punic War, the Samnites were at first loyal to Rome: then, after the battle of Cannae (216 BC), the Hirpini and other communities passed to the side of Hannibal. At the end of the conflict, they were therefore harshly punished, with confiscation of lands, by the victorious Romans. The fragmentary pieces of information that we have available for the second century allow us to glimpse at other episodes of the dismantling and transformation of the Samnite territories. The reforms of the Gracchi were interested above all in the area of the Hirpini.

Some years later (91–89 BC) the Samnites were among the protagonists of the so-called Social War, the revolt against Rome led by members of the Italian aristocracy with the aim of winning conditions of juridical and political equality with the ruling Roman class (see Santangelo in this volume). A Samnite of Pentric origin, C. Papius Mutilus, was one of the military commanders of the insurgents. Silver coins minted with his name and the title of *imperator* reproduce the image of the Samnite bull attacking the Roman wolf. Once the hostilities ended and Roman citizenship had been obtained, the Samnites took the field against Rome once more, on the occasion of the Civil War that broke out on the return of Sulla from the East (83 BC). Solidly on the side of Marius, they were, together with him, decisively defeated at the battle of the Colline Gate (82 BC) and exposed to the most brutal punishment by the victor Sulla.

III The country of the Samnites

The literary sources enable us to confirm that the territory inhabited in the historical age by the various Samnite peoples and communities occupied an ample area of central-southern Italy. This basically extended from the present-day Maiella massif in the Apennines and the course of the River Foro to the north, as far as the present Monti Picentini and the river Ofanto to the south, including areas comprising the present-day Italian regions of Abruzzo, Molise, Lazio, Campania, and Puglia (Fig. 2). In particular the Carricini inhabited the area included between the south-eastern slopes of the Maiella massif and the river Sangro. The Pentri populated the internal Apennine areas of Molise and a small sector of southern Abruzzo, while the Frentani occupied the Adriatic coastal slopes and the corresponding hinterland (for 25–30 km inland) between the rivers Foro and Fortore. The Campanian-Samnite communities were settled along the south-western slopes of the Massiccio del Matese and the middle valley of the Volturno, and the Caudini in the area around Monte Taburno. Further south, as far as the high valleys of the Sele and Ofanto, were the Hirpini.

In this vast area, situated astride the Apennines, the landscape is largely dominated by mountainous formations that lie mostly longitudinally, from north to south. The river valleys, by contrast, are aligned transversally, and therefore constitute natural land ways of communication and important axes of settlement. As well as important routes along the valley bottoms, there must also have been routes along the ridges and, above all, the longitudinal itineraries, directed toward the south, utilized for transhumance (seasonal movement) of sheep. The latter were followed by *calles* (but sometimes also by *viae publicae*) of the Roman period, and, later, by sheep tracks.



Fig. 2. Map of ancient Samnium (elab. L. Cinque, D. Panariti).

IV The archaeology of the Samnites

The archaeological evidence coming from the territories that in a historical age were Samnite has become significantly greater in the last decades following programs of research and, above all, fortuitous discoveries linked to the protective activities car-

ried out by the Italian archaeological service (for a synthesis of the archaeological evidence in Samnite areas, see Tagliamonte 2005, with bibliography; cf. Bispham 2007, Scopacasa 2015).

The items of information that we have available for the Iron Age (ninth to eighth centuries) are still few and fragmentary, and almost always of a funerary nature. Materials, for the most part decontextualized, pertinent to funerary grave-goods of the period come from (for example) the areas of Alife-Piedimonte Matese (Allifae), Montesarchio (Caudium), Benevento (Beneventum), San Marco dei Cavoti, and Casalbore. Unfortunately an important nucleus of material of the eighth century BC is of uncertain origin but may have belonged to the area near Boiano (ancient Bovianum), while a helmet with a bell-shaped crown and a bronze sword datable to the Early Iron Age come from Monte Altino, in the country round Larino (Larinum). In the territory of the Frentani the proto-historic villages of Punta d'Erce near Vasto (Histonium) and of Campomarina provide us with evidence of habitations between the final phases of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

Starting with the final decades of the eighth century, archaeological evidence gains greater solidity and allows us to outline better the cultural appearance and social structure of such communities. The most significant continues to come from the necropoleis of the centers mentioned, to which we can add those of Sant'Agata dei Goti (Saticula). Of particular prominence are the necropoleis of Montesarchio, which have given us more than 3000 tombs, unfortunately as yet almost all unpublished.

Examination of the contexts and materials at the ends of the eighth and seventh centuries highlights a variety of models of funerary self-representation from that time: these become more clearly seen in the Archaic Period. The tombs belonging to members of the local elites are often characterized by grave-goods that are substantial in quantity, among which are also imported objects (pottery, bronze). Such data also allow us to believe that the proto-Samnite communities of inner Campania were flourishing and, at least in the case of Montesarchio, were characterized by a strong population concentration. Their cultural material seems substantially ascribable to the Campanian *Fossakultur*, but does not lack important links with the mid-Adriatic world. The process of structuring such communities is substantially contemporary and homogenous to that of the Opici settled at the margins of the Campanian plain (Calatia, Suessula, Nola, etc.). The level of structuring and social articulation of the proto-Samnite communities of Molise seems more modest.

With the end of the seventh century there is a further increase in archaeological evidence, also in the inner areas of the Apennines. Traits of homogeneity and affinity continue to unite the different areas both at an ideological level and one of material culture. Yet in the funerary evidence elements of differentiation or of cultural specifics are more clearly found, determined by structural factors and by the different possibilities of contact and trade with the outside. In a context of growing development and greater articulation, different *facies* and local aspects therefore seem to emerge.

In the Caudine area and in the centers more directly connected to it, Sant'Agata dei Goti and Telesse-San Salvatore Telesino (Telesia), the rich funerary evidence high-

lights a plurality of models of funerary self-representation for the sixth and fifth centuries. Some of these appear to fit into local traditions, as, for example, those aimed at enhancing, by means of objects of personal adornment and others, the social role of the woman and at least in part by means of weapons, the warlike attitude of the man. In contrast others seem derived from the outside, from contact with the Greek and Etruscan world of Campania and from the grafting of the dynamics of cultural assimilation. In this way we can probably establish models such as the Greek symposium or the “Tyrrhenian” banquet. The former is evoked by the presence of Attic black- and red-figure vases in the funerary goods of the local elites, mostly linked to the consumption of wine (*in primis*, of the drinking bowl). The latter is evident from that of tableware and utensils in bronze and iron (knives, graters, firedogs, spits, etc.) intended for the consumption of meat (over and above the wine). Still at Montesarchio, from the late sixth century and even more from the late Archaic Period, the dimension of the “sacred” also begins to gain archaeological visibility, as architectural terracottas and perhaps remains of buildings show.

More modest funerary goods, but with similar models of self-representation, seem to characterize the proto-Samnite communities settled within Campania, along the river valleys of the Calore and Sabato (Benevento), Miscano (Casalbore), and Ufita (Castelbaronia, Carife). Here, between the sixth and fifth centuries, there is also evidence of monumentalization and management of the funerary space, with stone tumulus burials (Casalbore) and circles of tombs (Castelbaronia). In the vicinity of Casalbore there are also remains of an Archaic settlement, with buildings with stone foundations. And, still at Casalbore, the earliest occupation of the sanctuary of Macchia Porcara dates between the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries.

In the same period there also appears what was the most important cult-place of the Hirpini: the sanctuary of Mefite in Valle d’Ansanto, near Rocca San Felice. Well known from the literary sources, it was centered upon a small lake of volcanic origin, which boiled because of the emanations of carbon dioxide and sulfuric acid. The lake, through its noxious exhalations, was thought to be associated with death and to hold one of the entrance gates to the underworld. Among the dedications found here a group of wooden statues stands out, mostly datable to the fifth century, and exceptionally well preserved.

In the extreme northern sector of Campania the proto-Samnite communities settled between the Matese and the middle valley of the Volturno are also known archaeologically, mainly due to funerary evidence. The most important necropoleis of the sixth to fifth centuries are those of Alife-Piedimonte Matese and Presenzano (Rufrae), whereas more sporadic evidence comes from Caiazzo (Caiatia) and Dragoni-Alvignano (Cubulteria) (Fig. 4). The models of funerary self-representation recall those mentioned above. The local material has characteristics that on one side connect it to the Campanians, and on the other to that of the Apennines and mid-Adriatic. Inside an essentially homogenous cultural context, elements specific to the lo-



Fig. 3. A wooden statue from the Mefite sanctuary at Valle d'Ansanto (photo Museo Archeologico Provinciale, Avellino).

cation are not, however, missing: for example, in the necropoleis of Presenzano Attic pottery is found, which is by contrast almost absent in those of Allifae.

Among the more characteristic materials are slipware vases with red luster surfaces (“red bucchero”) and glazed brown slipware (in particular small ribbed amphorae), and several types of fibulae (with acorn-shaped decorations and double or triple arched bows). Similar materials are also found in the necropolis of Pozzilli, in the upper valley of the Volturno. More generally, they occur in a wide area between northern Campania and southern Lazio and have been considered “markers” of a *facies* defined as the “civilization of the Liri valley” (Johannowsky 1983, 289–290).

On the opposite slope of the Matese, that of Molise, archaeological data available for the sixth to fifth centuries highlight the central nature of the Boiano plain and the importance of those paths of communication which often coincided with sheep tracks (in particular, Castel di Sangro-Lucera and Pescasseroli-Candela). In fact, both the settlements (with their necropoleis) and the cult sites tended to be positioned along such routes, or close to them. The cult sites assume archaeological visibility from the late Archaic Period onward, as is the case of Pietrabbondante, the most important sanctuary of the Samnite Pentri. The necropoleis are not much known: the grave-goods are in general quite plain and homogenous, with materials similar to those known in the areas of the Volturno and Sangro, and sometimes among them are found items of south-Etruscan and Campanian-Etruscan production (bucchero, bronze dishes).

In the high valley of the river Sangro, the necropolis of Alfedena is one of the great sources of archaeological knowledge for ancient Samnium. Explored since the last decades of the nineteenth century, it has given up more than 1500 tombs, mostly datable between the seventh and second centuries (the larger part date



Fig. 4. A Samnite grave in the necropolis of Cimitero at Alife (Allifae) (photo E. A. Stanco).

back to the sixth and fifth centuries). The funerary ritual consisted of a supine position for the deceased inside the tomb with a coffin made from stone slabs, sometimes placed inside stone circles. The grave-goods are somewhat plain and a number of objects recur in them that have been considered characteristic of the local archaeological *facies*: over and above the small ribbed amphorae in glazed brown slipware (amphorae of the Alfedena type) and the fibulas with acorn-decoration and double or triple arched bows (see above), there are also the cuirass-disc with figured *episema* (the Alfedena group) and the so-called *châtelaines*. These last, typical of female dress, are a sort of chain worn over the breast made of a double spiral of bronze thread and sometimes of a finishing pendant. As a whole, examination of the materials included in the funerary goods highlights traits of a certain cultural conservatism, even if there is no lack of evidence of relationships with the Etruscan-Campanian area. Similar but not entirely identical materials have been found at the



Fig. 5. An Archaic cuirass- disc from Alfedena (photo Soprintendenza ABAP d'Abruzzo).

necropoleis of the neighboring centers of Opi, Barrea, Villetta Barrea, and Civitella Alfedena, in which there is also evidence of circles of tombs, sometimes known to be covered by earth tumuli. This cultural *facies* of the Sangro area continues, by means of the course of the river Sangro (Capracotta, Borrello, Tornareccio, Paglieta, etc.), in the direction of the Adriatic Sea, taking in part of what was historically the territory of the Carricini (Torricella Peligna), up to its junction with the area of the Frentani.

Our archaeological knowledge of the region of the Frentani of the sixth to fifth centuries is due not only to the research conducted on the necropoleis but also with the form and structure of the settlements. As far as the latter goes, we should mention the Biferno Valley Survey carried out by a British team in the 1970s and 1980s (Barker 1995a, 1995b): the results of this survey showed how there was a settlement hierarchy in the organization of the rural settlement, which provided for larg-

er inhabited centres and individual farms. More recently, a similar survey project was concerned with the Sangro valley and the territory of Iuvanum (see the reports published in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 64, 1996 and ff.). Excavations conducted mostly by the Italian archaeological service from the end of the 1970s have integrated this knowledge. Levels of occupation and settlement, and remains of dwelling structures datable to the Archaic age have been brought to light, for example, at Lanciano (Anxanum), Campomarino (Archaic phase), and Larino (Larinum).

Of the necropoleis of Villafonsina and Vasto, located between the rivers Sangro and Trigno, we do not know much, because of the dispersion of the grave-goods. The necropoleis and tombs of the areas immediately inland provide us with interesting data (Carpineto Sinello, Gissi); also, in the necropolis at Colledimezzo, near Atesa, two fragments of statue-stelae in local limestone were recovered, Archaic funerary sculptures of the mid-Adriatic area. Better known are the necropoleis to the south of the river Trigno: Termoli, Larino, Guglionesi, and San Giuliano di Puglia. The funerary ritual generally adopted is that of the inhumation of the corpse in a supine position. From the late fifth century the practice of cremation between bronze *stamnoi* is also attested. A reflection of the agricultural richness of the region can be evoked by the recurring presence of a bowl of great size for agricultural produce among the grave goods. There are imported objects, from the Etruscan-Campanian area (bucchero, metal tableware) and from the lands of the Daunii (sub-geometric pottery, Apulian-Corinthian helmets). Relationships with these two areas are, in any case, also attested by the few architectural terracottas recovered in the area of the Frentani.

Examination of the archaeological record considered up to here highlights how, in the context of evidence (essentially of funerary nature), distinguished by traits of substantial homogeneity and uniformity at an ideological and cultural level, there exist, nevertheless, unquestionable elements of articulation and differentiation (Richardson 2013, Scopacasa 2015, 56 ff.). In particular, on a properly cultural level, we seem to be able to recognize *facies* and local aspects (Volturno valley *facies*/“civilization of the valley of the Liri,” Sarno valley *facies*, Frentanian *facies*, etc.) not coinciding, or only partly coinciding with those that constitute the ethnic-territorial, or, if we prefer, “tribal” background, and which have been traditionally attributed to the Samnite peoples on the basis of the information provided by the literary sources as regards events later than the fifth century (*in primis*, the Samnite Wars) and on the basis of reconstructions carried out by contemporary historians. Information provided by the sources (archaeological, literary, epigraphic, numismatic) likewise lead us to assume that at least for one area – that more western sector of the Samnite world (the middle valley of the Volturno, the area of the Caudini) in direct contact with the more structured societies and cultures of the Campanian area – the last decades of the fifth century represented an important moment of definition in the process of ethnic (and political) self-identification already underway inside local communities (Tagliamonte 2014). In the late fifth and first half of the fourth centuries, we also notice, at different levels, significant elements of discontinuity in comparison with the

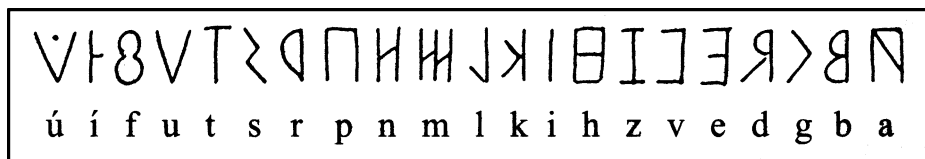


Fig. 6. The Oscan-Samnite alphabet (elab. G. Tagliamonte).

previous period. These are again more clearly perceptible in the more western sector of Samnite territory.

Among these elements of discontinuity, one of the more important, from the view of definition or affirmation of ethnic identity, is the beginning of Samnite literacy, with the spread of an alphabet in an Oscan-Samnite language, characterized by strong homogeneity (Prosdocimi 1992, 1994, 2000; Marinetti 2000) (Fig. 6). Among the earliest examples: the coin legends of the silver didrachms of Allifae and Fistelia, which can be dated to the last years of the fifth and first years of the fourth centuries; a number of vase inscriptions of provenance from Sant'Agata dei Goti, datable to the period of the second half of the fourth century; perhaps a damaged inscription on a slab of volcanic rock (tufa) from the territory of Allifae (Monte Cila), which can presumably also be placed within the fourth century. In any case, for the second half of the fourth century the ancient tradition alludes to advanced levels of literacy among the members of the Caudine elites (in particular of the Pontii).

In the course of the fifth century there must also have been a sudden acceleration of the processes of structuralization and functional differentiation in the local social systems. At the end of the fifth and in the fourth centuries the structural elements of local social systems now appear defined or definable in an autonomous and institutional dimension, so to speak.

As far as "politics" is concerned, the coins of Allifae and Fistelia noted above provide us with an important example: two communities that reached such a point of socio-political organization that they ratified the striking of coins, entrusted to the mint of Neapolis. In this same period, if not before, neighboring Campanian-Samnite communities such as Presenzano (Rufrae), Benevento (Maleventum/Beneventum), and Montesarchio (Caudium) must have taken an interest in similar processes. For these and other centers of the western sector of the Samnite world, recent archaeological research documents an articulation and complexity at local community level (*touta*), probably also witnessed by the phenomenon of (proto)urbanization.

From the end of the fifth century BC to the Social War, Samnite settlements, however, were dispersed throughout the territory and on a small scale. This model of rural settlement was defined in the past as of "paganico-vicano" type (e.g. La Regina 1970, 1970-1971, 1989, 326 ff.; Laffi 1974), making use of an expression derived from the realm of Roman administrative vocabulary, but which has now generally fallen out of use (Capogrossi Colognesi 2002a, 170 ff., 2002b; cf. Tarpin 2002). As the territorial studies conducted in the last decades show, the greater part of the Samnite

peoples lived dispersed in the fields (*vicatim*, κατὰ κῶμας, κωμηδόν), in villages or in individually inhabited units (farms), located in the zones most favorable to the practice of agriculture and in proximity to the routes of communication. Fortified sites often stood on the surrounding hills. A number of the more organized settlements, and ones that acquired greater demographic density over the course of time, came to assume a proto-urban and then urban description, even before submission to Rome. On the whole, however, the process of urbanization in Samnium is established in relation to the methods and the periods of the penetration of a Roman presence into the region (the so-called process of “Romanization”).

The archaeological evidence available from the fourth to first centuries allows us to gather some idea of Samnite settlement structures (Capini 2000, Rainini 2000, De Benedittis 2004a, 2004b). For example, the inhabited area of Fonte del Romito near Capracotta provides evidence of a stable occupation of the site already in the Archaic Period, and then, between the fourth and first centuries, the presence of a village with houses made with stone walls and terracotta roofs. The building of Pesco Morelli near Cercemaggiore provides evidence of the existence of a farm between the late fourth and second centuries. The excavations carried out at Benevento, Montesarchio, and Larino highlight how already from the end of the fourth century movements toward urbanization were already established in these centers.

The numerous fortified centers on hills in Samnite territories provide the most complete and impressive examples of the building-structures in pre-Roman Samnium (Oakley 1995). These fortifications, of various types and size, must have been the most impressive element in the ancient landscape, especially in zones such as those of the middle and upper valleys of the rivers Volturno and Sangro where they are numerous (Figs 7–8). Built in polygonal work, using large blocks of local limestone, these encircling walls had variable dimensions, which went from a few hundred meters up to five or six kilometers. Their functions must also have been various. Some of the fortified centers were unquestionably seats of stable settlement (e.g. Monte San Paolo, Terravecchia di Sepino, Tornareccio at Monte Pallano), sometimes having an almost urban character (Monte Vairano). Others, presumably the greater part, must have been occupied only in certain times of the year or functioned in case of necessity as meeting-points and places of refuge for men and animals who lived in the surrounding countryside. The smallest must have been simple watchtowers. The chronology of these fortified centers remains problematic and uncertain. Only a few have actually been the objects of scientific enquiry. In general there is a tendency to link their presence and use to the events of the Samnite Wars, dating them to the fourth and third centuries. Their construction could, however, have been earlier, dating back, in this case, probably at least to the fifth century; their use also seems sometimes to extend beyond the third century.

In this model of a dispersed and rural settlement, sanctuaries were another fundamental element of territorial structuring (Stek 2009, cf. Capini, Curci and Picuti 2014). At an archaeological level, the presence of cult sites becomes clear from the late Archaic Period (e.g., Pietrabbondante, Valle d’Ansanto) (Tagliamonte 2012).



Fig. 7. The Samnite hill-fort of Monte Cila at Piedimonte Matese (Allifae): aerial view and planimetry (photo L. M. Rendina).

The evidence multiplies through the following centuries and acquires particular solidity between the end of the third and the beginnings of the first century BC. In the greater number of examples, their presence is revealed by the discovery of materials of a votive character (small bronzes, clay statuettes, pottery, inscriptions) and by architectural terracottas, presumably part of their decoration. There are also numerous examples of Samnite sanctuaries where structures have been brought to light showing the monumental systematization of the sanctuaries between the third and first centuries BC.

In some instances the data in our possession documents the presence of sanctuaries and cult places inside an inhabited area (e.g. Montesarchio) or inside fortified centers that seem to have been the seat of a settlement (e.g. Monte Vairano; Tornareccio at Monte Pallano). Much more frequent, however, are the attestations of sanctuaries, big and small, scattered in the territory and placed mostly on accessible high ground, in the vicinity of springs and the principal communication routes. Their topographic position and the relative modesty (even in quantitative terms, as far as we can see) of the votive materials belonging to them makes it likely that the greater part of them had a purely local dimension, acting as a gathering point for the rural



Fig. 8. The Samnite hill-fort of Monte Cila at Piedimonte Matese (Allifae): a segment of the walls (photo L. M. Rendina).

populations of a territorial district or individual settlement (village). Alongside these, there were perhaps also, however, a number that would seem to have had a greater importance, being related to more communities or to entities of a “cantonal” type (for example, among the Samnite Pentri, this could perhaps have been the case for the sanctuary of Campochiaro). Yet others, the older and more important, seem to have been of ethnic/“tribal” importance (e.g. the sanctuaries of Pietrabbondante among the Samnite Pentri, or that of Mefitis in Valle d’Ansanto for the Hirpini).

It is likely that many (presumably the greater part) of the Samnite cult places (especially those of a more strictly local context) had quite modest, durable buildings or were devoid of them altogether – those that had maintained through time the nature of an open-air cult placed on a hill and, at least in some cases, connected to the presence of a spring. In a number of cases, we have clues to the existence of *luci*, either true sacred woods, or artificial structures built inside a *nemus* or a *silva*. In other examples, there is evidence of the presence of structures (simple square enclosures, with one or more altars inside) corresponding to that technical definition that the ancients gave of a *sacellum* (Fest. 422 L; Gell. 7.12.5). Also meant as open-air cult places were the sacred enclosed *hortus* in which the ceremonies laid down by the so-called Agnone Tablet (one of the principal epigraphic texts in the Oscan-Samnite language, datable to the second century) took place, and enclosures covered by sheets of linen, inside which would have occurred the swearing of the oath of the Samnite *legio lin-teata* in 293 BC (Liv. 10.38.5–12). Moreover, the sanctuary of Mefitis itself in Valle



Fig. 9. The Pentrian sanctuary at Pietrabbondante: theater and Temple B (photo R. Bartoloni).

d'Ansanto, between the fourth and second centuries, begins to look substantially like an open-air cult place.

In time, a number of the Samnite sanctuaries and cult places began to take on some architectural dignity. From the third century – above all from the end of the third century up to the Social War – a true flourishing of temple building is recorded in Samnium (in particular in the territories of the Pentri, Carricini, and Frentani). This intense activity seems to be directed particularly to the restructuring and monumentalization of cult places and pre-existing buildings or to the construction of new ones. This is made real by the erection of temples and buildings of refined architecture of Hellenistic inspiration, and constitutes the most striking manifestation of the politics of euergetism and the munificence of the Samnite upper classes of the period.

The temples are often supported on great foundations with molded podiums, accessible by steps. In most cases they take on the appearance of a prostyle, tetrastyle building, with corner pilasters, often provided with another two columns in the portico. The most widespread plan is that of a single cella, attested at least from the end of the third century onward (Temple A of Pietrabbondante, Schiavi d'Abruzzo, Campochiaro, Vastogirardi, Quadri, etc.). Less common are those buildings which are inspired, possibly with some freedom, by the model of the "Tuscan" temple with three *cellae* (Casalbore, Circello, Temple B of Pietrabbondante). Of this second tradition, perhaps documented from the third century onward, the best example is represented by the monumental Temple B of Pietrabbondante (beginning of first century BC), joined to a theater below in the characteristic scheme of the "theater-temple" (Fig. 9).

Many things indicate that it is the most important sanctuary of the Samnite Pentri: the topographic position of the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante; the antiquity and duration of the cult; the typology of the votive offerings (an abundance of arms and other objects belonging ideologically to the military sphere) (Fig. 10); the richness of the epigraphic evidence; the characteristic monumentality of the buildings. This was a sanctuary which must have been significant for all the Pentri, a sort of "lieu de mé-



Fig. 10. A Montefortino helmet from the Pentrian sanctuary of Pietrabbondante (photo Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli).

moire” of local identity, probably connected to the mythical story of the origins of the Samnites (La Regina 1980, 34 ff.).

The other Samnite cult places and sanctuaries active between the fourth and second centuries seem to have been substantially homogeneous in character, both in their composition and in the types of class and material. Samnite votive deposits have given us clay goods (pottery, statuettes, then from the late fourth century onward, anatomical *ex votos*) and metal materials (bronze figurines of Hercules, objects of personal ornament, arms, coins, etc.) (Fig. 11). By and large offerings and *ex voto* objects appear to reflect the local devotional universe, linked to forms of popular religion and to cults and divinities still strongly connected to the agrarian and pastoral world and the values of *sanatio* and fertility. Less frequent in the context of Samnite sanctuaries, is the discovery of true cult statues, like the terracotta life-sized statue of



Fig. 11. The so-called Corridore del Monte Cila: a bronze votive statuette from Piedimonte Matese (Allifae) (photo Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli).

Athena from Roccaspromonte, or of gifts made of little limestone sculptures, like that discovered just before the mid-nineteenth century near Agnone.

V The “crisis” of the fifth century BC?

The data from the excavation of the necropoleis enable us to outline the essential elements of Samnite funerary practice between the end of the fifth and the third centuries. The evidence available is less ample compared to that for the seventh to fifth centuries, but is nevertheless solid. The funerary ritual is in general that of inhumation of the dead in a supine position. There are, however, examples of cremation, for example, among the Frentani (see above) and in areas of the Hirpini (e.g. at Carife).

Specifically local elements and aspects of articulation characterize the different ethno-territorial contexts at the level of both material culture and funerary ideology. This is particularly clear if the evidence relative to the necropoleis of the more western parts of the Samnite world (Caudine area, middle valley of the Volturno) is compared to that belonging to the necropoleis of the more internal Apennine zones. Overall, however, we note characteristics of substantial homogeneity and cohesion in the funerary evidence of the various Samnite ethno-territorial areas, which are more significant than characteristics of differentiation. Above all, common trends can be seen at different chronological points (for the western sector, up to the first decades of the fifth century; for the rest of Samnium, only from the end of the century) that could be summarized here as:

- (1) a reduction of the number of objects included in graves (the most noticeable decrease is in vases, which in certain instances, e.g. at Alfedena, ultimately disappear completely).
- (2) a growing typological standardization of the goods themselves (consider, for example, the paradigmatic value assumed by the placing of belts and spear-heads in male burials, to cite one of the most significant aspects, in that sense) (Fig. 12–13).
- (3) the conservatism of funerary ideology, evident from the attachment to or recovery of traditional models of collective representation (e.g. for men, those expressions of valuing warfare through the presence of arms among the grave-goods) (Fig. 14).

Concerning this last point, we can say in any case that in the available funerary evidence there is no lack of certain signs of a more ample articulation of funerary ideology, with reference to other models, especially where coming from areas more open to relationships and influences from neighboring cultures at a greater structural level (above all in the case of the Caudine, Pentrian and Hirpinian communities gravitating towards the Campanian world, but also of the Frentani). In male grave-goods, for example, new models of funerary self-representation are confirmed, which make reference to the values and ideals of Campanian cavalry or Greek athleticism. The persistent presence and central position of the drinking bowl among the tableware in grave-goods of the fourth century bears witness, at least in different parts of the Samnite world, to interest in the Greek symposium. These models, however, are alongside, but do not at all replace, the traditional ones, and, on the level of concrete behavior, it is difficult to say up to which point they imply a real adhesion to the practices which they presuppose.

These facts, also met with in other areas of the Italian peninsula, are subject to more than one interpretation. Some scholars have argued that a socio-economic crisis hit the central-Italic world between the second half of the fifth and first decades of the fourth centuries: the evidence for such a crisis was the impoverishment of the funerary grave-goods, and, more generally, of the archaeological evidence. Within certain terms, this proposition can be accepted, on condition of not attributing purely

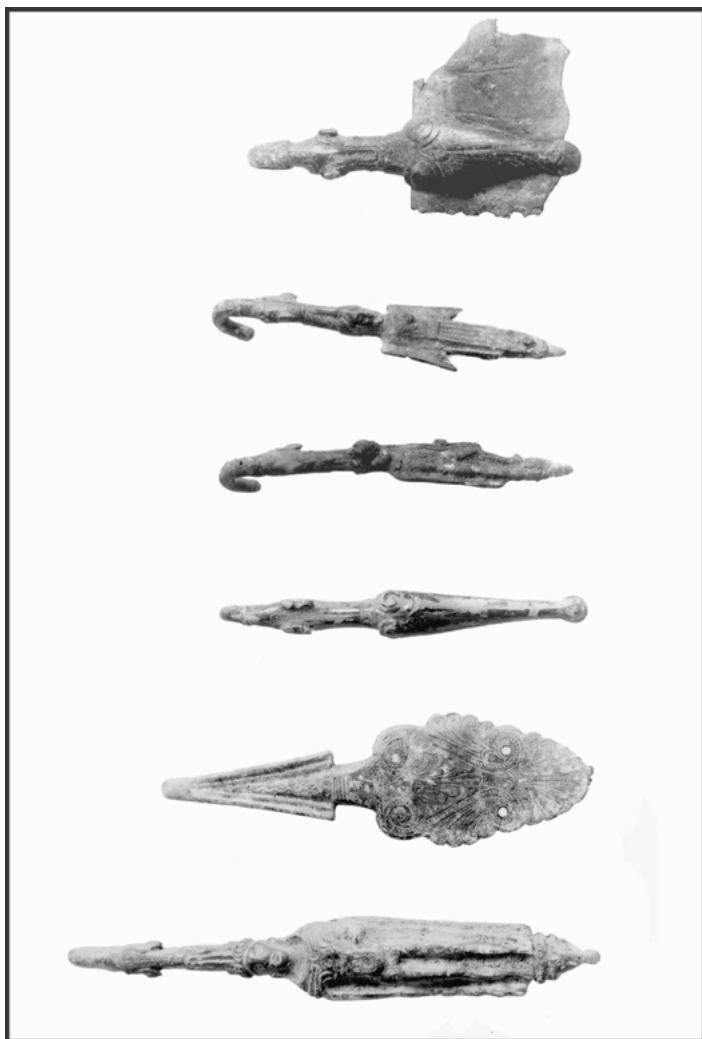


Fig. 12. Types of clasps of the so-called Samnite bronze belts (photo Naples, National Archaeological Museum).

negative values to the concept of “crisis,” and therefore of not making generalisations about the contents, which should be verified case by case.

On the whole, one has the impression that, as far as Samnium goes, these facts have another explanation. On one side, it is possible that they reflect a change in funerary custom determined by transformations of a socio-economic and cultural character (e.g. the intensification of trade, the constitution of collective goods in the sanctuaries, etc.), which made the phenomena of funerary hoarding, still widespread in the fifth century, outdated. On the other side, it is plausible that they (above all with reference to the typological standardization of the grave-goods), together with

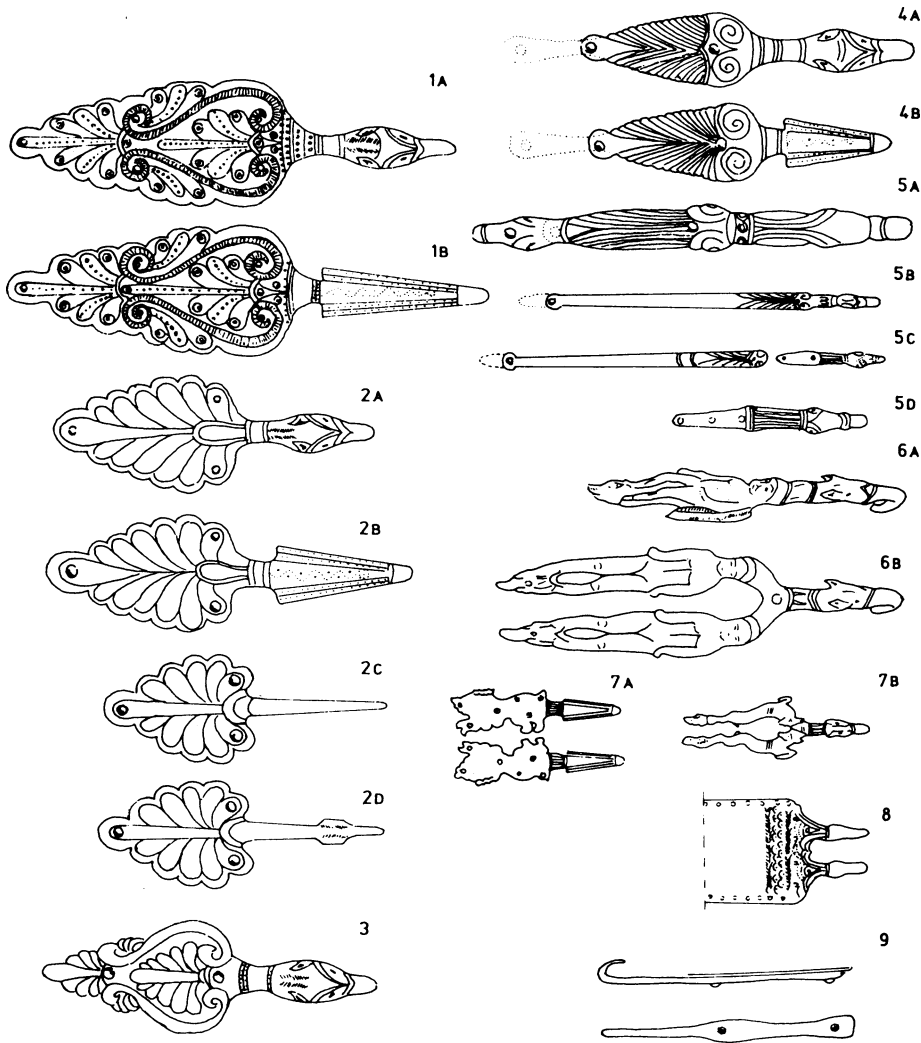


Fig. 13. Types of clasps of the so-called Samnite bronze belts: drawing (after Suano 1986).

the conservatism which is clear in the funerary ideology, reveal an ideological effort turned to providing from inside (in an “emic” perspective”) a unitary image.

Compared to the preceding period, the ideological unity expressed in the funerary grave-goods seems therefore perhaps to indicate a clearer will to mark, by means of a common and essentially homogenous symbolic code, the sense of a real identity and the fact of the acceptance of the systems of value and/or the cultural models of the group to which they belonged. The terms in which it expressed itself leads us to suppose that such a will was an expression of a self-perception which appears no longer (or better, not merely) limited to local dimensions (or to individual communities), but now extends to the ethnic/“tribal” (Samnite one).



Fig. 14. (left) A so-called Samnite triple-disc cuirass of uncertain provenance in Rome, National Prehistorical and Ethnographical Museum “L. Pigorini” (photo Museo Preistorico-Etnografico “L. Pigorini,” Roma). (right) A so-called Samnite triple-disc cuirass of uncertain provenance (photo Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Venezia, Odescalchi Collection, Roma).

In any case, this is the chronological context in which the literary sources from outside, taking an “etic” point of view, begin to record the historical and ethnographic concept of the Samnites; the numismatic sources do the same a little later (a silver obol with the Greek legend *Saunitan*, datable to around 330 BC). However, in the course of the fourth century elements of Samnite origin perhaps made use of the ethnic as a gentilicial name, as indicated by an Etruscan inscription from Campania (CIE 8806, from Vico Equense).

Furthermore it is possible to think that this is the chronological and historical level in which the sense of a common historical memory must have been built up among the Samnites, above all by the initiative of the local elites. We can probably gather some sort of reflection in the traditions (for example, those pertaining to the *ver sacrum* of the Samnites) which, while the fruit of successive re-elaborations, do in any case put forward an interpretation of Samnite origins in a “national” sense; or we can recall symbols of solidarity such as totemic animals (the bull for the Samnites and the Pentri in particular; the wolf for the Hirpini). The affirmation and verification of a real collective identity at an ethnic/“tribal” level also takes places through these means.

Certainly, the forms and places of the cult must also have successfully contributed to maintaining and transmitting a sense of an ethnic/“tribal” belonging, the consciousness of a collective “cultural” memory. In this sense, there must have been an important evocatory value, for example, in the Pentrian sanctuary of Pietrabbondante, attached to the dedication of arms taken from enemies conquered in battle: these were sometimes laid out to constitute true commemorative trophies

of the Samnite successes (La Regina 1984, 22–25; 1989, 303, 422; Tagliamonte 2002–2003, 97–119; Capini 2012; Graells i Fabregat 2016). An important, not to say decisive, moment in the affirmation of a sentiment of ethnic belonging and solidarity among the Samnites must have been established by the wars fought against Rome in the second half of the fourth century. The relationship, first of conflict and then of friendship, with Tarentum (and more generally with the world of Magna Graeca) could also have had a role in this sense.

Above all with reference to the Samnite Wars, needs and demands deriving from the opportunity or necessity of gathering the greatest possible number of resources (human and material) in the contest against Rome appear to have given way to phenomena of coming together and of inter-community and intertribal solidarity or of true and real alliance. These are presented in the ancient tradition under the form of a “Samnite league” (*civitas Samnitium*, *to koinon ton Sauniton*), as an expression, that is, of an ethno-national entity organized on a confederate basis, which emerges as such (in the properly relational view of the literary sources) only in contexts of war (Senatore 2006; cf. Bourdin 2012, 325). These links of an ethnic sort that united the various Samnite communities and populations in time of war seem contrary to the ordinary forms of Samnite state organization.

As pointed out above, it is only from the end of the fifth century, thanks to the numismatic evidence of the Campanian-Samnite area (Allifae, Fistelia), that we discern something of the constitutional aspects and political organizations of the Samnite peoples. The few indications available to us lead us to think that the individual and more structured communities (*touta*) of the most western sector of the Samnite world (Allifae, Rufræ, Fistelia, Caudium, etc.) had from this moment established political entities and autonomous states.

The most numerous and significant pieces of information are, however, those which provide epigraphic documentation in the Oscan-Samnite language. The inscriptions containing data of political and institutional interest nearly all come from the territory of the Pentri and can be connected to a time following the definite entry of the Pentri into an alliance (*societas*) with Rome (after Pyrrhus’ expedition to Italy), being datable between the beginning of the second century and the first decades of the first century. We have few indications from the territory of the Frentani, and almost nothing for the others.

For the territory of the Pentri, the inscriptions demonstrate the presence of a constitution of a republican type, with elected magistrates and bodies of assemblies with deliberative and consultative functions. The prosopographic data show how the members of the Pentrian noble elite of the period essentially monopolized the political offices. Among these last, the best attested is that of *meddiss túvtiks*. The *meddiss túvtiks* is a single magistrate, annual and eponymous, on whom devolve military command, civil and criminal jurisdiction, functions of political and religious representation, and several other responsibilities. Other positions appear at a lower level, mentioned more occasionally in the epigraphic texts, such as the *keenstur*

and the *áidil*, which recall the Roman censor and aedile. The existence of a local senate is also documented.

It has been supposed that these data give evidence of the Pentrian state along ethnic or tribal lines (Salmon 1967, 77–101; La Regina 1980, 41–42, 1984, 20–21, 1989, 304 ff., 1990, 48–51; Tagliamonte 1997, 254–261); or rather, that all the Pentri constituted a single *touta* and identified themselves as a common state. On the basis of various considerations, it seems, however, preferable today to consider that also among the Samnite Pentri, as among the Frentani, there were political communities and autonomous states. In other words, that in this case too, the *touta* may be defined, from the political and institutional viewpoint, with reference to the local dimension and not a “tribal” or ethnic one (Bourdin 2012, 251–260, 2014, 213–215; Tagliamonte 2014, 231–233).

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Christopher J. Smith

The Aurunci and Sidicini

I Geography

The Aurunci/Ausones and the Sidicini occupied the area between the Garigliano and the Volturno rivers (for a map of the region, see Map 2, p. 7; also see Fig. 2, p. 388). The area is formed of plains interrupted by two mountain ranges, the Monti Aurunci and the Monti Ausones (the latter dominated by the extinct but once powerful volcano Mt. Roccamonfina), and the Massico range which runs down to the coast. They are all part of the Anti-Apennines, which were formed between seven and five million years ago as a result of the African tectonic plate being carried under the European plate. Predominantly friable limestone, they represent a boundary between Latium Adjectum and the fertile Ager Stellas and the Campanian plain. Post-volcanic activity is demonstrated by thermal springs at Suoi Terme (*Aquae Vescinae*) and Bagni Sulfurei (*Thermae Sinuessanae*), and earthquake activity is well-attested archaeologically.

The upland parts of the area were probably heavily forested in prehistory, but partially deforested in classical times. The lower ground was well-watered and had considerable agricultural potential, becoming in classical times famous for viticulture. The close juxtaposition of hill and plain may have permitted local movement of flocks without the need for long distance transhumance, as could be observed until quite recently. The coastline was further inland than today, and there were a series of lagoons and grottoes, which encouraged fishing, but also harboured malaria, at least in Late Antiquity. The combination of this potential, and the high strategic significance of the area, especially once communications between Etruria, Latium and Campania began to increase, is the background to the complex history of this area (see Frederiksen 1984, 1–53; Arthur 1991; Zannini 2012).

II Sources

What is so fascinating about this area between the Apennines and the Tuscanian Sea, is the number of ethnic groups, many quite fleeting. The Aequians, Hernicans

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Christopher J. Smith: British School at Rome and School of Classics, University of St Andrews, Fife, Scotland KY16 9AJ; Email: cjs6@st-and.ac.uk

and Volscians just to the north are treated elsewhere in this volume. The Ausones/Aurunci and the Sidicini have a significant role in Livy's account of the fourth century BC, and played a role in the Hannibalic Wars, but are then largely the subject of learned yet unreliable speculation on their origins. It is nonetheless striking that the sources maintained a clear awareness of diversity in this area, which leads Bourdin (2012, 667–700) to describe the area as a “société multi-ethnique.”

The Sidicini are the most straightforward. As Strabo points out, their name was preserved in the town Teanum Sidicinum, which is on the southern slopes of Mt. Roccamonfina. Coinage and inscriptions from the town are in Oscan. Strabo (5.3.9) calls the people Oscans, and “an *ethnos* of Campani that has disappeared.” Livy's detailed account of fourth century contests with the Sidicini has a counterpart in the *Fasti Triumphales* for 340/339: “[T.] Manlius L.f. A.n. Imperiosus Torquatus, consul [III], over the Latins, Campanians, Sidicini and Aurunci, 15 k. Jun.” If we believe that the *Fasti*, at least for the later fourth century onwards, are reliable, this gives us a clear historical starting point.

The position with the Aurunci is much more complicated because there is a persistent identification of the Aurunci with the Ausones. Ausonia, however, was also used as a generalised term for an early Italic people. The developed mythography refers to a son of Odysseus called Auson, and Ausonia is used poetically to refer to all of Italy. (This is then mapped on to the archaeological phenomenon of “Ausonian culture” which was coined by Bernabò-Brea 1964–1965 to describe the Late Bronze Age culture of the Lipari islands and north-eastern Sicily, which is very similar to the Subappennine culture of the mainland). The connection of Auson with his son Liparos is recounted in Diodorus Siculus (5.7). The idea that the Ausonians spread from Campania all across Italy may also underlie Festus's abbreviated comment (16L) that Auson began in the area around Cales and Beneventum, and founded Suessa Aurunca. However, the tradition is extremely confused.

Hecataeus of Miletus, as mediated through Stephanus of Byzantium, is our first source for Ausonians in Campania; at *BNJ* 1 F61 he says that Nola was a city of the Ausones. This securely places early Greek knowledge of the Ausones in the right area, though Nola would not be considered part of Auruncan territory in historical times. Aristotle also puts the Ausonians on the west coast of Italy (*Pol.* 7.10.1329b8–22), but it was not universal – when Pindar (F140 Maehler) refers to the Ausonian Sea it is in the context of Italian Locri. Lykophron is inconsistent, as is Apollonius of Rhodes, with locations wandering from the straits of Messina as far as Cerveteri. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3.75, 3.151 and 14.69, and 3.95 citing Varro) has a more reduced notion of the Ausonian Sea, but a more expansive one at *NH* 3.56.

By far the largest number of references to the Ausonians and Auruncans come from Silius Italicus, but his usage is poetical and imprecise. Virgil and Livy are more important for our purposes. Virgil perhaps more clearly than previous authors has a division between the Aurunci who were specifically located to the south of Latium, and the Ausonii who had a generalised role in the prehistory of Italy. The commentary tradition on Virgil represented in Servius reverts to a less nuanced version,

summarised by the view that Ausones was simply the Greek name for Aurunci (Zanini 2012; see Pagliara 2008 and 2014b for more sophisticated readings).

It is only in Livy where we have a really clear and different view and that is because he is dealing with the historical period. Here the Aurunci are confined to the other side of Massico range, and concentrated around the Garigliano valley; the Ager Falernus is on the Campanian side of the mountain range; and the territory of the Sidicini extends inland from Roccafina towards Cales. Yet it is important to be clear that these boundaries were at no stage stable, and the description of Frederiksen (1984, 40) of a “shifting tessellation of administrative regions” nicely captures the situation.

Untangling this collection of sources into a single coherent historical thread is not possible; Pagliara has identified four different traditions, and there is an additional derivation of the Ausonians from a half-man half-horse figure called Mares, mentioned by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 9.16; see Pagliara 2002, 2006, 2008 and the classic statements of Lepore 1989). It is clear that the majority Greek view was that there was an early Italic people of broad extent called the Ausoni, and that this is reflected in the way Latin writers use Ausonia, poetically, for all of Italy. There is a minority sceptical view that the Ausonians were none other than the Aurunci, who occupied no more than the coastal strip between the Volscians and Campanians (Dio Cassius F2.1 Boissevain, cited by the commentator Tzetzes). The more widely held view may have originated from the rhotacism that turned Aurunci into Ausoni, but there is little reason to believe that the Aurunci of the classical period, in northern Campania, were the wellspring of an Italic movement. How far, if at all, the Aurunci themselves exploited or promoted the story is not recoverable. Whilst it does seem clear that they did not see themselves as comparable to the Sidicini (and vice versa), the ethnographic tradition of a broad Ausonian culture arose elsewhere.

To understand more about these groups we have to turn to archaeology. However, it must be noted immediately that there is no clear list of which towns and settlements belonged to the Aurunci and Sidicini. Some may have been overtaken by the Volscians; di Fazio has suggested that a corrupt passage at Livy 8.22 may reveal that Fregellae, a long way up the Liris valley was once Sidicine territory (di Fazio 2014, 248), which would suggest both that Sidicine territory was much larger than we have tended to think, and that it was drastically reduced perhaps from the late sixth century on. With the cases of Teanum Sidicinum and Suessa Aurunca, we can clearly identify them from their names as key centres, but the latter is a Roman colony and the exact limits of the respective territories are never defined in antiquity, nor is the evidence sufficiently differentiated to permit us to distinguish on grounds of material culture alone (the allegedly national ceramic of the late orientalising period which Johannowsky very confusingly called *buccherio rosso* is instead a form of impasto with a red slip: Johannowsky 1983, 291–293; Chiesa 2011). It is also the case that there are a lot of gaps in our knowledge. Recent work around the two key sites in the Auruncan territory of Formiae and Fondi has begun to change

this, but Pallottino's evocative description of this area as a zone of silence remains partially true (Pallottino 1984, 51).

III Prehistory

The pace of discovery of prehistoric finds has picked up in recent years. The most extraordinary discovery was the footprints found in a pyroclastic flow off Roccamonfina dating to between 385,000–325,000 years ago, some of the earliest known human footprints. The tracks show bipedal hominids zig-zagging down the slope, sliding, and using their hands to steady their progress (Mietto, Avanzini and Rolandi 2003).

Some of the prehistoric evidence relates to coastal use, probably related to fishing. Caves near Gaeta in the Upper Palaeolithic show prolonged (October to May) human presence. Other traces of Palaeolithic to Neolithic activity have been found at various sites, with one of the most interesting being the cave at Rocca di San Sebastiani at Mondragone, where material has been found from 50,000 to 15,000 BC, including the possible interaction of Neanderthal culture and *homo sapiens sapiens*, traces of cave painting, evidence of hunting and gathering, including a quantity of horse bones and also cattle, goat, boar, wolf and vulture, and a child's milk tooth. At the large village of Arevito, also near Mondragone, around 3000 flint implements have been found. So we can see that the ecological possibilities of this area were substantial, and permitted a larger population than previously thought.

Around 3500 BC the development of more stable villages can be seen, for instance at Bagni Sulfurei. In the early Bronze Age, perhaps the most striking discovery has been the village at San Paolo Belsito (Nola), which was covered by the so-called Pomici di Avellino eruption of Vesuvius ca. 1750 BC. The inhabitants fled, leaving behind cooking utensils, drinking cups, hunting implements, a hat with wild boars' teeth as decoration, and a pot in the kiln about to be fired. A dog vainly took shelter inside one of the huts; its remarkably well preserved skeleton, one of the most complete for the period, shows an animal of about 42 cm to the shoulder and quite slender. (Traces of animals and humans fleeing this eruption have been found across the area, for instance at Afragola near Naples, in the mud of the river Clanis). The evidence for diet shows pig, sheep, and cow bones, pots of grain, and pregnant goats were being kept in an elevated pen.

As the Bronze Age draws on, and a drier climate makes the inland less marshy, and plough technology improves, we see the development of agriculture, and a move towards manufacture, evidenced by (for instance) a now largely lost bronze axe hoard from near Mondragone. There was a general shift towards more defensible sites. A site which well illustrates the late Bronze Age to early Iron Age transition is the romantically named "village of the cyclamens," on Monte Petrino on the slopes of Mondragone. A small number of huts have been found together with animal remains, including a tortoise, indications of weaving, local pottery manufacture, and

a “Greek style” oinochoe and a leech style fibula and another a “foglia traforata,” a type which we find in the lower Garigliano valley (Cifarelli 1996), and this reflects the potential connectedness of this area to the rest of central Italy. (For this period, see the collection of essays, *Strategie di insediamento* 2007).

The fact that we can find a good deal of occupation in the area is a better index of its fertility and agricultural and strategic potential, than of a deep-seated continuity of population. Rather, we should interpret the emergence of identities, expressed in ethnic terms, as historical phenomena, and dependent on the tensions and stresses produced by the increasingly dense and contested settlement. As we proceed into the archaic period, the connectedness we have just described begins to encourage the formation of distinct forms of self-expression.

IV Archaic

Notwithstanding important sites such as Monte Petrino, the Iron Age is currently rather poorly represented (Talamo 1987). Campanian cities such as Capua and Cumae develop strongly under the influence of Greek colonies, but the area to the north is much less clearly understood, and attested. Imports here are rare outside the coastal sites, and the cultural direction seems to be from and towards the Liris valley. This is in itself important. If one compares for instance the impact of Greek trade on coastal Etruria with inland Etruria, then we see clear evidence of acceleration of urbanization, production and acculturation. This is much harder to discern even in an area geographically closer to the Greek colonies and as we have seen, not lacking in agricultural potential.

This raises again the extremely difficult question of the ethnic identity of successful Campanian cities. If we consider Nola for instance, Hecataeus described it as Ausonian. Cesarano (2011) has explored the considerable evidence of Greek pottery in the Archaic period in the necropoleis of Nola, in the context of notions of cultural hybridity. However, this is a part of Campania which later on at any rate belonged to the Opici, not the Auruncans, and it is not even clear that it was part of the Sidicini; Cato the Elder thought it was Etruscan (Vell. 1.7.3), whilst Justin (20.1.13) preserves Pompeius Trogus’ view that it was Greek, and yet the evidence for the Oscan language is clear. It may be that the definition of a group which would become the Auruncans, centred on the lower Garigliano river and the Monte Massico, and Sidicini, between Roccamonfina and Mons Tifatina above Capua, was already under way by the seventh century, but it does not fully develop until a couple of centuries later.

A strong case for continuity and expansion may be made for Cales, which was probably part of the Sidicini. Burial evidence demonstrates that there were some wealthy individuals and more contact than we can trace in the lesser settlements. There is even the suggestion that the careful placing of the burials may have been part of the urban plan. Huts have been found from the seventh to sixth centuries,

and in the sixth to fifth centuries a large tufa building was found on the site of a later cult of Mater Matuta, and architectural terracottas from elsewhere on the site show a developing urban culture. Contemporary burials include a very rich tomb from between 650 and 620 BC with around a hundred objects in silver, bronze, iron, and various kinds of pottery. All are inhumations and clearly show the increasing influence of the Etruscans in the area, as well as connections to the Adriatic, especially through fibulae and amber is also present (Johannowsky 1983, 213–240; Gilotta and Passaro 2012).

For the other parts of the area, which would become the homeland of the Aurunci in the historical period, the eighth and seventh centuries are represented at the key sites of Monte Petrino, Suessa Aurunca and Alife in burial evidence and a votive deposit at Teanum. Survey work by Quilici and Quilici Gigli (2012) in the uplands of Monte Pianara and Monte Passignano above Fondi have begun to catalogue evidence of archaic fortified sites. Settlement across the whole region intensifies in the sixth century. Hints of conflicts with the Volscians to the north, for instance the capture of Tarracina (implied by its alternative name of Anxur; the fierceness of the struggle between Rome and the Volscians is suggested by Ennius and at Livy 4.59), mark out boundaries along the coast. To the south, Presenzano seems to have had strong Adriatic links and perhaps mediated them for the rest of the area. At the same time, pottery evidence, likely to be from a tomb near Teanum Sidicinum, suggests closer links with Etrusco-Latinal pottery, and some Greek influence on decoration such as concentric rings, but there are also cups with an unusual high handle that seem to be influenced by Daunian shapes (Sirano 2008).

A critically important site is the shrine of Marica near the mouth of the Garigliano, not far from Minturnae (Mingazzini 1938; Ferrante, Lacam and Quadrino 2015, 107–118; Livi 2006). The first phase of the temple is dated to around 560 BC, and there is a restructuring around 500, and perhaps again after 400. The reconstruction of the architectural form of the temple is unclear – it may have been peripteral, with a single central cella. Obvious parallels come to mind with other famous port sanctuaries like Pyrgi, but the extent of imported material at present seems less significant. The sanctuary has produced a much discussed Oscan inscription on an impasto bowl (actually two inscriptions on different parts of the bowl), which is translated in *Imagines Italicae* (1.359–61) as “Of Aufidius. Do not take me, I am with my three companions; at the (shrine) of the good gods.”

Other sixth to fifth century sanctuaries are to be found near Teanum at Loreto and at Teanum itself (Fondo Ruozzo), the latter of which, dedicated to the goddess Popluna, has produced some spectacular terracotta figurines, including one of a female figure holding a piglet which may be the divinity herself (ca. 500 BC). The influence of Etrusco-Campanian terracotta is evident, and it has been suggested that the development of the sanctuary here reflects the emergence of a distinctive Sidicine culture (Sirano 2011a).

These sanctuaries offer a different way of understanding the region, which genuinely emphasises its distinctiveness. The sanctuary at Minturnae seems to have kept

elements of its Archaic terracotta decoration into the Roman period, so that it accumulated visible layers of history, and was an amalgamation of different phases. A very large quantity of votive offerings show that the sanctuary remained popular, but as at Teanum, the locus of production seems to shift from a local to a more regional style. The highly distinctive large scale terracottas at Teanum, with unusual headdresses and with female figures with children on their shoulders (as distinct from the nursing mothers we see at Capua) all reflect a distinctive votive culture which is contemporary with the processes of individuation between the different groups in Campania. Cult and cultic practice here assists the development of identity (Livi 2006; Sirano 2015).

Samnite influence on southern Campania seems not to have affected the Monte Massico to the same extent as it did towns such as Pompeii and Capua, or the border areas of Alife and Presenzano (Rufrium), although the cult of Mefitis may be a Samnite import. Rather, the Aurunci and the Sidicini seem to have developed a sense of independence both from each other and from their neighbours, an independence which was not necessarily compromised by alliances. A model in which social networks expressed themselves – and were interpreted as – claims for ethnicity may provide a helpful model (see Blake 2014 for the Late Bronze Age). These emergent self-definitions met, and were perhaps caused by, the increasingly fraught external environment of the fourth century, when Campania became a place of intense contest (for what follows, see Pagliara 2014b; Sirano 2015).

V Roman conquest

The Aurunci are first mentioned by Livy (2.16.8) in the context of an aggressive move against Cora and Suessa Pometia in the late sixth century. This move was more or less contemporary with the alleged first Roman colony at Segni. It is unclear what was the motivation for this intervention, though one might connect it with the Roman import of grain from Cumae, which is reported as early as 508 BC (Livy 2.9–14; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.21–7, 32, 65). Livy must have found it mentioned in the *Fasti Triumphales* because he records a triumph at 2.17, but these early triumphs are not as certainly reliable as later ones. The tension returns in 495/494 BC when the Aurunci demanded the Romans withdrew from the area of the Volsci (Livy 2.26.4); one might wonder if the Aurunci were seeking to recover territory they had lost to the Volsci.

Ogilvie (1965, 276) was dismissive of this narrative, seeing the origin of the story in the similarity of Suessa Pometia and Suessa Aurunca. This may be too sceptical. The possibility of tension up and down the Liris valley is quite believable. We have seen that culturally the Aurunci of the Monte Massico area may have been connected through this routeway. As Campania started to move towards the rejection of its Etruscan population, perhaps the Aurunci looked to secure the vital riverway. We have mentioned the Volscian takeover of Tarracina, which led to its new name of

Anxur. This must be connected with the broader challenges visible in Polybius' first treaty between Rome and Carthage (Polyb. 3.22), which demonstrates a Roman desire to control the coast some distance south. Formiae too may have spent some time under Volscian dominance, though this depends on the emendation of a highly fragmentary text of Festus (374L).

The same strategic concerns seem to underlie the next engagement in 345 BC. The Romans recovered the town of Satricum from the Volscians, and the following year were faced with an Auruncan raid. There is no need here to enter the debate over whether Satricum and Suessa Pometia were the same place (see for instance di Fazio 2014, 251); it is possible on either scenario to believe that the earlier engagement is a retrojection of the second, or that it reflects a genuine Auruncan concern. The consuls, Livy tells us, feared that this was part of a wider plot, but find that the Aurunci were just raiders. Then in 343 BC, the Samnites attacked the Sidicini, who had allied themselves with the Campanians, and Capua, which offered *deditio* or subordination to Rome, and the Romans were pulled into the First Samnite War (Livy 29.4–6).

The subsequent events are widely suspected to be inaccurately transmitted (see the commentary of Oakley 1997–2005 for a helpful guide). First, in 340 BC the Sidicini, having been rebuffed by the Romans, made an alliance against them with the Latins (Livy 8.2); Capua joined in, and the Romans confiscated territory. The Auruncans who had accepted Rome's victory were attacked by the Sidicini in 337, and before the Romans could react they were forced to abandon their city, and move to Suessa Aurunca, which they fortified (Livy 8.15.1–5). Then in 336, the Ausonians of Cales and the Sidicini joined forces against Rome, were defeated, retreated to Cales and were once more defeated. A garrison was put in place (Livy 8.16). In 314, in an atmosphere of tension and distrust, the Romans campaigned against the Ausonians. Aristocrats from the towns of Ausona, Minturnae and Vescia claimed their compatriots had been planning to support the Samnites after the Roman defeat at Lautulae. The Romans were assisted to enter the cities, and conducted an indiscriminate massacre. The Ausonian people, says Livy, was destroyed (9.15.9: *deletaque Ausonum gens*), and in the same year Capua was subjugated.

The Latin colony at Cales, founded in 335 BC, was a major move by Rome; with 2500 settlers, it was a substantial undertaking. Cales developed a highly distinctive pottery form which was made from the third into the second century. Formiae and Fundi received Roman citizenship without the vote in 334, allegedly as a reward, though shortly afterwards Fundi may have flirted with the rebellion at Privernum of Vitruvius Vaccus (Livy 8.19). The Auruncan territory was further organised into Roman space when Suessa Aurunca became a colony in 313, and Minturnae and Sinuessa in 295.

Teanum Sidicinum meanwhile flourishes from the fourth century onwards, and may in fact only attain urban form in this period, later than Cales. A famous pair of gold fibulae with stunning filigree and granulated decoration from the fourth century, now in Naples, attests to the wealth buried in the necropoleis. We have already

mentioned the important votive deposits related to Teanum at Loreto and Fondo Ruozzo, which run from the sixth to the first century BC. Their distinctive figural votives and decoration have been examined by Sirano (2007), who emphasises the references to military activity. Several temple podia exist which were constructed between the fourth and third centuries. Geophysics undertaken by the British School at Rome shows a classic outline of an *arx*, with three gates, and then a lower city, encompassed by a polygonal masonry wall. The road structure divides the city into a rough grid, within which were built irregular *insulae*, and there is also evidence of the kind of innovative architecture of fora and porticoes, water management and shops, which we see elsewhere in central Italy (Sirano 2011b).

Teanum has produced a remarkable number of Oscan inscriptions, no fewer than thirty-five in *Imagines Italicae*. They range from a building dedications to dedications on pottery and an *arula* to Ceres and Pupluna. Around 300 BC, a potter called Plator comes to Teanum – his name is Messapian, he knew Greek and he specialised in his local black slip pottery with impressed decoration over-painted in white. He taught this technique to a workshop in Teanum belonging to the Berii, who, rather extraordinarily, annotated batches of pots as made at Teanum, implying perhaps that they had more than one workshop. Furthermore, we have intriguing evidence of a limestone slab, possibly an altar, from the third to second century, which has a magistracy *tribuf plifriks*, interpreted by some as a tribune of the plebs, and by Crawford as a calque on the aedile. It implies an interpenetration of concepts of magistracy, and also divisions in society between elite and non-elite which were being worked through in a constitutional manner (*Imagines Italicae* I.532–33).

In addition, we see coinage developing in both areas (Rutter 2001, 58–73). In Campania proper, sites such as Nola and Capua, under the influence perhaps of Naples, mint from the early fourth century. For our area the second quarter of the third century sees the development of coinage in a number of sites including Aesernia, Aquinum, Caiatia, Cales, Compulteria, Suessa Aurunca, Teanum Sidicinum, Telesia and Venafrum. There are strong parallels between the coin designs, both in silver and bronze, across the area, suggesting perhaps existing shared networks of exchange. The earliest are still in Oscan, and Hercules, Minerva, Apollo and Mercury are favoured deities.

What does seem clear is that the struggles with the Samnites and the Romans in the later fourth century, which forced decisions as to alliances and allegiances, ultimately also created an atmosphere in which social, economic and cultural development could accelerate (Sirano 2015). Most sites develop polygonal masonry walls, and some at least predate the Roman conquest. Since Teanum Sidicinum at any rate does not seem to have become a colony until the time of Augustus, we have to develop a more nuanced model of what drove this rather than simply reverting colonization as an explanation.

We still need to understand better the relationship between Teanum and its territory, but it already offers a case study in regional diversity. Many of the major sites nearby face inland – Capua, Cubulteria, Saticula, Allifae, Rufrium, Venafrum and Ca-

sinum are all border sites. Interesting lesser sites like Trebula Ballensis (Caiazza and Pagano 2012), with finds from the Bronze Age to the late imperial period, monumental walls and a fourth century heroon built up against them, or Mignano Montelungo, with occupation from the fourth century BC to the sixth century AD, show an extraordinary network of highly successful and resistant settlements (de Caro and Miele 2001). This is the vibrant world which entered the Roman orbit.

V Romanization

It is notable that the earliest Roman settlements were fora, not colonies, and that the urban pattern of Rome was not the basis of their first organization. This is in the area which the Romans called the Ager Falernus, on the southern slopes of M. Massico, where the two settlements of Forum Claudii and Forum Popilii may represent the earliest mechanism for organising the area. The Ager Falernus was land taken from Capua in 340 BC; it was highly fertile and would become the source of some of Italy's most sought-after wine (Arthur 1982, 1991; Purcell 1985; Guadagno 1987). Centuriation is also found here, as across the whole area, and its careful study offers many possibilities for an enhanced understanding of the area (Chouquer, Clavel-Lévêque and Favory 1987).

It was during the Second Samnite War that Rome moved to establish clear control of the Auruncan territory, and to a degree the coast, through its colonies. The two most immediate consequences of the Roman control of this area have been thought to be improved drainage and centuriation. Whether the drainage is older is not clear. In other parts of central Italy, *cunicoli* are dated to the sixth century, but it has been suggested that the drainage around Cales for instance is driven by the Roman presence (Ødegard 1997; cf. Sevink 1985).

In addition, the Romans built roads through the area, the Via Appia first and foremost, and the Via Latina, but overall a rich network of connections supported the development of markets and minor centres, amongst which may have been two *pagi* attested only epigraphically, the Pagus Vescinus and the Pagus Sarclanus, the latter of which might have a pre-Roman name (Pellegrino 1978). These may have been established on the basis of existing centres, though other interpretations would view them as Roman creations. Clearly this vexed question bears directly on the nature of Auruncan settlement prior to the Romans, but further evidence is required.

The strong road network paradoxically made it easier for Hannibal to penetrate the area in 211 BC in his march from Capua to Rome. Interestingly there is no suggestion that he was aided by either the Sidicini or the Aurunci – Livy (26.9.1) says that Hannibal laid waste to the area and Silius Italicus (5.551 ff.) hints that the Sidicini remained loyal. Cales was one of the twelve colonies who refused to support Rome, however, and needed to be reinforced. Cult sites, such as the one at Panetelle where some very scarce early material gives way to a second century temple, and that of Marica, already mentioned, continued through to the end of the first century,

and it may be that they continued to serve a still rural population until the Social War.

The second century does seem on the whole to be a period of reorganization and growth. The improvement of the soil and its fertility seems to have laid the basis for an increasing concentration of land ownership – there is an impressive growth in villas across the area, not least in the attractive coastal areas. Arthur (1991) counted fourteen villas before the Second Punic War and over a hundred in the second and first centuries around M. Massico; much of this was being driven by the trade in wine, as attested by signs of presses and amphora manufacture. Municipal life in the towns and colonies develops with reorganised town plans, and the usual emergence of civic space, fora and public buildings. At some stage, Fundi and Formiae received citizenship and demonstrate both in their urban structure and territory rapid growth and increase in wealth (di Fazio 2006, 65–92; Mesolella 2012, 225–283). Impressive theatres and amphitheatres were built in the late Republic and early empire. Small road stations and the fora continue to provide a web of connection and communications across the area, and the Via Domitiana ran alongside the coast from Sinuessa to Naples to join up the Italian port network including Puteoli. Wine and amphora production seem to function strongly into the second century AD, and Minturnae and Suessa Aurunca continue to operate as significant ports. However, there does seem to be a decline in the third century, as economic conditions worsened.

Suessa Aurunca is now largely built over, though its theatre and part of its walls have been uncovered. A cryptoporticus may relate to the theatre, which was adorned with statues of the imperial family. Further buildings related to bath buildings or nymphaea have left traces and there was also an amphitheatre, and at least one aqueduct. Suessa received particular benefactions from Hadrian's grand-niece Matidia, including a library (Cascella and Ruggi d'Aragona 2012).

Minturnae, just upriver from the shrine of Marica, shows evidence of its forum, defences, and a complex of two temple, tabernae and a theatre. The port is not well-known, but was substantial and epigraphy reveals evidence of shipbuilding, carpentry, and salt-pans. Cato the Elder (*Agr.* 135.1) in the second century recommended Minturnae as a centre for iron-working, which shows one way in which Minturnae operated within trading networks, since it had no mineral resources of its own, but perhaps drew from resources further up the Garigliano-Liri, for instance Monto della Meta. A set of bath buildings attached to a spring at Aquae Vescinae, and a very large villa at Scauri by the coast might have belonged to M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos. 115 BC) (Bellini and von Hesberg 2015; Ferrante, Lacam and Quadrino 2015, 87–130; Mesolella 2012, 109–224).

Sinuessa was the object of substantial private largesse – Vespasian supported it, Vitellius robbed it and one L. Papius Pollio commemorated his father's death with gladiatorial games and a feast (*CIL* I² 1578). The foundations of the large amphitheatre have been half uncovered. Various nearby local settlements have been uncovered, including an important bath complex at Thermae Sinuessanae, which was widely famed (Crimaco and Gasperetti 1983).

Teanum Sidicinum became a colony under Augustus, and continued to thrive. A major temple-theatre complex was constructed in the later second century BC and rebuilt under Augustus, and extended under Septimius Severus. An amphitheatre and bath complex complete the standard urban set-up, and Teanum continued in prosperity into the fourth century AD (Sirano 2011b). Cales (mod. Calvi Risorta), with its well-preserved remains of walls, amphitheatre, theatre and baths, has a similar history of urban development and persistence. The two towns are linked by a famous story, told by the radical tribune C. Gracchus (Gell. NA 10.3), of a magistrate at Teanum Sidicinum who was flogged for not emptying a bath building in time for a visiting Roman magistrate's wife to use it; news rapidly reached Cales which banned everyone from the baths if a magistrate was present. Gracchus uses this as an indication of the high-handedness of Roman magistrates, but co-existence between Roman and local elites may have been more usual.

Epigraphy and the literary sources have revealed the names of some benefactors and landowners across this area; they included Cicero and various of his friends, Pompey the Great, and the Papii, originally from Samnium, who seem to have been major owners. Marius fled across the territory of Minturnae to escape from Sulla, and the heavy presence of supporters of Sulla, and indeed his son, in the area may show that Sulla confiscated territory there. Major assignments of veterans in the first century AD may have disrupted some of these patterns, and at least some of these estates then came into imperial ownership. Local magistracies are well-attested in epigraphy and some individuals make their way to high office. One example is C. Fulvius Plautianus, prefect of the praetorian guard under Septimius Severus, whose name was inscribed on a monument in the restored theatre at Teanum Sidicinum, which then suffered *damnatio memoriae*, eventually ending up reworked as part of the decoration (Sirano 2011b, 119).

By the late empire, Campania was characterised by high taxation and low population. The Aurunci and Sidicini as ethnic groups were now merely antiquarian memories. The Lombard invasions damaged the interrelationships on which the success of the earlier period had been based, and all the major centres appear weakened or abandoned by the sixth or seventh centuries. Sources refer to marshy conditions, suggesting the abandonment of drainage activity, and it was several centuries before the area would recover (Vitolo 2005).

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Marijke Gnade

The Volscians and Hernicians

Pre-Roman Italy was populated by many different cultural groups known by name from annalistic accounts of the Roman historians, in which they appear in the context of the expansion politics of Rome from the late sixth century BC onwards. Some of the smaller groups tend to be regarded as mere invention by the ancient writers, who wished to augment and embellish the early history of Rome's rise to hegemony. Recent archaeological research, however, carried out systematically in the areas which are historically attributed to these groups, has confirmed their actual existence.

The historical information about pre-Roman population groups mainly derives from the ancient historians, Livy and Dionysus of Halicarnassus, who report on their existence and activities, nearly always in relation to Roman expansion. This information, as can be expected, is rather one-sided: it is strongly Rome-centered and at the same time offers a fairly negative image of various groups. Thus reference is made to their rebellious nature and unreliability as allies as well as to their uncivilized character and inability to organize themselves. The results of archaeological research can help to counterbalance, or at least refine and complement this scarce and biased information.

We hear already of Volscians during the reign of king Ancus Marcius when they reportedly capture the town of Velitrae (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.41.5). Early contacts between Rome and the Hernicians are also reported, albeit in a more indirect way, when military assistance is offered to king Tullus Hostilius by Hernicians like Laevus Cispus from Anagnia (mod. Anagni) and Opiter Oppius from Tusculum; these acts were memorialized in the form of the names of two of Rome's hills: Cispus and Oppius (Varro in Fest. 476L). More reliable references to both peoples are found in relation to the political and territorial expansion program of the Etruscan king Tarquinius Superbus, which took place in the last quarter of the sixth century.

In the case of the Volscians, known because of their notorious reputation as fierce adversaries of the Romans during their expansion, there has been much discussion about their early arrival in Latium. Should we think in terms of a sudden, large-scale Volscian invasion of the Latial plain or rather of a more gradual process of infiltration by smaller groups of mountain peoples in search of new territory? Consensus appears to have been reached on the second option. As recorded in the sources, Volscians were already present in towns like Antium, Ecetra and Suessa Pometia as early as the sixth century. But since no hostilities are reported between Latins and Volscians for this early period, both groups may have lived peacefully together until the moment Roman historians awarded them the role of official enemies of Rome. The Volscians at times may even have outnumbered the local population in some

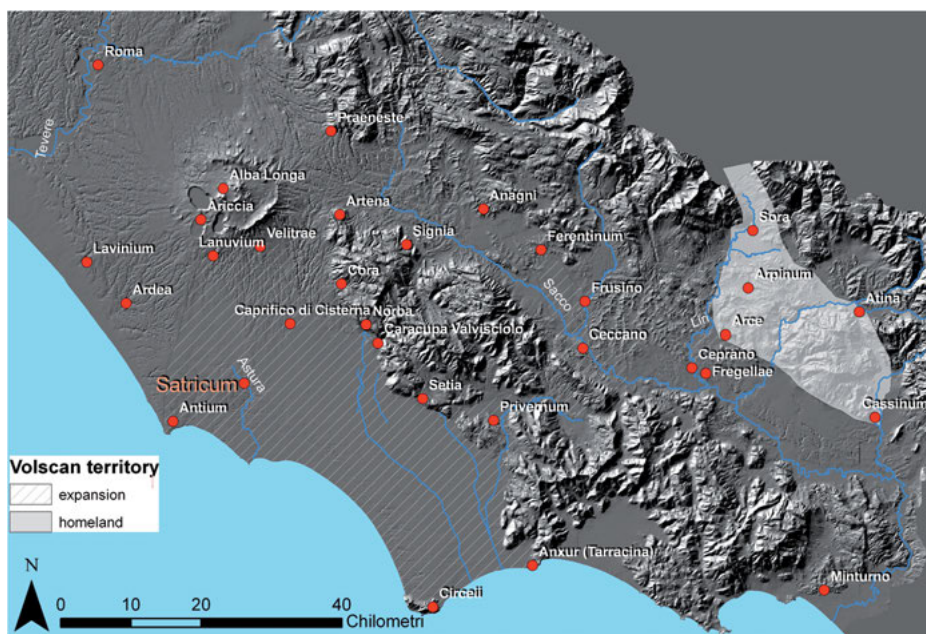


Fig. 1. Map of Latin, Volscian and Hernician sites. (courtesy Satricum-project)

of the towns – the reason why the sources identify these places as “Volscian” – without any reference to Volscian military attacks. Volscian inhabitants may at the same time have obtained prominent or public positions. This idea finds support in Strabo’s information on Volscians living autonomously in the various cities of Latium (Strabo *Geog.* 5.3.2) and accords well with Livy’s remark about Romans buying up grain from the Volscians as early as 508 (Livy 2.9.6). We also hear of two of the Volscian towns, Ecetra and Antium, accepting the invitation of Tarquinius Superbus to join the Roman-Latin alliance (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49.1).

The peaceful relations change, however, profoundly, when the Volscian town of Suessa Pometia is taken by storm by Tarquinius Superbus (Livy 1.53.2), the booty of which he used to build the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. The capture of Suessa Pometia is commonly considered as the starting point of a war with the Volscians that would last for more than two hundred years (Livy 1.53.2). Of the nearly fifty-three occasions that Volscian activities are mentioned, forty-four times these are directly associated with military activity. Famous is the legendary advance of a combined Volscian army in 477, led by the exiled Roman general Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus, who succeeded in occupying and destroying several Latin settlements on his way to Rome (Livy 2.39.1–5; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.14–36). Among the settlements taken was the town of Satricum, which, as will be set out below, is one of the settlements where a Volscian presence has been archaeologically established.

Compared to the historical information on the Volscians, that on the Hernicians is less extensive for this early period; but the Hernicians are reported to have participated in the Roman alliance with the Latin towns under Tarquinius Superbus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49.1). However, after the dissolving of this alliance because of the expulsion of king Tarquinius Superbus in 509, the Hernicians chose the other side and became allies of the Volscians in 495 (Livy 2.22.3). They were at war with Rome until 486, when they were conquered by the Roman army and received a *foedus* which, according to Livy (2.41.1), was particularly severe because they had to give up two thirds of their territory to Rome. This information is reported differently by Dionysius, who mentions apart from the payment of six months of salary and two months' provisions (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.68.3), the tripartite division of the conquered territory among the three partners of the former alliance, i.e. Romans, Latins and Hernicians (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.74.2, 77.1). In fact, the Hernicians seem to have become part of a Roman-Latin military alliance for a long period to come, in which their role was to prevent hostilities coming from the Aequians and Volscians (Livy 3.4–8, 10, 22).

Until recently, there was only scarce archaeological evidence to support the historical tradition on the existence of the Volscians and Hernicians, which led to a general distrust of that tradition. Systematic archaeological research conducted in towns which are historically associated with their presence has now largely corroborated the historical tradition. The best case is offered by the Latin settlement of Satricum, famous in antiquity for its sanctuary of Mater Matuta. Many years of archaeological research have revealed a prosperous town of nearly 40 ha and an acropolis with three consecutive temple buildings, a complex urban lay out with large buildings and an extensive road system (Gnade 2007). Probably shortly after the construction of the last monumental temple in 500–480 BC, large parts of the town were destroyed. Following this destruction a marked change in the topographical use of the site can be observed, reflecting a new phase of the town, which arguably can be connected with the occupation of the site by Volscians. Inside the former habitation area as well as on the temple hill itself, three burial grounds were installed in the course of time. The first one, known as the Southwest Necropolis, consisting of more than two hundred inhumation graves, was laid out on a small hillock in the southwest corner of the former town (Gnade 1992). The second, much smaller burial ground, consisting of around thirty graves, was installed at the foot of the main temple. A third burial ground is situated in the northern part of the town and contains so far around fifty graves (Gnade 2014a, 2014b). The latter burial ground was laid out literally on top of the main road of the town and the buildings alongside, thereby cutting through the various levels of pavement as well as through the tufa blocks of the buildings (Fig. 2).

Extensive research of the burial grounds has shown that the deceased in the graves were of a different cultural background than those of the former, Latin inhabitants of the settlement, and are to be identified most likely as Volscians (Gnade 2002). One important argument in favour of the Volscian identification of the de-



Fig. 2. Aerial photograph of the burial ground at Satricum (courtesy Satricum-project)

ceased is the location of the burial grounds *inside* the city boundaries, even on the temple hill, an act which is completely at odds with Latin burial ritual. Also, the deliberate choice to bury the deceased in new areas, while the former Iron Age burial mounds must still have been visible, is seen as a strong argument in favour of new inhabitants.

The graves in all three burial grounds are more or less uniform. The deceased were buried with great care in rectangular trenches (*fossae*) adjusted to the size of the deceased, who lay in a supine position in rectangular wooden coffins (Fig. 3). Apart from individual graves, there are many intersecting graves, which would seem to point to family relations. Affiliation is even more plausible in the numerous cases where a second or even a third burial occurred at a higher level in the same grave, often of an individual of a much younger age. From these cases it is clear that young individuals were treated in the same way as adults: they were buried in a wooden coffin fitted to their size and provided with a burial assemblage consisting of pottery and personal objects, such as fibulae and beads, the latter in some cases of glass paste of remarkable size and quality. They were obviously considered full members of their community and must have had the same burial rights as adults.

The burial assemblages generally contained a basic set of simple, utilitarian pottery, consisting of different types of jars and bowls, often present in more than one piece per grave. In addition, the burials almost always contain a miniature jug and a small, footed bowl. A vase characteristic for all three burial grounds is the small black amphora with double-reeded handles – a shape not found in the Latial reper-



Fig. 3. Skeleton in wooden coffin in grave from the northern burial ground in Satricum (courtesy Satricum-project)

toire but strongly connected to the inland regions of central Italy where it finds its most notable parallels (Fig. 4). The vase presumably possessed an intrinsic ancestral significance and has been interpreted as a marker of the former inland identity of the Volscian inhabitants of Satricum.

Apart from the many similarities among the three burial grounds, there are also differences, which may be related to the fact that the burial ground in the north part of the town is somewhat later in date and belongs to a group of people with a considerable degree of wealth. In general, the size of the graves is larger than that in the other two burial grounds, while the grave assemblages also appear to be richer, often showing a larger number of vases per grave. This difference might refer to the presence in Satricum of different groups of Volscians, which is also reflected in the different burial locations and at the same time may also constitute a chronological differ-



Fig. 4. Small black amphora with double-handled handles. Characteristic vase for the Volscian burial grounds in Satricum and Frosinone. (courtesy Satricum-project)

ence between the groups. The differences suggest a favourable economic development in the course of the Volscian presence in Satricum, which is reflected, amongst other things, in an exceptional number of wine amphorae coming from all over the Mediterranean. The repertoire, counting a total number of sixteen pieces, contains locally produced amphorae imitating Greek shapes, Etruscan amphorae, amphorae of western Greek production and one Laconian specimen. They are mostly found in pairs in the adult graves, often from different provenances.

A similar great number of objects is observable in the other shapes related to wine consumption, such as *kylikes* and *skyphoi*, in total nineteen pieces among which are fifth- and fourth-century cups, imports from Attica, as well as local imitations. The high number of vases associated with wine consumption – in almost half of the tombs of the northern burial ground there is an element related to the wine service – makes it clear that this kind of pottery constituted an important aspect of the funerary ritual, perhaps as a sign of distinction to be associated with an aristocratic way of life. An observation that needs further study in this context is the fact that many of the older wine objects in the assemblages, like, for instance, the fifth-century drinking cups, but also some of the Etruscan transport amphorae, show clear traces of use: in some cases the handles of the vases are missing or the vase appeared to have been restored before it was placed in the grave.

Also noteworthy is the attention given to the child burials, which probably reflects the significant social position these children occupied within their community. Apparently children were allowed a ritual similar to that of the adults. They were either incorporated into family plots as individual burials or buried in their own graves amongst those of the adults. Their significant social position is also reflected in the display of greater wealth (a higher number of vases or special personal objects) in



Fig. 5. Miniature lead axe-head with Osco-Umbrian inscription (courtesy Satricum-project)

some of their graves, especially those graves in family plots which were the last to be dug. Most probably, these children represented the last members of their family lines, and their grave outfits are to be explained in terms of growing competition between the various family groups. Apart from personal ornaments of glass paste imported from the Phoenician world, the child burials often also contained miniature weapons made of lead that were probably made especially for the burial and functioned as symbols of authority and power. Among these miniature weapons one axe-head stands out because of the Osco-Umbrian inscription it carries, which again is strong evidence for the Volscian identification of the deceased because of its connection to the Volscian homeland in the mountainous region of central Italy (Colonna 1984, 1995; Fig. 5).

Perhaps the most convincing link with the inland area is provided by the recent archaeological research conducted in the modern town of Frosinone (Roman Frusino) situated in the Lepini mountains, along the north-south route of the Sacco and Liris valleys. Already in the early 1960s numerous *fossa*-graves had been brought



Fig. 6. Double burial from Frosinone (courtesy Soprintendenza of Lazio)

to light in the centre of the town (Biddittu 1989; Colonna 1995). Recent excavations in the same area have revealed more than fifty new graves (Cifareli-Gatti 2006; Fig. 6). The burial contexts show strong resemblances to those of Satricum. Very recently, during the construction of a gas pipe line in the nearby situated community of Pofi, new *fossa*-graves similar to those found in Satricum came to light.

Located along one of the ancient routes used by indigenous groups from the Apennine interior, Frosinone and Pofi are places in which the Volscians are likely to have settled on their long journey from their homeland to the coastal plains. So far, Frosinone and Pofi are the only places where finds almost identical to those of Satricum have been discovered. Their significance lies, however, not so much in the similarity of the individual objects, but more in their general coherence and associated contexts. It is clear that both towns were inhabited during the late sixth and fifth centuries by people who practiced the same funerary rites as the people living in Satricum. It is this contextual analogy of the Frosinone and Pofi finds, in sites at a considerable distance from Satricum and in an area that otherwise seems to have no archaeological connection with the Latial plain, that indicates a high cultural and ethnic similarity between the inhabitants of Satricum and the area around Frosinone. At the same time, Frosinone, unlike Satricum, has also brought to light remains of buildings that can be positively associated with the graves (Onorati 1998, 1999). Among the pottery finds are large storage jars provided with bosses on the

shoulder. The same jars, but of a smaller size, recur as a typical shape in the burial assemblages of Satricum and this again indicates strong cultural similarity between the two population groups. New excavations carried out in 2000 at a short distance from the earliest discovered tombs in the 1960s, revealed new settlement remains dating between the eighth and sixth centuries, which cautiously have been attributed to the earliest Volscian arrivals in this region (Gatti 2004).

As to the Volscians in the more internal areas of the Apennines, i.e. the middle Liris valley which is generally considered their home land, interpretations of the archaeological data are more tentative due to a lack of systematical archaeological research. Some vase shapes known from the Satricum burial grounds do occur but the archaeological record seems to be too thin to provide a solid base for a recognizable and clearly defined culture.

The situation in Satricum on the other hand is clearly different. The Volscians originating from the mountainous backyard of Latium and having lived harmoniously with the Latin inhabitants of the town for many years, started to manifest themselves more and more in a process of growing self-consciousness against the background of continuous warfare, becoming the unwanted outsider. In this scenario of ethnogenesis, the selection of new burial grounds devoid of memories related to earlier inhabitants can be interpreted as a conscious decision to emphasize their distinct identity. But also aspects of material culture, like the small black amphora with double-reeded handles recurrently present in the burial assemblages, seem to have been actively employed to create and mark the ethnic boundaries of the group.

In the case of the Hernicians this process of ethnogenesis seems to be absent, as there is no historical or archaeological record that refers to migrating groups either. Ancient towns associated with the Hernicians, like Anagnia, Ferentinum (mod. Ferentino), Verulae (mod. Veroli) and Aletrium (mod. Alatri) indeed offer archaeological finds, but these are mostly limited to sacral contexts, with Anagni as the richest site. Except maybe for a small necropolis in Osteria della Fontana (Anagni) from the eighth century and a recently discovered burial ground in località Spinelli, dated between the middle of the seventh and middle of the sixth century, little or nothing is known about the burial grounds of the Hernicians whereas material remains referring to habitation and urban development are practically non-existent (see Gatti 2017 for the most recent contribution on the Hernicians).

The most significant cult places known today from archaeological research are those of Santa Cecilia, situated directly outside the city walls of Anagni (Gatti 1996, 2017), and Osteria della Fontana at some distance to the south. Both sites lack temple structures, but are full of votive deposits. The latter site, associated with the goddess Diana and situated near a water basin in which offerings had been deposited in the period between the eighth and second centuries BC, is of particular interest for the Hernician identification. In the direct surroundings of the site a monumental structure with a perfect circular plan has been excavated. The structure, whose original date is not known, has cautiously been identified as the federal

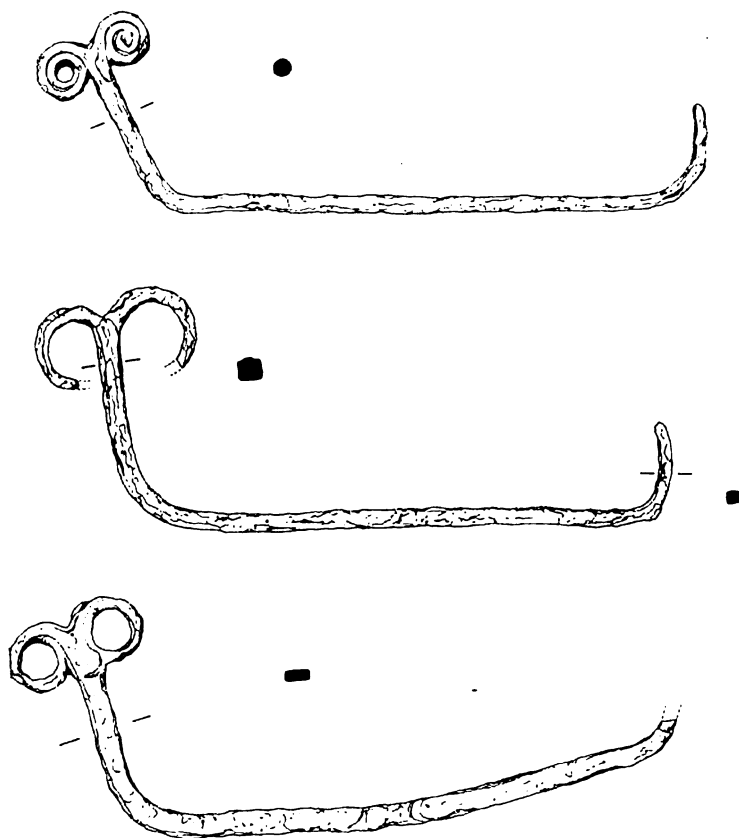


Fig. 7. Symbolic keys of iron from the sanctuary of S. Cecilia in Anagni (courtesy Soprintendenza of Lazio)

sanctuary of the Hernicians where, according to Livy, the confederation came together in 210 (Livy 9.42.11). Both sanctuaries have an *emporion*-like character on account of the great variety of votive offerings, many of which were imported from other areas of central Italy and beyond. At the same time, characteristics of the cult have been observed which may be considered significant in terms of cultural specific aspects of the Hernician identity. For example, the offering of symbolic keys made of iron (Fig. 7) and vases which were placed upside down, as well as the placing of groups of vases with food perhaps reflect the chthonic character of the cult.

The earlier mentioned necropolis in località Spinelli, so far unique and situated near the southern boundary of the Hernician territory, offers twenty graves dating between the seventh and the middle of the sixth centuries BC and contain ceramic deposits among which are large containers and table ware, in bucchero as well as painted (Gatti 2017). Apart from ceramics, the burials contained jewelry, sometimes abundant and also present in male burials, and numerous weapons such as swords, lances and spears. According to the excavators, the necropolis, still under study,

probably belongs to an unknown garrison at the boundary with the Volscians. Thanks to these burial outfits, it is assumed that the objects of Etruscan and Latial production in the sanctuaries are not just documents of personal circulation but imports by the Hernician communities at large from the surrounding Etruscan and Latin areas. Some of these certainly can be considered integral aspects of a specific lifestyle (Gatti 2017). This strong acculturation, however, did not obscure the native rituals and habits of the Hernician community, as is shown by the presence of burial gifts in the tombs, contrary to their absence in the Roman and Latin area and in accordance with the Volscian burial habits.

The archaeological finds presented in this short survey have been interpreted as evidence for the actual existence of historically recorded indigenous groups that figure in the long history of Rome's rise to power. As for the "Volscian case," it seems to be the most convincing one, offering a rich and varied archaeological record that accords surprisingly well with the historical tradition of the late sixth and fifth centuries BC. Satricum certainly occupies a unique position in this context, due to the continuous and systematic archaeological research, which continues to produce information about the habitation history of the settlement and demonstrates the presence of three successive population groups: the Latins, Volscians and Romans.

The written sources suggest that living conditions in fifth century Satricum may have been relatively stable, one reason why the Volscians could develop a settled mode of existence, as is reflected in the many burial contexts. In this period the attention of the Roman army was clearly focused on other areas, a situation that changed dramatically from the early fourth century BC onwards. After an initial peace treaty with Rome in 396 (Livy 5.23.12), the Volscians took up their weapons again in 389, when they started a revolt against Rome in union with the Latins and the Hernicians (Livy 6.2.2–3). Many Latin communities, probably in reaction to the growing Roman territorial expansion to the south (Cornell 1995), joined forces with their former enemies, the Volscians, against the Romans. Among them were the Latin colonists of Velitrae and Circeii, but also Lanuvium in 383 and Praeneste in 382. A clear shift in balance of long term loyalties to Rome can thus be noted. The hostilities of the Hernicians towards the Romans led to a Roman war declaration in 362 and the consequent defeat of the Hernicians in 358 (Livy 7.7; 7.15.9–11), and again, a final time, in 306 BC.

With the centre of conflict shifted towards the Pomptine plain, Volscian Satricum reemerged as the focus of action. There were many military confrontations reported in and around Satricum, which would ultimately lead to the destruction of the town in 346 by a Roman army (Livy 7.27.5–9). The Volscian presence, as illustrated in their burial grounds, seems to end around this period. The latest objects in the tombs date to the third quarter of the fourth century. It probably takes a quarter of a century or so before the town recovers from the destruction, as is clear from the revival of the sanctuary and the thousands of votive offerings in the associated deposit. At the same time building activities, in some cases literally destroying the Volscian tombs, illustrate how new inhabitants reoccupied the former town. The Volscians, thrown out of

Satricum, lost their independence when their last free town, Privernum, capitulated to the Romans in 329 BC (Livy 8. 20.5–7).

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Francesca Fulminante

The Latins

This paper outlines the history of Latium, the very region from which the greatness of Rome originated, by analyzing mainly the material culture but not forgetting the surviving, relatively large number of literary accounts (albeit much later). Firstly, I will describe the geography and the morphology of the region. Secondly, I will discuss the debated question of the limits of the region, and of *Latium vetus* and *Latium adiectum* in particular, by combining archaeological evidence and literary sources. Then I will examine the development of Latium during the early Iron Age by focusing on several different economic, socio-political and ideological trajectories such as: settlement development; social organization as mirrored in the funerary evidence; craft specialization; economy; religion and cult places; and ethnicity. Finally, I will focus on the expansion of Rome in the region during the Regal Period by comparing what we know from literary accounts with the archaeological evidence. (For other recent reviews of the history and archaeology of early Latium from the Final Bronze Age to the Roman Period see Smith 2007 and 2014, Carafa 2014 and Mogetta 2014; for a detailed reconstruction and interpretation of the archaeology of the earliest phases of the region during the Bronze and the Early Iron Age see Alessandri 2007 and 2013).

I Defining Latium

Apart from the Po valley in the north and the Apulia plateau in the south, Latium, together with Etruria and Campania is one of the most fertile areas of Italy (as noted by Forsythe 2005, 9). It is probably not coincidental that these three areas were the geographical basins for the earliest urbanization in Italy, during the first millennium BC.

Middle Tyrrhenian Italy and the Tiber valley have two main geological and morphological features: the Sabatini Hills to the north and the Alban Hills to the south (Middle Pleistocene era). The eruptions of these now coalescent volcanoes produced the tuff systems that descend toward the Tiber from the northwest and southeast. These tuff systems, eroded by rivers and winds, formed the tuff plateaux which con-

This essay partially reflects with modifications and updates some passages already presented in my work on the urbanization of Rome and *Latium vetus* (Fulminante 2014). It has been written by holding a Marie Skłodowska-Curie IEF for the project “Past-people-net” 628818. I am very grateful to the European Commission for its support to my career.

Francesca Fulminante: Università Roma Tre, Rome, Italy / Cambridge University, Cambridge, UK;
Email: ff234@cam.ac.uk, francesca.fulminante@uniroma3.it

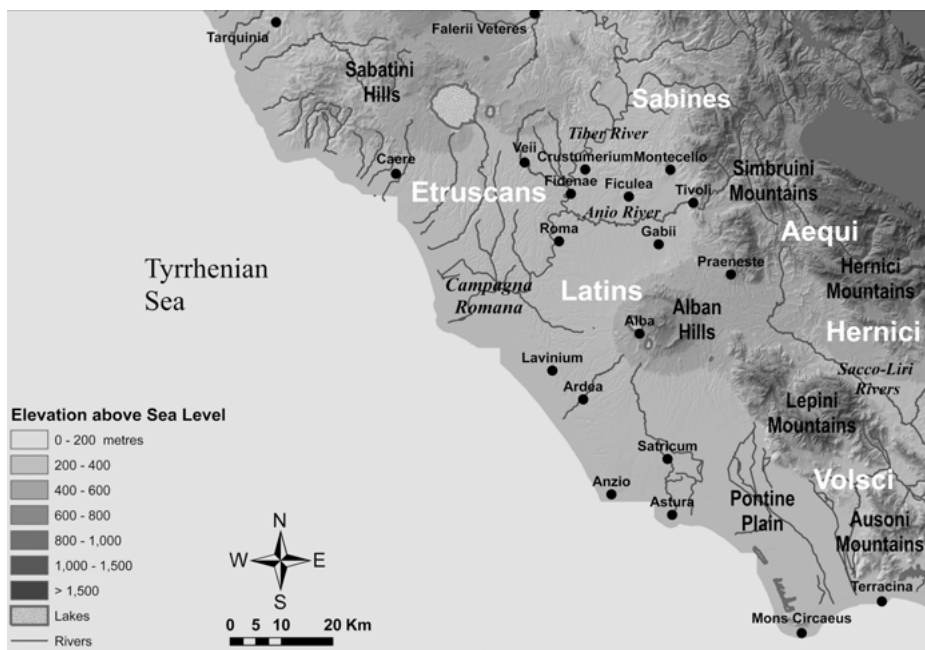


Fig. 1. *Latium vetus* in central Italy.

stitute the most favorable (and favorite) locations for habitation during the Bronze and early Iron Ages (the so-called Campagna Romana discussed below).

It is commonly agreed that the plain of Latium, which lies midway along the western Italian coast, had an important geographical advantage. It was at the junction of several significant natural routes to the surrounding regions, such as those running to Etruria in the north and to Magna Graecia in the south (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 74–65), and from the centre of the peninsula to the coast through and along the Tiber River. The valleys of Latium (all areas less than 300 m above sea level) are vast and fertile. The so-called Campagna Romana extends from the foot of the Tiburtini Mountains and the Alban Hills to the northeast and east, and down to the sea to the west; to the north it crosses the Tiber up to the Maremma Laziale (the southern part of the Maremma Toscana, including Tarquinia, down to Caere and Civitavecchia); and to the south it reaches the Pontine Plain, located between the sea and the Lepini and Ausoni Mountains (Fig. 1).

As already mentioned, the Campagna Romana is constituted by a tuff plateau, deposited during the Middle Pleistocene by eruptions of the Alban and Sabatini Hills. It is intersected by numerous small rivers and interrupted by a number of modest reliefs, whose elevation never surpass 200–300 m; among these are the hills of Rome. On the coast, at the mouth of the Tiber near Ostia, and from Fosso di Pratica to Torre S. Anastasio, in ancient times there were wide lagoons, which are visible in an ancient map by Eufrosino della Volpaia (1547), in other maps published by Frutaz



Fig. 2. Rome and Latium. Map by Eufrosino della Volpaia, 1527.

in the 1970s (Frutaz 1972) (Figs. 2 and 3), and re-examined recently by Luca Alessandri (2009, 16–35). The Tiber valley, formed by fluvial deposits, is relatively wide immediately to the north of Rome and constitutes a sort of continuation of the Campagna Romana inland, towards the mountains. The Pontine Plain, to the south, consists

of a series of coastal sands and gravel; and finally a vast marshy area of alluvial origin, extending along the foot of the Lepini and Ausoni Mountains, and only recently completely drained (Ampolo, et al. 1980, 6–7).

The fertile valleys of Latium could support a dense population and later, when marshy areas were drained, provided an even more extended area for settlement. The people from the neighboring uplands, envious of Latium's fertility, repeatedly raided the area until the fourth century. For instance, migrations from the Sabine region (modern Rieti) periodically occurred during early historical and, according to some scholars, even pre-historic times.

It is generally thought that ancient Latium consists of the region roughly corresponding to modern southern Lazio, which is conventionally bounded by the Tiber River to the north (perhaps not really a barrier: Quilici Gigli 1986 and Cifani 2003), the Sacco-Liri Rivers to the east and the Garigliano River to the south. This region presents a roughly homogeneous material culture, the Latial facies, down to Circei Terracina, to the south of which the Campania culture appears (Guidi, et al. 2002). In addition, the region immediately surrounding Rome is generally called *Latium vetus* (compare above Fig. 1).

However, the exact definition of ancient Latium and especially *Latium vetus* remains controversial. Giovanni Colonna (1988a, 411) has noted the difficulty of defining the region geographically because of the lack of distinct geographical boundaries: to the north, along the Tiber, Latium intrudes between the Etruscan and Sabine regions; to the south, in the Pontine Plain, and to the southeast, in the Sacco-Liri valley, it passes almost imperceptibly through the lands of Herinci, Volsci and Aurunci. Therefore, as suggested by Lorenzo Quilici (1979, 29–30) and Colonna (1988a, 411–412) and later noted by Alexandre Grandazzi (1997, 72):

If there is any unity, it lies in what makes Latium, before anything else, a borderland, a sphere of contacts (albeit violent), a space for encounters. That is why there is no strictly geographical definition that is adequate in itself, and the old question of Latium's boundaries, the torment of so many specialists of ancient topography, calls for a response that is in the first place *historical*.“

According to Ennius (*Ann.* 1.22; compare with Plin. *HN* 3.5.9) (239–169 BC), in fact, *Latium vetus* or *antiquum* (“old” or “antique Latium”) was the original area inhabited by the earliest people of the Latin *ethnos* (*nomen Latinum*), the so-called *prisci* or *casci Latini* (“first” or “oldest Latin people”), to be distinguished from so-called *Latium adiectum* (“added Latium”), which was not conquered or colonized until the Regal Period onwards. Several modern scholars, such as Heikki Solin (1996) and Paolo Carafa (1997), have attempted to identify the boundaries of *Latium vetus* and *Latium adiectum* from an historical perspective. After examining the literary accounts and epigraphic evidence in detail, Solin (1996, 11) considers Latin centres to be those that are mentioned among the Latin colonies. This assumption is based on the belief that early Latin colonies, founded by Rome during the Regal and early Republican Periods, would not have been established in the “ancient Latin territory,”

but simply in areas of “Latin interest.” Solin’s interpretation of *Latium vetus* is very strict and excludes centres such as Ardea, Antium and Satricum, which are clearly connected to the Latin culture by abundant archaeological evidence (e.g., Ampolo, et al. 1980; Colonna 1988a; Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 221–231; Pacciarelli 1994, 238–246). According to Solin, *Latium vetus* would be limited to the plains along the Tiber between the Anio River and the sea, which at the time of Cicero (106–43 BC) was still called *ager Latinus* or *Latiniensis* (Colonna 1988a, 426). A number of scholars, in apparent support of Solin’s interpretation, identify this zone with the original area inhabited by the *prisci Latini*, or “first Latins,” mentioned in literary accounts (e.g., Bernardi 1964, 184; Alföldy 1965, 10; Colonna 1988a, 411, 425–26; Cornell 1995, 351). However, as Andrea Carandini (1997, 159 with n. 25) has emphasized, this interpretation is based on the identification of the *prisci Latini* with the Aborigenes, mentioned in the literary accounts as one of the oldest populations of Latium.

Alternatively, according to Carandini and Carafa, the Latin people or *ethnos* would have derived from the fusion of the Aborigenes (*casci Latini*) and the people of the Alban Hills (*prisci Latini*), which can be dated to around the first phase of the Final Bronze Age, in the twelfth and eleventh centuries. However, an actual Latin identity could be determined only by the Final Bronze Age 3 and the beginning of the early Iron Age, at the end of the eleventh and the tenth century, when the first homogeneous material culture appears in the region (Latial Periods I and IIA) (Carandini 1997, 141–142, 219–232, on the fusion between Aborigenes and *prisci Latini*, and 228–238 on the Latin identity and Latial material culture). Thus the oldest Latin people would probably be more correctly identified as the *populi Albenses* (“Alban People”), who according to tradition participated every year in the *feriae Latinae* (“Latin Festival”), an annual celebration held in honour of Jupiter Latiaris on the Monte Cavo, in the area of the Alban Hills (Plin. *HN* 3.68–70; on the *Feriae Latinae* and their still not fully understood relation to the original core of the Latin people but also to the political turmoil of Republican Rome see Smith 2014). Following this hypothesis, Paolo Carafa has attempted to localize the *populi Albenses* on a map and to define the limits of the region of the Alban People, and therefore of *Latium vetus*. According to Carafa’s reconstruction (1997, 615 and again 2014, 34–35; see also fig. 16 in Carandini 1997, 234, and more recently Capanna 2005, figs. 1a and 1b), this region would have included the high Anio valley to the west of the Simbruini Hills, the area of the Alban Hills and the coastal area of Latium, south of the Tiber and right to the Anio River, down to the Astura River towards the south. While the debate is ongoing, it cannot be denied that this region corresponds closely to the core area of the geographical distribution of the Latin material culture (so-called Colli-Albani or Latial Periods I–IV) which developed during the early Iron Age and Orientalizing Age (see Fig. 4) (e.g. Ampolo, et al. 1980, with map at 12–13).

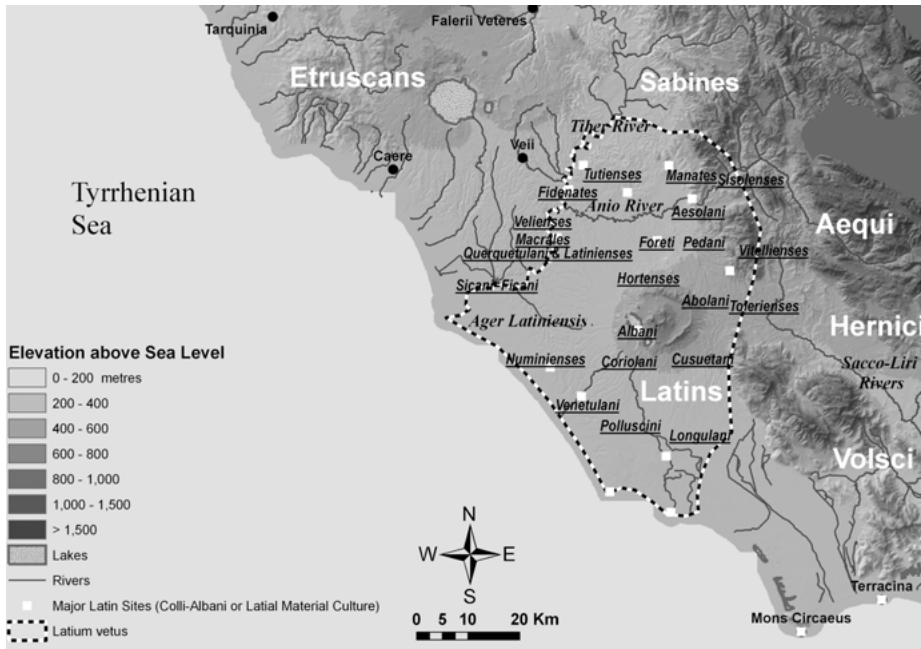


Fig. 4. *Latium vetus*. Region of the *populi Albenses*, compared with the diffusion core area of the Latin material culture, so called Colli-Albani or Latial Periods I–IV.

II Latium in the early Iron Age

Scholars who have studied settlement patterns in Latium largely noted a general and steadily increasing trend towards higher settlement stabilization, nucleation, centralization and demographic growth between the Bronze and the early Iron Age (e.g., Guidi 1986, 2000a; di Gennaro and Peroni 1986; di Gennaro 1988, 2000; Stoddart and Spivey 1990; Barker and Rasmussen 1998; Peroni 1994, 1996, 2000; Pacciarelli 2001). The following characteristics have been identified in the settlement pattern of middle Tyrrhenian Italy during the Bronze Age: (1) the selection of defensible locations (hills, small plateaux); (2) the formation of micro-districts (some tens of square kilometers); and (3) the emergence of two-level hierarchies (primary settlements with metalworking activities, imports and production of prestige goods and secondary settlements) (e.g., Guidi 1986, 2000a; di Gennaro and Peroni 1986; di Gennaro 1988, 2000; Stoddart and Spivey 1990; Barker and Rasmussen 1998; Peroni 1994, 1996, 2000; Pacciarelli 2001).

For the early Iron Age, so-called proto-urban centre formation is indicated by: (1) the occupation of big plateaux, which will later develop into the cities of the Archaic Age; (2) spatial separation and a formal distinction between settlements (inhabited areas on the plateaux) and necropoleis (funerary areas all around the plateaux);

(3) the formation of macro-district territories; and (4) settlement hierarchy comprising at least three tiers (summaries in Pacciarelli 2001, 120–170 and Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 60–70. For the relationship between settlements and funerary areas see Pacciarelli 1991, 81; 1994, 229; Fulminante 2003). Most scholars believe that the formation of proto-urban centres was a sudden and revolutionary process in Etruria, with the abandonment within a few generations, by the end of the Final Bronze Age and the beginning of the early Iron Age, of open sites or defended small hilltops and the convergence of village communities on the plateaux later occupied by Archaic cities. By contrast, in *Latium vetus*, settlements would have been limited to small acropoleis during the Bronze Age and would have expanded during the early Iron Age to occupy all of the plateaux later occupied by Archaic cities (Guaitoli 1977; Pacciarelli 2001, 120–127).

However, as suggested by more recent studies, closer analysis seems to reveal different developments for different sites in the same region and to emphasize more similarities, or at least to reduce the gap, between Etruria and *Latium vetus*. For example, according to Alessandro Guidi (2000), all of the plateau of Lavinium in *Latium vetus* might have been inhabited from a very early stage, by the end of the Final Bronze Age and the very beginning of the early Iron Age. Similarly, as noted by Marco Pacciarelli (2001, 159–164), Final Bronze Age archaeological evidence from a number of Etruscan plateaux, later occupied by large proto-urban centres and subsequent Archaic cities, appears to be more abundant than previously believed, indicating that earlier settlements in those sites might have been more significant than previously assumed (see Fulminante and Stoddart 2010 with references; on the local variation of the protourban developments in southern coastal Etruria see now Marino 2015, especially 104–108). Finally the trend towards higher settlement stabilization, nucleation, centralization and demographic growth between the Bronze and the early Iron Age is confirmed by a number of locational analyses such as the rank-size model, the central place theory and weighted Voronoi diagrams recently applied to *Latium vetus* (Fulminante 2014, 172–212).

In the earlier phase of the Final Bronze Age (FBA 1–2, 1200–1050 BC) the material culture of ancient Latium is not distinguishable from southern Etruria, as they share the so-called proto-Villanovan culture both in the ceramic and metallic production (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 270). The two regions also share the new incineration ritual, which appears in the most ancient phase of the Final Bronze Age. Burials are generally found in very small groups with ovoid or biconic urns and conic lids, which resemble a hut roof. The most common grave good item at this time is a bronze arch fibula with one or two bends. Burials of this type are found in Rome, Ciampino, Acilia-Ficana, Pratica di Mare, Ardea, Aprilia and Nettuno (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 271 with bibliography). As noticed by Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri (2010, 270), the most active zone of the region at this time is the coastal area, which represents the main traffic route from Etruria down to Campania.

With the later phase of the Final Bronze Age some important changes occur in the region. From the Final Bronze Age 3 (1050–950 BC) a new material culture (Latial



Fig. 5. Santa Palomba, Tenuta Palazzo, Tomb 1, Latial Period IIA, ca. 950–900 BC: a) metal objects; b) pottery objects (from De Santis 2007, 493–494, Il.1003–1009, Il.1011–1016, Il.1017–1023, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le attività Culturali- Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, “by kind permission of the Council for Cultural Heritage and Activities-Special Superintendence for the Archaeological Heritage of Rome”).

facies) appears to the south of the Tiber together with the characteristic miniature graves goods. Again tombs are found in small groups especially in the Alban Hills, in the centre of Rome (Arch of Augustus and Forum Iulium), in the territory of Rome at the edges of the Alban Hills (Quadrato di Torre Spaccata, Quadraro, Selcetta di Trigatoria, Tor Pagnotta, Santa Palomba, cf. Fig. 5) and in some other areas of the region (Guidonia-Le Caprine, Anzio, Pratica di Mare) (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 272 with bibliography). At this time the active core of the region moves from the coastal area to the Alban Hills, in the geographical centre of Latium, which is mentioned in the literary sources as the core zone of the Alban people (*populi Albenses*), with their sacred centre on Monte Cavo (sanctuary of *Iupiter Latiaris*). As observed by Bietti Sestieri (2010, 274–275 with bibliography) and Anna De Santis (2011), formal burial is now restricted to the higher members of the community and it is possible to identify in these tombs clear signs of vertical roles, such as political and military chiefs (sword) and cult leaders (knife, anthropomorphic statuette, double shields); some-

times the two roles are found together in the same tomb (Quadrato Tomb 1 and Pratica di Mare Tomb 21) and they probably represent absolute chiefs, who had a leading role more than just at a local level. It is also interesting to note that some exceptional child or young female burials such as Le Caprine Tomb 5 and S. Lorenzo Vecchio Tomb on the Alban Hill, might indicate already the transmission of status by birth (Guidi 2000c; Pacciarelli 2001, 212; Fulminante 2003, 240; 2007, 10).

With the beginning of the early Iron Age (Latial Period IIA, 950–900 BC and IIB, 900–850/825 BC) further dramatic changes occur in the region and in burial practices. As detailed in the previous section, by this time the first large nucleated proto-urban centres appear and with them the distinction between the city of the living and the city of the dead. Now large necropoleis (hundreds and thousands of burials) are found around the plateau of the big proto-urban centres that are likely to represent the whole community. While Latial Period II burials are known from Rome, Colonna, Pratica di Mare, Caracupa and Tivoli, probably the best known cemetery of this age is the necropolis of Osteria dell'Osa, excavated by Bietti Sestieri. This scholar identified two main lineage groups in the cemetery and because of their relatively simple grave goods equipment she identified the community as mainly based on an egalitarian organization (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 279–280; but also 1992a, 1992b). In fact, symbols of power in this time (weapons, cult instruments) are never found in the same grave but they seem to be shared among different individuals, indicating apparently the lack of absolute political and religious chiefs, as we have seen in the previous phase. It is possible that this isomorphism and simplicity of burials might be due to an egalitarian ideology, dominant among the people of the newly formed proto-urban centres (Smith 1996, 2007, 165; Pacciarelli 2001; Fulminante 2003, 2007). At this time the material culture of the cemetery shows many commonalities with Campanian and Calabrian culture, but also some links with Etruria (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 279–280). As observed by Bietti Sestieri (2010, 280), toward the end of the first phase of the early Iron Age some groups of burials are isolated from the main descendant group of the previous phase. This might indicate a progressive erosion of the solidarity links (real or ideological) of the previous phase.

This is even clearer with the advanced phase of the early Iron Age (Latial Period III, 825/800–725 BC), when a distinctive separate group at the necropolis of Osteria dell'Osa (Group N) has been identified by Bietti Sestieri as a possible gentilician group (2010, 280–281; and before 1992a, 1992b). At this time clear evidence of permanent social stratification appears in the first generation princely burials such as the male warrior graves in Rome (Esquiline Tomb 94), in Gabii (Osteria dell'Osa Tomb 600) or at Castel di Decima (Tomb 21), or the rich female burials again in Castel di Decima (Tomb 110), Crustumerium (Tomb 40) or Gabii (Osteria dell'Osa Tomb 82) (Fulminante 2007, 9–10). Craft production at this time shows the end of privileged links to southern cultures and the recovery of strong links to Etruria, while the region and Rome in particular seems to gain importance as a mid-point between Etruria and Campania (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 280). Latial Period III burials are known in Latium from Roma (Esquiline), Castel di Decima, La Rustica, Pratica di Mare, Caracupa-Val-



Fig. 6. Rocca di Papa, “princely” tomb of Vivaro, Latial Period IVA1, ca. 725–700 BC: a) gold spiral hair pieces; b) silver hemispheric cup (from Arietti and Martellotta 1998, tables A and C).

visciolo and Tivoli (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 282). As detailed in the next section, the pottery production in Latium of this phase shows a greater standardization of products and most likely the use of updraft kilns and fast wheel already at this time.

While the most evident and ostentatious manifestation of status and wealth is undoubtedly represented by the princely burials of the Orientalizing Period (Latial Period IVA, 725–630/620 BC) such as those of Palestrina, Vivaro (Rocca di Papa), Decima or Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (Fulminante 2003, with further bibliography), there are clear signs of social stratification in *Latium vetus* already from Latial Period III and even earlier; possibly since Latial Period I at the end of the Final Bronze Age although in Latial Period II a dominant egalitarian ideology seems to hide all social differences at least as mirrored in the funerary evidence.

Albert Nijboer (1998) and Johann Rasmus Brandt (2001) have studied craft specialization in *Latium vetus* by applying different theoretical models, but have both formulated similar craft specialization processes in the region from the ninth to the fourth centuries. According to these scholars, during the ninth to the beginning of the eighth centuries, pottery is still produced within the household only for domestic use. By the end of the eighth and during the seventh centuries, the formation of the first fortified settlements, the adoption of polyculture (with the introduction of olives and wine), the beginning of social stratification (documented by the appearance of lavish burials), pre-monetary early market exchange and demographic pressure created new socio-economic conditions favorable to the development of household industries for pottery (Rasmus Brandt 2001, 408–409).

By the end of the seventh and during the sixth century, a population increase, agricultural intensification and technological improvements (such as a greater diffu-

sion of the potter's wheels and proper kilns) led to the beginnings of a workshop industry, and eventually large industrial workshops such as those attested at Populonia, Marzabotto (Etruria) and Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (*Latium vetus*) (Rasmus Brandt 2001, 410). According to Brandt (2001, 411) and Nijboer (1998, 242–246), pottery craft specialization was paralleled by a similar development in house building, which evolved from simple, small huts to big, complex houses with stone foundations, during the second half of the seventh century.

In addition Nijboer emphasizes that metallurgy production underwent a similar process of increased specialization. During the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the early Iron Age, metalworking was a part-time activity of resident smiths, which operated within a regional or inter-regional network for the exchange of locally exploited raw material. But during the eighth century, significant changes occurred in metalworking: bronze *fibulae* started to be produced in series, and copper alloys tools and weapons were replaced by iron objects (Nijboer 1998, 204). By the end of the eighth and during the seventh centuries, an increase in the number of iron tools (spearheads, swords, knives, spits, horse bits, components of chariot wheels) is attested in Latin burials, especially in association with luxury grave goods, and in votive deposits at Satricum. This means, according to Nijboer (1998, 159), that metals were manufactured locally.

Another important technological innovation in metalworking during the eighth and seventh centuries was the introduction and diffusion of granulation, an elaborate and highly specialized decorative technique which necessitated a high level of technological knowledge and craft specialization (Nijboer 1998, 391). The metal industry quarter excavated at Populonia (Etruria) and dated to the sixth century clearly demonstrates that by this date metalworking, at least in some parts of central Italy, had advanced to a specialized and standardized mass production (Nijboer 1998, 189–193, 203). At the same time, according to Nijboer (1997, 40), metals were devalued and the new standardized mass production presumably implied a decline in the social position of craftsmen.

Brandt and Nijboer correctly relate craft specialization to socio-economic changes which occurred in central Italy during the late early Iron Age, Orientalizing Period and Archaic Age. It is important, however, to note some remarkable technological and typological innovations, which occurred in *Latium vetus* probably slightly earlier. Colonna, Carafa and Bietti Sestieri all demonstrate that remarkable innovations such as standardization of products (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 94), and the introduction of updraft kilns (postulated by the production of red impasto alongside brown impasto vessels) (Colonna 1988b, 297; Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 94) and possibly of fast potter's wheels (postulated by the presence in Rome of *depurata* vessels presumably of local production: Colonna 1988b, 298–299) were already occurring in Latial Period III, at least during the eighth century. Similarly, according to Cristiano Iaia (2005, 270), during the eighth century, it is possible to note a greater standardization in the production of bronze sheet cups and possibly postulate an emerging market ex-

change-circulation for these objects, rather than simply a more traditional gift-exchange circulation.

Besides traditional studies on pottery and metal crafts a number of valuable new studies by Margarita Gleba and more recently Sanna Lipkin have contributed to uncover the importance for Italic economy of a rather hidden and perishable commodity, textile. Due to the constant association of textile tools (spindle whorl, spools, loom weights) with female individuals in Etruscan and Italic burial contexts, textile production has been generally associated with female gendered activity (Gleba 2008, Lipkin 2012). Research by Gleba (2007, 2008, 2009) has recently highlighted how the production of ceremonial textiles was an important economic activity, which required highly specialised skills and was generally reserved for women of relatively high status. During the early Iron Age this production was mainly confined within the household. Consumption, however, was not limited to family use especially for non-essential, fine, colourful and decorated textiles which were valuable commodities and often were deposited in high status burials: e.g. in Tomb 2 at Santa Palomba Tenuta Cancelleria, ca. eleventh-tenth centuries (De Santis 2011, 33), or later in Tomb 89 from Verrucchio, end of eighth/beginning of seventh century; Isis Tomb from Vulci (Etruria), seventh century; or Barberini and Bernardini Tombs from Palestrina, second quarter of the seventh century (Gleba 2007, 2008, 43–57 with references, and 2009); or dedicated in sanctuaries possibly with rituals involving the whole community (Meyers 2013). In addition a progressive standardization in the shape and weight of the tools indicated that there was a certain degree of specialization and “professionalism” practised by individuals within the domestic sphere (Gleba 2008, 189–190; Lipkin 2012, 113). With the Orientalizing Age a new mode of production in workshops seems to appear, as indicated by the large number of tools found in specific areas or structures, such as at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and Acquarossa (Gleba 2007, 75; 2008, 163–165).

As far as staple economy is concerned, early cultivation of cereals and legumes has been demonstrated in *Latium vetus* by research conducted in the Pontine Plain: in this region agricultural activities occurred at least from the Neolithic Period onwards. However, the first introduction of polyculture (cereals, olive, wine) in the region is far more uncertain (Van Joolen 2002, 191). There are some hints that polyculture (production of olives with cereals) began in central Italy and *Latium vetus* by the middle of the eighth century, but the evidence is not conclusive. Land evaluation research, conducted in the Pontine Plain by Ester van Joolen (2003, 1988), demonstrated a slight improvement in the suitability of land for polyculture from the Bronze Age to the early Iron Age. Unfortunately, pollen diagrams did not show any sign of these kinds of land use in that area.

Taking into consideration the whole of central Italy, however, there are archaeological indicators of an early introduction of polyculture. Grape pips and olive stones, for example, have been found in several ninth- and eighth-century settlement contexts (Gran Carro near Lake Bolsena, and Cures Sabini near Rieti) (Costantini 2001, 245; Fiorentino 2000, for evidence of olive cultivation in the Abruzzo during the

Bronze Age), and vases containing liquids and drinking pots are common in funerary contexts of the ninth and eighth centuries. In addition, a small image of a plough on a bronze incense burner from the necropolis of Olmo Bello in Bisenzio, dated to the eighth century, might be an indication of the existence of iron ploughs at this time (Torelli 1996 for interpretation of this object), but the evidence is too scanty to be definitive.

An interesting attempt to link crop processing with state formation processes in Latium (Rome) was undertaken by Laura Motta (2002). Her study detected a general increase in the quantity of grain processed during the seventh and sixth centuries, but the situation was not homogeneous. According to Motta, the heterogeneity among the samples signifies the co-existence of different circuits of crop processing in the same community. It is likely that traditional, pre-existing, kin-based production systems survived and co-existed with a new state-based economy. Therefore, Motta suggests that a heterarchical model would be more appropriate to explain Rome's proto-urban complexity than the hierarchical, Marxist theories of production.

Comprehensive studies of the faunal economy in central Italy have been recently undertaken by Claudia Minniti (2012) and Angela Trentacoste (2015 and 2016). According to Minniti, during the Bronze Age settlements show generally a "self-sufficient primary economy," based on agriculture and limited husbandry (sheep, goat, pig) for meat supply destined for local consumption; moreover, livestock could have been moved over great distances for pasturage. Cattle at this time was primarily used for traction in fields. But an exception to this practice is the late Bronze Age settlement on the Capitoline hill, where animals were slaughtered and by-product processed. During the final Bronze Age the first changes are attested in primary economic activities: some sites show the slaughtering of a discrete percentage of steers for meat; it is only, however, during the early Iron Age that sheep and goat secondary products start to be more fully exploited. In addition the site of Rome during the later Iron Age shows a dramatic increase in the consumption of pigs. These animals, which require minimal effort for keeping, rearing and feeding, might have been considered a valuable option as a consequence of demographic growth (perhaps rendered possible by the intensification of agriculture), which in turn might be an indicator of urban development. In her PhD dissertation Angela Trentacoste (2016, based on PhD dissertation, University of Sheffield 2014) also noticed a high frequency of pig remains in Etruscan urban contexts between the eighth and the fourth centuries BC (although in a presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 2015 she provided a more nuanced interpretation). On the other hand, more sophisticated social and economic practices of Latin communities during the late Iron Age seem to be confirmed by the presence at Fidenae of rare animals, such as the domesticated cat.

In a number of publications over the past forty years, Guidi has demonstrated an interesting connection between the formation of proto-urban centres and important developments in the ritual activities of early Iron Age *Latium vetus* (Guidi 1981, 1989–

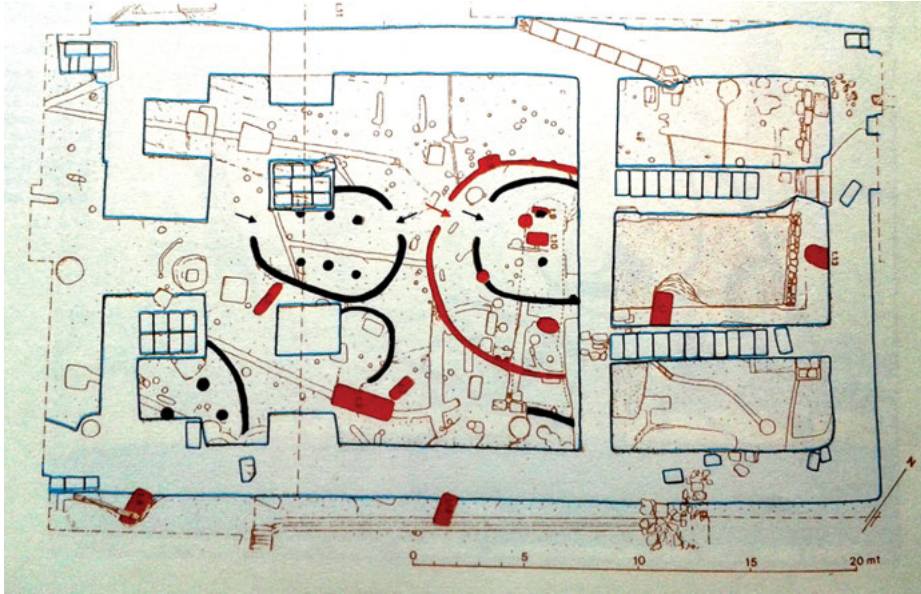


Fig. 7. Ardea, Colle della Noce: proto-historic huts underneath the temple of the fifth century (From Colonna 1988a, table XIX).

1990, 2000b, 2004). While in the middle and late Bronze Age cult places were respectively represented by natural caves and open-air deposits (springs, lakes, rivers, pits), during the early Iron Age some special huts within the settlement area seem to acquire the role of cult places for the whole civic community. In particular, hut structures of the eighth-seventh centuries have been found under the Archaic temples of Velitrae (S. Stimate), Satricum and Ardea (Colle della Noce) (Fig. 7) (*ibid.*, see also Carafa 2014, 37). In addition, votive deposits are known from the Quirinal Hill (S. Maria della Vittoria) (Zeggio 2000) and the Capitoline Hill in Rome (Albertoni 2000), and the cult hut of Vesta has likely been identified in the very heart of the city (Carandini 2004; Filippi 2004a, 2004b). Other votive deposits in Latium are attested in Campoverde and Tivoli (Acquoria) (Bietti Sestieri 2010, 281). According to Guidi (2000b, 2004), the existence of central cult places which served the whole community in the eighth century BC is a sign of incipient urbanization.

By contrast, Christopher Smith (2000, 84–85) connects urbanization with the stone temples of the seventh to sixth centuries and distinguishes them from ritual activity in open-air deposits of older times. Even though Smith admits the existence of social status and ritual activities conducted by the head of the clan group (*gens*) acting for the community already in the ninth century, he tends to interpret votive deposits of the seventh century as an expression of a more “individual” and “private” kind of religion and to downgrade the importance of the huts which preceded stone temples. Therefore the debate is still open.

A well-known traditional work by the eminent Etruscologist, Massimo Pallottino (1991, 47), observed a striking coincidence between early Iron Age regional material cultures of central Italy (which emerged and differentiated themselves from the middle and late Bronze Age cultural homogeneity) with the distribution of later inscriptions and territories of the historical people as they are recorded in ancient literary sources. Since then a number of studies, among which probably the most comprehensive is the work by Guy Bradley (2000a, 2000b) on Umbrian ethnicity have warned against this “common sense” approach and have adopted a problematised approach to ethnicity.

As observed by Bradley, in fact, the traditional equation between material culture and ethnicity can no longer be simplistically accepted, and boundaries among different material cultures in central Italy are often blurred and overlapping, as in the case of Veii and Rome, or Umbrians and Etruscans along the Tiber valley. In addition, he has correctly emphasized that the reliability of literary accounts of such ancient times (Final Bronze Age and early Iron Age) are highly questionable and that most examples of ethnic group self-designations come from the second half of the first millennium and hardly pre-date 600 BC (2000b, 117).

As noted by Bradley himself, some other Italian scholars, such as Renato Peroni (1994, 1996), have adopted a problematised approach to ethnicity; similarly Carmine Ampolo (1976–1977, 1987) has suggested the idea of ethnic fluidity of a central Italian cultural *koine*. More recently, Guidi (et al. 2002, 6) has emphasized the fluidity of cultural boundaries based on material culture, while Gabriele Cifani (2002, 2003) has studied the complex dynamics between ethnic groups along the Tiber frontier by analyzing changing settlement patterns in central Italy from the Bronze to the Archaic Age. Finally, Francesco di Gennaro (2004) has emphasized similarities between Crustumerium (Latin) and Veii (Etruscan), which faced one another from opposite sides of the Tiber River (see also Benelli in this volume)

To conclude, while the original hypothesis by Pallottino can no longer be accepted without being problematised and taken cautiously, the strong relationship between ethnic formation and socio-economic developments (increased social complexity, state formation, urbanisation) in central Italy suggested by this scholar remains valid (Torelli 1988, 54–55, quoted by Bradley 2000b, 111).

III The expansion of Rome in Latium in the Orientalizing and Archaic Age

By the end of the early Iron Age, Rome had become the most important and dominant centre of the region. It is only with the Regal Period, however, that a proper strategy for expansion had begun. As recently observed, the expansion of Rome during the Regal Period, as indicated by historical accounts, shows an amazing degree of territorial coherence and strategic development, which might suggest its historical

reliability (Capanna 2005; Fulminante 2014, 112–115; for a different perspective see, e.g., Kuhoff 1995). According to the annalistic tradition, Tullus Hostilius (generally dated with caution to ca. 672–640 BC) conquered Alba Longa and Rome grew at the expense of this city (*Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis*, Livy, 1.30.1–3; for a review of the annalistic tradition, see Musti 1990). After Hostilius, Ancus Marcius (again dated by legend to 640–616 BC) extended Roman territory down to Ostia, by conquering the Latin cities of Politorium, Tellene and Ficana, together with Medullia, even now not certainly identified (Livy 1.33; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.37–39.2).

The first Etruscan king of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus (ca. 616–578 BC), conquered the sites to the north of Rome up to Corniculum and Eretum. The literary sources testify that Tarquinius Priscus had a fight with the Latins and took from them Apiolae, and he had a triumph over the Sabines, from whom he took Collatia (Livy 1.35.7). Later he engaged in a proper war against the Latins and the Sabines who had passed to the Latin side, and conquered Corniculum, Ficulea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia and Nomentum.

At this point Rome extended its domain down to the sea and up to the Anio valley, into all the lower Tiber valley, and the Alban Hills. As observed by Domenico Musti (1990, 14–15), there is a “logic” in this since the territory has coherence. The last Etruscan king, Tarquinius Superbus (534–509 BC), seemed to continue this coherent expansion of Rome towards the southeast with the difficult conquest of Gabii, and towards the south where he conquered Suessa Pometia. According to Musti, who follows Livy, under Tarquinius Superbus there was a Roman colony in Circei, Segni and Suessa Pometia, but Lavinium, Ardea, Antium and Anxur were still independent. In reality, however, the annalistic tradition is not explicit about the nature of these acquisitions.

In addition, as suggested by Filippo Coarelli (1990, in particular 152–153), the Rome-Carthage treaty (sixth to fifth centuries) seems to indicate Roman control over all Latin coastal sites. This treaty, reported by the second-century BC historian Polybius (3.22.11), says:

the Carthaginians will not offend the people of Ardea, Antium, Arentinum [possibly to correct to Laurentum], Circeum and Tarracina, nor any other people of the Latins who are under Roman control; they will keep away from free cities; if they will conquer one they will give it back untouched to the Romans; they will not build fortified sites in the Latin territory and if they will enter the Latin territory as enemies they will not stay overnight.

Similarly, the fourth- to third-century BC *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax (*Per.* 5) says that “the Latins hold Tyrrhenia down to Circeum.” In the end, by combining the annalistic tradition with other ancient sources, accepted also by Timothy Cornell (2000), the territory controlled by Rome (directly or by alliance) under this king most likely extended down to Circei and Terracina (Fig. 8). As a final remark it ought to be noted that, while it is tempting to see the narrative of early engagement with, and eventual conquest of, neighboring sites as an example of how Rome’s territory expanded, the

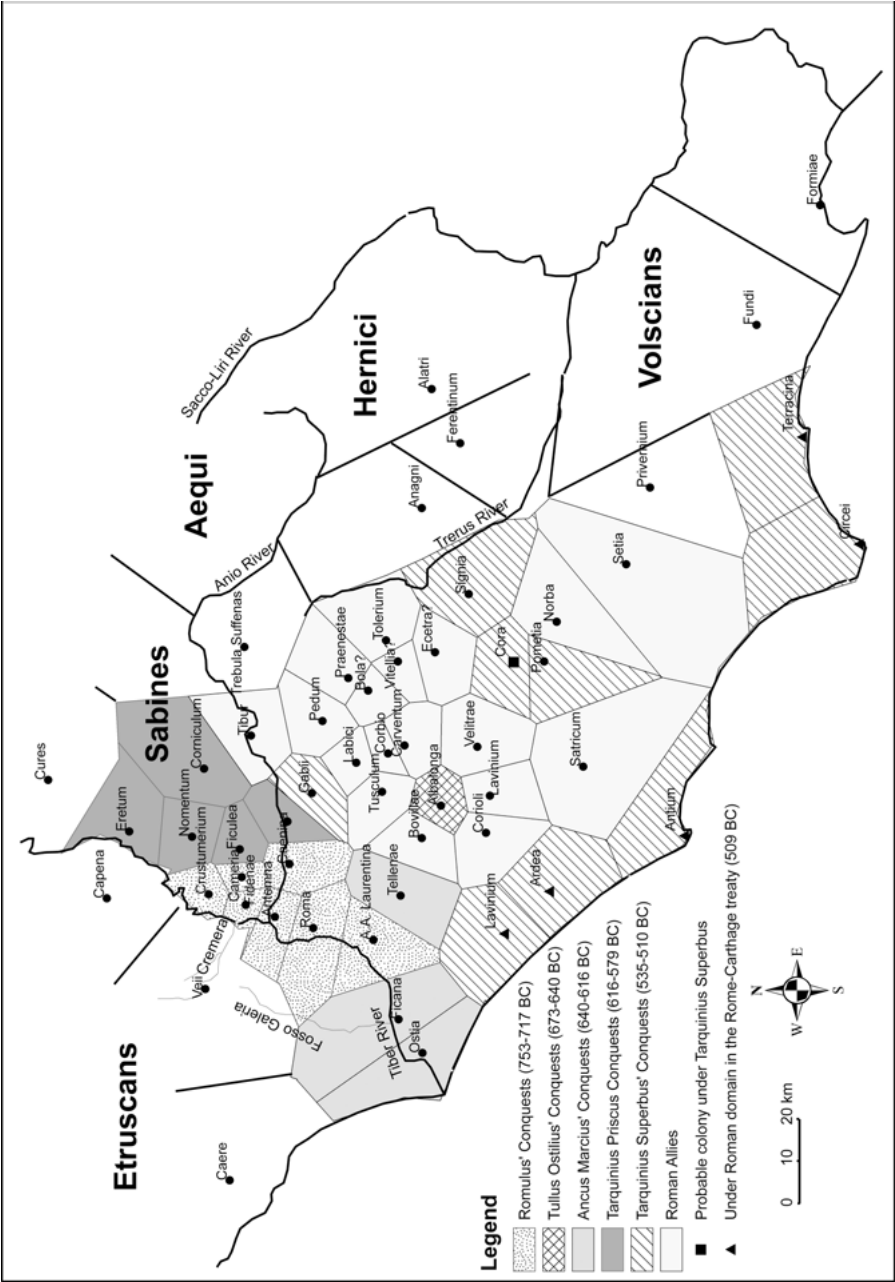


Fig. 8. The expansion of Rome under the kings, from the mid eighth until the end of the sixth century, according to literary accounts.

internal coherence of the historical accounts could also indicate a later, rationalized and artificial reconstruction (so Smith 2008).

However, the tradition about the expansion of Rome in southern Latium during the Regal Period, as indicated by literary accounts, is also supported by copious archaeological evidence. In fact, a number of scholars have observed that the aggressive and hegemonic territorial polity of Rome under the kings, attributed in literary accounts to demographic pressure, could be mirrored in the material culture, as demonstrated by the leadership role assumed by the city in the redistribution to Latin cities of cultural factors (such as decorative features of sacred architecture) originally derived from Etruria and/or Greece.

For instance, as noted by Coarelli (1990) and Fausto Zevi (1990, 150–151) and then systematically investigated by Ingrid Edlund-Berry (2008), Etruscan round molding decorations, first attested in Rome during the sixth century in the S. Omobono sanctuary, seem not to appear in Latin temples randomly. On the contrary, the diffusion in Latium of a common and well-defined architectural language, formerly developed in Rome, seems to be instrumental in the imposition of its hegemony in the region both culturally and politically. Similarly, as noted by Coarelli (1990, 153), the double urban fortifications of Segni and Norba, the older of which date to the fifth century in both cities, is consistent with the tradition of early Roman colonies in the two cities. If this line of thought is correct, the land controlled by Rome (directly or by alliance) under Tarquinius Superbus in Latium was not limited to the central and north-eastern zones but probably extended down to Circei and Terracina.

IV Conclusions

Ancient Latium is generally identified with modern southern Lazio, between the Tiber River to the north, the Sacco-Liri Rivers to the east and the Garigliano River to the south. This region is characterised by a homogenous material culture, the Latial facies, which appeared by the end of the Final Bronze Age and lasted for the entirety of the early Iron Age and Orientalizing Age.

The region immediately surrounding Rome is generally called *Latium vetus*, but the limits of this zone are still a debated matter. Ancient authors identify *Latium vetus* with the region originally inhabited by the earliest people of the Latin *ethnos* (the *nomen Latinum*); various identifications have been suggested by modern scholars for this people but it is possible that the *nomen Latinum* has to be identified with the Alban people (*populi Albenses*). If the *populi Albenses* are located on a map, their distribution roughly correspond to the core area of the Latial culture, a zone which corresponds to the Anio River valley to the west of the Simbruini Hill, the Alban Hills and the coastal area of Latium down to the Astura River. This area like many others in ancient Italy, such as Etruria or Campania, underwent dramatic social, economic and political changes during the early Iron Age and middle Tyrrhenian Italy moved from pre-history into history (Peroni 1994, 1996).

By analyzing several dimensions of socio-political and ideological development of society it is possible to see in *Latium vetus* a trend towards higher complexity (settlement nucleation and centralization, social stratification, craft and economic specialization, creation of communal cult places, ethnic differentiation) from the end of the Bronze Age up to the end of the early Iron Age, which culminates around the mid-eighth century BC, the time when the first cities appear (for a similar reading of the development of Latin communities see also Carafa 2014). By this time in fact large proto-urban centres, which were formed by the end of the Final Bronze Age to beginning of the early Iron Age, show the first signs of internal organization in public spaces and cult places (Carandini 2007 for Rome; Bonghi-Jovino 2008, 2010 for Tarquinia in Etruria) and a formal definition of boundaries with the creation of city fortifications (Carandini 2000 for Rome; new excavations are also revealing fortifications dated between the eighth and the sixth century BC in other Latin centres such as Crustumerium: Barbaro, et al. 2013, 24–27; Fidenae: di Gennaro 2005; Gabii: Mogetta and Becker 2014; and in Etruria at Veii: Boitani, et al. 2008; Vulci: Moretti Sgubini 2006; Tarquinia: Cataldi, et al. 2008).

The early Iron Age is also the time in which the progressive growth of Rome makes this centre the dominant one in the region. While it is difficult to demonstrate, both literary accounts and archaeological evidence seem to indicate that during the Regal Period Rome formalized this dominance with the conquest of most of *Latium vetus* down to Terracina and Circei. If this is true this territory would have been consistent with the magnificence of the internal monumentalization of Rome (on this Cifani 2008, 2010, 2014) under the Etruscan kings, the so called “Great Rome of the Tarquins” according to the famous definition by Pasquali.

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Enrico Benelli

The Aequi

I

The Aequi rank among the most elusive peoples of central Italy due to their early disappearance from historical sources, after their annihilation in 304 BC (Livy 9.45.18: *nomenque Aequorum prope ad interneccionem deletum*), followed by one or two abortive revolts in 302 and (possibly) 300 BC (Buonocore and Firpo 1998, 361–362), and the foundation of two Latin colonies at Carsioli and Alba Fucens. The surviving rump of the Aequian people, usually known as the “Aequiculi,” was also incorporated into Roman territory not much later, probably following the conquest of Sabina by Manius Curius Dentatus in 290 BC (see especially De Luigi 2011, with references). The interchangeability of the two ethnics, “Aequi” and “Aequiculi,” in later sources (De Luigi 2003, 146–150) reflects the loss of historical memory after Roman conquest.

Most historical sources about the Aequi discuss the wars fought against Rome and the Latins, especially from 494 to 388 BC (see the extensive collection in Buonocore and Firpo 1998, 294–357). The reliability about specific events has often been questioned, but the general framework seems clear enough (Buonocore and Firpo 1998, 285–293; De Luigi 2003; Buonocore 2004; Firpo 2004). At the beginnings of the fifth century BC the Aequi appear for the first time as involved in a bitter struggle with the Romans and the Latins over control of a stretch of land roughly between Tibur and Signia. The role of the huge Latin city of Praeneste, in the middle of the disputed territory, is not entirely clear: it had left the Latin league at the very beginnings of the fifth century, and it probably pursued an independent policy of appeasement with neighboring peoples, which did not prevent its territory from being occasionally ransacked, as happened, for instance, in 462. In these wars, the Aequi were almost always allied with the Volsci, who aimed at controlling southern Latium; the alliance proved very hard to deal with, and the front gradually moved back. By 465 the Aequi had occupied the northeastern slope of the Alban Hills with the strategic area of the Mons Algidus, which allowed them to plunder repeatedly the territory of Tusculum, even conquering the city itself for some time in 459 BC.

The Roman victory at the Algidus in 431 BC tilted the balance; from this moment on, the Aequi were gradually pushed back northeastwards. When the lowlands returned securely into Roman hands, the Aequi were finally cut away from the Volscian territory, allowing the Romans to deal with the two enemies separately. The defeat by Furius Camillus in 390/389, followed by a plundering expedition in 388, ended the

Enrico Benelli: Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico – Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Area della Ricerca di Roma 1, via Salaria km 29+300, 00015 Monterotondo Stazione (RM), Italy. Email: enr.benelli@gmail.com

wars between Rome and the Aequi: no more mention of this people is to be found in historical sources, until their fateful decision to intervene in the so-called Second Samnite War in 304 BC, which prompted their annihilation.

No further historical information is available; even the annexation of the Salto valley, the homeland of the Aequiculi, not directly affected by the events of 304, is not mentioned in the sources. Descriptions of the Aequi in later sources present a somewhat stereotypical image of semi-barbaric mountain-dwellers (De Luigi 2003, 167), which is of no use in reconstructing their culture.

II

The extent of Aequian territory is not easy to reconstruct, all towns explicitly recorded as “Aequian” being ancient Latin towns conquered by the Aequi in their westward expansion (De Luigi 2003, 158–162). The two colonies of Carsioli and Alba Fucens were founded in expropriated Aequian lands; as a consequence, it is reasonable to assume that the boundaries of Alban territory along the shores of the Fucine Lake reflected former political boundaries between the Aequi and the Marsi. The upper Anio valley, with its neighboring mountain ranges of the Monti Simbruini and Monti Prenestini/Ruffi/Affilani, was also possibly a part of Aequian homeland, since it was from this area that they exercised pressure towards the lowlands around Praeneste, and the Alban Hills beyond them. This will mean that the town of Trebula Suffenas, labeled by Pliny as “Sabine,” fell instead inside Aequian territory; its *ager* comprised probably all the uplands south of Carsioli not confiscated by the Romans after 304 BC (see especially Granino Cecere 1988, 123–125; Gregori 1995). The frontier between the Aequi and the Latin city of Tibur ran probably somewhere around the steep valleys of the Anio River near present-day Mandela.

The northernmost part of Aequian territory, inhabited by the reduced rump of this people which escaped annexation after 304, corresponded to present-day Cicolano, clearly perpetuating the ancient definition of (*ager*) *Aequiculanus*; it encompassed the valley of the river Salto and the surrounding mountain ranges. Two Roman *municipia* existed in this area: Cliternia and the *res publica Aequicolanorum*, probably centered on the *vicus* of Nersae (see Verga 2011, with references). The boundaries between Cliternia and Reate (and, consequently, between the Aequi and the Sabines) are not entirely clear.

III

Archaeological evidence helps little to achieve a picture of Aequian culture in the Archaic period. As usual in the central Apennine area, finds from settlements are useless to identify cultural differences between archaeological facies, which appear understandable only through the analysis of grave goods and burial customs (for a map

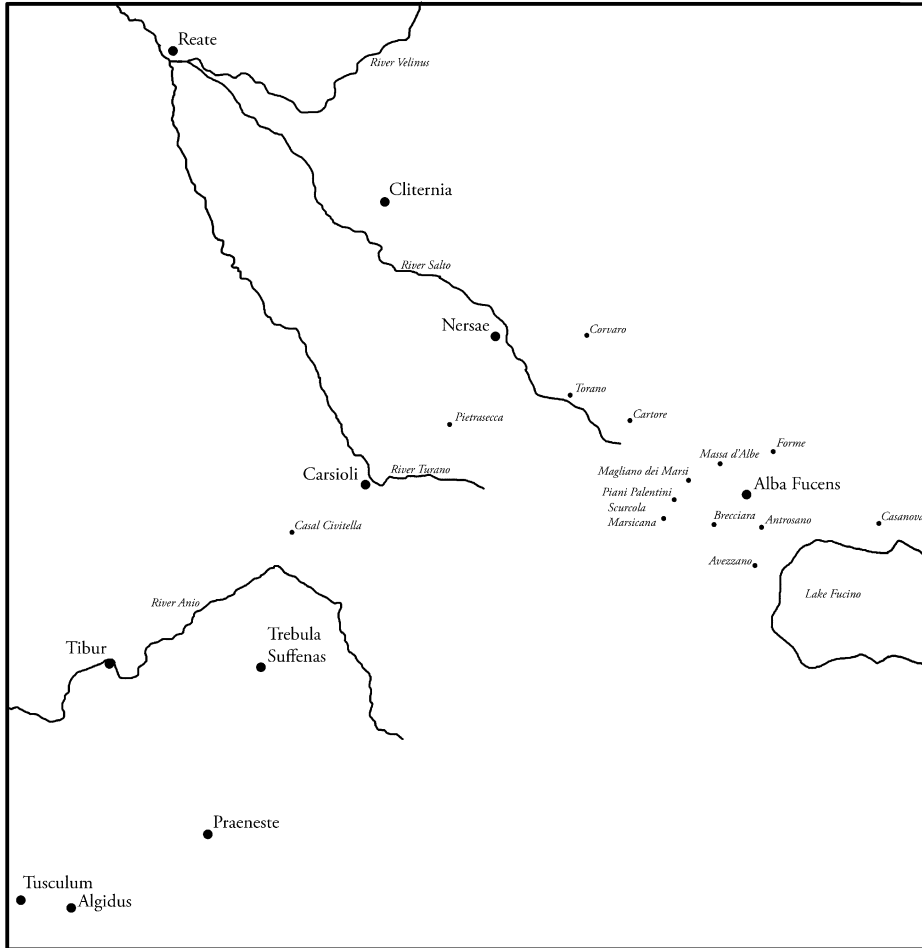


Fig. 1. Map of the sites mentioned in the text.

of all settlements known until now, mostly of Archaic age, see Grossi 2011, 203–205, fig. 21). But only a small number of necropoleis have been excavated, and even fewer have been published until now.

In the upper valley of the river Salto three necropoleis have been identified. It is likely that this area, where the river runs through wide glacial valleys offering well-watered flatlands, supported a larger population in comparison with the lower Salto valley, with its steep mountain ranges and narrow gorges. Actually, as far as our evidence goes, only one isolated bronze disk from the territory of Fiamignano (Tomedi 2000, n. 303) may attest the existence of a necropolis in this area.

The exceptional monumentality of funerary mounds supports the idea that the heartland of the Aequiculi should have been precisely in the upper Salto valley. The largest among them, the Montariolo at Corvaro (Borgorose, RI), was a huge tu-

mulus about 50 m in diameter, which contained a large number of fossa tombs: the last reports speak of 364 burials, about one hundred of them placed outside the tumulus itself (Alvino 2012, 132–136, with references). The monument was originally decorated with stone sculptures, three fragments of which have been found up to the present day (Alvino 2007a, 69). At Cartore (Borgorose), at least a couple of smaller tumuli (but maybe even six of them, about 30 m in diameter) have been identified, one of them (out of the two currently excavated) containing thirty-nine fossa tombs (see especially Alvino 2007b, 101–102). At Torano (Borgorose), eleven comparatively small tumuli (diameter: 5–12 m) have been found; five of them have been excavated, and contained one to four tombs each (Alvino 2007a, 70–73).

On the Aequian side of Fucine, evidence becomes problematic. This area has been overexploited in modern times after the draining of the lake, and agricultural activities have destroyed a large number of archaeological sites. Moreover, the exceptional concentration in this area of some types of the so-called “cuirass-disks” (“dischi-corazza”) (in fact, an element of female adornment: Colonna 2007), highly prized by the antiquities market, has fostered an intensive activity by grave-robbers; some of these disks found their way into a number of local, illegal private collections. Notices of find-spots collected by amateurs allow us to suppose that many necropoleis crowded the shores of the lake, as well as the plain later occupied by the *ager* of the colony of Alba Fucens, betraying an equally dense pattern of settlement. This is hardly surprising as this area was certainly the best arable land available in the otherwise inhospitable Aequian territory.

Isolated disks are known from Alba Fucens (a couple: Tomedi 2000, nn. 283–284), “Monumento” (Massa d’Albe, AQ; Tomedi 2000, n. 200 and 276; Grossi and Irti 2011, 273, n. 6), Cava Celi Salvatore (Massa d’Albe; Grossi 2011, 188, fig. 3.1), possibly from the territory of Massa d’Albe (Tomedi 2000, n. 239), Forme di Massa d’Albe (Tomedi 2000, n. 251), Vicenne near Forme di Massa d’Albe (Tomedi 2000, n. 352), Castelnuovo di Massa d’Albe (a couple: Tomedi 2000, n. 339–340; see also Grossi and Irti 2011, 305, n. 58), Antrosano (Avezzano; Tomedi 2000, nn. 182, 318, and 207 “tra Cappelle e Antrosano”), Castelnuovo near Antrosano (a couple: *S.O.S. arte* 2010, 109–110), Magliano dei Marsi (AQ; Tomedi 2000, nn. 190, 191, 214, 216–217, 289, 317), Avezzano (Tomedi 2000, n. 331) and Scurcola Marsicana (AQ; Tomedi 2000, nn. 205, 358). Moreover, a huge mound in the territory of Massa d’Albe, with a diameter of over 120 m, is possibly to be identified as a tumulus, as it is locally known as “Colle degli scheletri” (“skeleton hill:” Grossi 2011, 197 and fig. 11).

All bronze disks from this territory belong to the types identified as a female ornament. At present, only one pair of breastplates has been found on the Aequian side of the Fucine Lake, in the necropolis of Colle Sabulo (Avezzano: Tomedi 2000, nn. 114–115; another possible find of a warrior tomb with a breastplate from Via San Francesco: Grossi and Irti 2011, 289, n. 23). The few descriptions available about this necropolis state that the burials were put in large stone sarcophagi, and no tumuli were found; the objects apparently covered a long time span, from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period (Campanelli 2001, 50, n. 1; Grossi and Irti 2011, 292, n.

28), and it is impossible to understand the chronology of the sarcophagus depositions. There are also short notices about some other small groups of tombs, like at S. Pelino Vecchio and Monte Uomo (Avezzano: Grossi and Irti 2011, 300, n. 44, 304, n. 55), or at Casanova (Celano, AQ: Benelli and Rizzitelli 2010, 38–39).

Two necropoleis have been excavated in this region to this point: Piani Palentini (Scurcola Marsicana, the only one from the Aequian area which has been completely published: see especially Cosentino, et al. 2001, 182–203, with references) and Brecciar-Cretaro (Avezzano: Ceccaroni 2011a, 2011b, 2012). Both are characterized by tumuli: at Piani Palentini their diameter reached 11 m, with one to ten tombs inside each of them. At Brecciar remains of only one tumulus have been surely identified, but the thirty-nine tombs known until now are divided into groups which may reflect the presence of other tumuli, completely deleted by erosion and agricultural activity. In the upper Turano valley, near the plain later occupied by the *ager* of Carsoli, only an isolated disk is known (from Pietrasecca di Carsoli, AQ: Tomedi 2000, n. 282).

As for the upper Anio valley, at present only one necropolis is known: Casal Civitella (Riofreddo, RM, near the watershed towards the upper Turano valley), where a couple of dozens of fossa tombs have been identified and partially excavated (Menotti 2004, with references). Another tomb of a similar type was found in 1956 in the same territory, but probably in a different site (Menotti 2004, 77–78; four more tombs from two necropoleis are recorded by Grossi 2006, 69). At Riofreddo there were no tumuli; instead, the burials were put in sarcophagi built with stone blocks, sometimes lacking the bottom side. Tombs of this type have no parallels in the central Italic region; they recall grave customs common in more southern cultural areas, like the Samnite and Campanian ones, their only possible parallel inside the Aequian territory being the Colle Sabulo necropolis at Avezzano (if the sarcophagus burials belonged to the Archaic period, which is impossible to know).

IV

Despite this divergence in tomb shapes between the Anio valley and the internal Aequian area, burial customs and assemblages of grave goods seem comparatively uniform in the whole territory. Nevertheless, it is not possible to identify clearly an Aequian Archaic culture, since this set of customs seems quite undistinguishable from what is known from the Marsic side of the Fucine Lake. It has been proposed to identify some decorative patterns of bronze disks as typical of the two peoples (Cairolì and d'Ercole 1998, 118), but in fact the various types seem to be equally diffused everywhere (Ceccaroni 2012, 343, with references).

The most characteristic feature of Aequian tombs of the Archaic period is the complete absence of pottery. Ceramic vessels were never put into tombs; instead, they were broken and deposited inside pits (like in the Cicolano necropoleis), or dispersed around the tombs (Riofreddo). Nevertheless, recent excavations at Brecciar-Cretaro have revealed that a small impasto cup was sometimes put into the tombs

(Ceccaroni 2011a, 234); if this is true, the rare small ceramic vases from nearby Piani Palentini, found in pits near some tombs (so Cosentino, et al. 2001, 194 and 200), could have been directly connected with the burials themselves. In other necropoleis, which are only partially published (for a selection of goods from the tumulus of Corvaro see especially Alvino 1997, 97–105; 2004), the absence of pottery is clearly stated by the editors; this will suggest the existence of different burial customs in the various areas of the Aequian territory. Since pottery has been fundamental in elaborating the chronological framework of Archaic central-Italic cultures, and in understanding distinctions between archaeological facies, which their participation in a widely diffused metallurgical *koinè* makes otherwise undistinguishable from each other, it is therefore no surprise that there are such difficulties dealing with Aequian culture.

As we have seen, the incised, embossed and/or drilled bronze disks are widely diffused in the whole Aequian area. Before the discovery of the Brecciar-Cretaro necropolis, none of them had been found in context, with the possible exception of a supposed tomb-group from Capracotta (see below). Even when their “occasional” discovery by local amateurs (probably employing metal detectors) has allowed the identification of a necropolis which has been subsequently excavated (Corvaro di Borgorose: Tomedi 2000, n. 209; Scurcola Marsicana: Tomedi 2000, nn. 180–181, 226, 265), disks were never connected with specific burials. This is why their chronology has been disputed long since. At Scurcola the excavations have unearthed thirty-one tombs, covering a long time span from the late Iron age (t. 8) and early Orientalizing period (t. 19), down to the late Archaic (tt. 12, 25, etc.). The tumulus at Corvaro was used for an even longer time.

At Brecciar-Cretaro, fourteen tombs containing bronze disks have been unearthed until 2009, while at least another one had been destroyed before the intervention of archaeologists. The almost complete absence of pottery and bronze ornaments has prompted the attempt of radiocarbon datings, whose results (early ninth century BC) have been heavily contested. New datings of the same samples have revealed that they fall well into the Hallstatt plateau, and therefore their dating must be put somewhere between the middle of the seventh and the fifth centuries BC (Ceccaroni 2012, 342). Fortunately, at least one tomb with bronze disks contained also a couple of well-datable bronze fibulae (tomb 30: Ceccaroni 2011b, fig. 15), suggesting a chronology around late seventh century BC. Moreover, iron ornaments are probably not earlier than the bronze ones they reproduce (even if a local chronological sequence is needed to use them with some confidence – which at present is still lacking for the Fucine area); if this is true, at least some other tombs from Brecciar-Cretaro containing bronze disks can be dated approximately between 650 and 550 BC. As a consequence, even if we cannot exclude an earlier origin, the disks were probably most widely diffused in the late Orientalizing and early Archaic periods, as a distinctive element of female custom, which the inhabitants of the Aequian territory shared with other geographic areas of inland central Italy. The evidence from Brecciar-Cretaro thus finally confirms the late dating of bronze disks (preferred by Tomedi 2000

and Naso 2003, against much higher proposals by other scholars), even if this has been based, *inter alia*, on a burial context (a tomb from Capracotta: De Nino 1904, 399–400) which at present seems problematic because it supposedly included a group of goods which do not seem consistent with each other (Colonna 2007, 7, and n. 25).

Apart from the disks, ornaments (mostly in iron, sometimes in bronze) and weapons found in tombs in the Aequian territory belong to types diffused everywhere in the area of the central Italic metallurgical *koinè*. This is true also for bronze vessels, mostly of late Archaic date (and probably imported from Etruria, or at least reproducing Etruscan forms). Pottery is too poorly preserved to allow the identification of local types. All in all, the (one or more) archaeological facies of the area attributed to the Aequi by Roman historians are not yet identifiable, neither through its/their distinctive material/ritual characteristics, nor through its/their differences from the facies of neighboring territories, apart from the exceptional concentration of bronze disks and the prohibition to put ceramic vases into the tombs (with the only possible exception of a small impasto vase in the Fucine area).

Unsurprisingly, tombs of the post Archaic period are very uncommon in Aequian territory, with the only remarkable exception of Corvaro, in the area of the Aequiculi, initially not directly affected by the Roman conquest. The post Archaic phase of the Colle Sabulo necropolis at Avezzano can not be precisely dated; the grave goods (as described: Campanelli 2001, 50, n. 1) seem to point to a period well after the Roman conquest. This is true also for the later phase of the necropolis at Casanova, Celano. Some isolated finds from the area of Alba Fucens itself seem to suggest that a fourth-century necropolis had existed in the area later occupied by the town (Benelli and Rizzitelli 2010, 104).

At Corvaro, the tumulus was used at least until the second century BC, and possibly later (as stated by the excavators, but not confirmed by the finds published until now: Alvino 1997, 97–105; 2004; 2012, with references). Tombs of this period included some pottery, strigils and Etruscan bronze mirrors, while weapons disappeared completely. This radical change in burial customs is attested elsewhere in central Italy: for instance in Sabina (Benelli 2014, with references), in the upper Aterno valley (Benelli and Rizzitelli 2010, 111–112: weapons disappeared from the fourth century, while strigils are attested only from the second century BC onwards), in Umbria, at Colfiorito di Foligno (Bonomi Ponzi 1997, 135–138: weapons did not disappear completely, but they became very uncommon). The evidence suggests that this change was not plainly a consequence of “Romanization,” since it recurs in various areas with quite different histories; more probably, it reflected a modification of social behaviors, fostered by the spread of Greek(-inspired) cultural patterns.

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I Topography and the earliest periods

In historical era the Marsi occupied the basin of the now drained Fucine Lake, the valley of the Giovenco River (the Fucine's affluent from the east), and the upper Liri River valley, better known as Valle Roveto. On the northwestern bank of the lake were the Aequi, and in their territory was founded in 303 BC the Latin colony of Alba Fucens (for the territory of the Marsi, see Map 2, p. 7). The dominating presence of the lake always conditioned the people of this country (hereafter the Marsica): the scarcity of land in a mountainous environment and the inconstancy of the lake, lacking in natural emissaries, have determined for millennia the economy, the social organization, the various types of settlement and culture of the inhabitants, giving rise to astonishing forms of continuity. At the same time, this country was a very important cultural crossroads, in the midst of the main connections in the peninsula. The Salto valley linked the northern corner of the Fucine basin to the basins of Rieti and Terni, and then with the Tiber valley and Umbria; the connection with the Anio valley, towards Tivoli and Rome, was also easy. The Liri River connected this territory with southern Latium and Campania. From the Giovenco valley there was an easy route to the Aterno and Sangro valleys: the former river led to the basin of L'Aquila to the north, and to the central Adriatic to the west; the latter led to Samnium and southern Adriatic.

In the Late Palaeolithic Age the lake attracted human groups due to its propitious environment for hunting. Two series of caves at two different levels on the heights round the lake were frequented by hunters of the "Bertonian" culture. By 8500 BC, as a result of the Mesolithic crisis precipitated by changes in climate, these peoples shifted to the flat areas around the lake. This displacement was completed in the Neolithic Age, when agriculture and ceramics were introduced. The first villages arose on the plain (Ortucchio, Paterno, Trasacco); nevertheless caves continued to be frequented as places of worship (Grotta Continenza near Trasacco). These settlements developed in the subsequent Chalcolithic Age, when the so-called Ortucchio culture formed by 2200 BC from what seems to have been the peaceful fusion of the pre-existing peoples with groups of metal-workers perhaps from the Aegean-Anatolian area, who founded an agricultural economy supplemented by fishing from the lake. The Chalcolithic villages survived into the Bronze Age, marked by connections with the Apenninic and Sub-Apenninic cultures, with some contributions from the Terramare and Villanovan cultures. The basis of the economy remained the same,

but sheep-herding grew in importance (Radmilli 1977; Grifoni and Radi in *Fucino* 2011).

II The Iron Age

With the early Iron Age, however, there was a clear break, at least in the forms of settlement, as ordinary villages ceased to exist, generally speaking. The abandonment of the villages on the Fucine's shore was at any rate imposed by a period of expansion of the lake, which indeed submerged the village of Ortucchio. An echo of this drama is perhaps recognizable in the ancient legend of Archippe, a town submerged by the Fucine (Solin. 2.6; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.752). Nevertheless, villages farther from the lake were also abandoned.

On the other hand, continuity with the preceding period is testified to by other important cultural aspects. Metallurgy, already present in the Bronze Age, reached an extraordinary level of growth. Caves, connected with ancestor-worship since the Neolithic Age, continued to be frequented even when their entrances were already obstructed, as in the case of the Grotta Maritza. This phenomenon suggests the perpetuation of an uninterrupted oral tradition inside the same group (Grifoni and Radmilli 1964).

Knowledge of this crucial phase has grown extraordinarily in recent years, due to the discovery of important necropoleis at Celano-Paludi, Scurcola and Corvaro, and to the re-examination of some classes of previously known materials. This allows us to connect together as a cultural whole the stone-circle graves or tumulus graves, decorated bronze disks (produced in the area of the Fucine Lake), and fortified heights protected by mighty dry-stone walls.

The excavations carried out by D'Ercole at Celano-Paludi and Scurcola (D'Ercole in *Fucino* 1991, *idem* in D'Ercole and Cairoli 1998) have demonstrated that the typology of stone-circle graves arose in the Marsica already in the last phase of the Bronze Age, and went on a long time in the Iron Age, also outside the Marsica. In this context the grand tumulus grave of Corvaro, in the Salto valley, with a diameter of about 46 m, is very important. This grave continued to be used by a whole community from the eighth-seventh centuries BC till the Roman age.

A more in-depth study of the bronze disks has shown that the most ancient series, with geometric fretwork, burin and embossed decorations, dates back to the eighth century BC. They are to be ascribed to workshops operating round the Fucine, which spread their products in a wider area, along the trade ways of the Salto, Liri, Aterno and Sangro valleys (Papi 1990). Moreover, the new discoveries near Avezzano have allowed us to suggest that these disks were female ornaments that are not to be mistaken for the *kardiophylakes*, or cuirass-disks, such as those of the Capestrano warrior (Colonna 2007; for the warrior, see Menozzi and Ciarico this volume).

Research carried out for decades above all by Giuseppe Grossi has allowed us to reconstruct almost completely a wide network of small and large fortified upland

centres, extending across in the Marsica with a striking density (Grossi in *Fucino* 1991, 2001, 2011). The most interesting datum that the surface surveys and the first excavations have clearly supplied, is that, at least partly, these walled centres date back to a rather more ancient age than the Samnite Wars (fourth century BC). The presence of materials that date back at least to the sixth century BC lead us to believe that also in the Marsica, as in the nearby Paelignian area, fortified height centres are connected with the same human groups who utilized the stone-circle graves. Indeed, the latter are usually placed in plains or slopes at the foot of fortified heights. The remains of huts discovered inside the walls of La Giostra di Amplero, near Collelongo, and the fact that in this and other fortified centres there were everyday objects that are typical of inhabited places, such as grindstones, tiles, and metallic waste, demonstrate that even small centres such as La Giostra were almost certainly permanently inhabited places, not simply military outposts or emergency shelters (Letta 1988, 1991; Paoletti in *Fucino* 2001).

Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the first fortified centres arose in this area for security purposes already in the early Iron Age, perhaps at first as simple wooden palisades, serving as substitutes for the now abandoned plain villages of the Bronze Age. It is very likely that new settlements of this type arose also in subsequent centuries until “Romanization,” but it is impossible to maintain that the whole network rose merely in late fourth century BC.

III From the formation of the *ethnos* to the first contacts with Rome

It is possible to connect this cultural horizon with the funerary stele known as “le gambe del diavolo” (the devil’s legs), recovered out of context in the zone of Amplero, near Collelongo (*Fucino* 1991, 299). Its evident typological and stylistic relationship with the famous Capestrano warrior has led us to maintain that the Marsi in the fourth century BC were familiar with large funerary sculpture with monumental features, expressed by the same social structure and the same warlike ideology recognizable in Picenum and Abruzzi, from Numana to Guardiagrele, from Manoppello to Capestrano. It is the same area where epigraphic documents spread from the sixth to the fourth century BC written in a particular alphabet variously called “palaeo-Sabellic,” “middle-Adriatic,” or “south-Picene.” Even if the latter two names make reference only to the coastal region, the area in question extends inland till the heart of the Sabina with the inscription of Cures (Marinetti 1985; see Chs. 8 and 28 of this volume). In addition, the inscription of the Capestrano warrior comes from the inland, and this confirms the connection of these texts (and their language) with the civilization of bronze discs, cuirass-discs, and stone-circle graves. According to Adriano La Regina’s hypothesis (1989, 302ff.), this inscription proves that the man represented was a king in a context of small tribal communities

ruled by other kings. Nevertheless, his interpretation of the word *raki* as the equivalent of Latin *regi* has been questioned by linguists (cf. *Imag. Ital.* I, Aufinum 1, 226ff.), and so a monarchic political situation cannot be assumed directly from this text.

In any case, the inscribed stelae from Penna S. Andrea (in the province of Teramo), certainly more recent than the Castrano warrior, should be seen with some continuity, as they have the same anthropomorphic structure and the same gesture of the arms, even if in a simplified and schematic form. The mention of *nerf* (= *principes*, or noblemen) leads us to suppose an aristocratic structure for this society. The discovery of the exact meaning of some alphabetic signs allows us to ascertain that the language of these inscriptions belongs to the same linguistic stock as the Osco-Umbrian languages. Moreover, in the stelae from Penna S. Andrea the ethnic name *safino-* appears, the exact equivalent of Latin *Sabinus* and of the Oscan form of Samnites' name (see Tagliamonte in this volume). Even if it is difficult to grasp the exact meaning of the term in the context of Penna S. Andrea, it is evident that already in this phase people who shared this language and this alphabet were aware that they belonged to an ethnic unity. After all, this awareness is the basic meaning of the local traditions, known to us from the Greek and Roman sources, that regarded practically all the Osco-Umbrian peoples as derived from a succession of migrations of the Sabines, following the ritual of the "sacred spring" (*ver sacrum*) (see Di Fazio in this volume). The peoples who settled round the Fucine Lake belonged certainly to this horizon, even if no document in the "palaeo-Sabellic" or "middle-Adriatic" alphabet is known from this country.

It is more difficult to tell exactly when a "national" awareness emerged from this background for the Marsi, "the men of Mars:" perhaps in the fifth century BC, when the Hernici, Aequi and Volsci appear in the tales of ancient sources in relation to the Roman history. Nevertheless, the first mention of the Marsi is for the year 340 BC (Livy 8.6.8), for only then do they come into contact with Rome directly, allowing a Roman army on the march toward Capua to pass through their territory. Already then, presumably, the Marsi were allied to the Samnites and remained by their side in the course of the Samnite Wars until 304 BC (Livy 9.45.18), when together with Marrucini, Paeligni and Frentani they ratified an alliance with Rome, which was renewed in 302 BC, after a short-lived attempt to rebel (Livy 10.3.5; cf. Letta 1972).

IV From the alliance with Rome to the Social War (304–89 BC)

The operations of the Samnite Wars touched again the eastern Marsica in 294 BC, when the Romans took Milionia, near the railway station of Carrito-Ortona, from the Samnites (Livy 10.34.4). As a result the *Fasti triumphales* at Rome again record a triumph *de Marsis*; but perhaps after the Marsi had gone over to the Romans,

this Marsic stronghold had been occupied by the Samnites, in order to preserve a connection with their allies in the northern front of the war along the Sangro, Giovenco and Aterno valleys. On the other hand, the inscription of Caso Cantovios (*CIL* I² 5) confirms that by 294 BC the Marsi had firmly sided with the Romans, for it testifies that the fellow-soldiers of this Marsic commander dedicated as a war trophy in the sanctuary of the Marsic goddess Angitia a bronze belt he had taken away from the enemy “near the Gallic boundary” (*apur finem calicom* = *apud finem Gallicum*), according to the new reading of La Regina (1989, 399–401). Very probably a Marsic military unit participated in the operations led by the Romans in 294 BC far away from the Marsica, after the battle of Sentinum (Livy 10.37.1–5). Moreover, this inscription is written in the Latin alphabet and language, and makes use both of Latin onomastic formulae and of Roman military terms (*lecionibus*); therefore it implies that the Marsic ruling class adopted Roman culture in many of its aspects.

This conclusion is fully confirmed by the most ancient inscriptions found in the Marsica. Only one of these is really in the Marsic language; it is a dedication to the *Di Novensides* found at San Benedetto (Vetter 225 = Rix VM5; *Imag. Ital.* Marruvium 1), written in the Latin alphabet, decidedly more recent than Caso Cantovios’ tablet, as it is to be dated in late second century BC by epigraphic criteria. In this case the use of the local language perhaps has a character of learned recovery, peculiar to a period of claim and reaffirmation of “national” identity in the pre-Social War years.

The other inscriptions of the third and second century BC, often regarded as Marsic, are indeed all in the Latin language, even if they retain some dialectical characteristics. This is the case for a dedication to Jupiter and the Dioscuri of the middle third century BC (Vetter 224 = Rix VM4; *Imag. Ital.* Marruvium 2; *CIL* I² 2874a; Letta and D’Amato 1975, 120), found in a sanctuary at San Manno, near Ortucchio (Luschi 2007). A Roman onomastic formula with *f(i)lius* and the epichoric name *iouies pucles* coexist side by side in this text. This is the case also for the Antinum tablet (Vetter 223 = Rix VM3; *Imag. Ital.* Antinum 1), a dedication to the goddess Vesuna, with Latin onomastic formulae and an epichoric institutional term *medis*. All this confirms that in the third century BC the Marsi, even if they retained their independence, had accepted definitively the language and the culture of their mighty ally, in an irreversible and spontaneous assimilation process, presumably facilitated by the contacts with the colonies of Alba Fucens, Carseoli, and Sora.

This phase also sees a progressive transformation of Marsic settlements. Beside the fortified upland centres, called *oppida* and *castella* in the Latin sources, villages (*vici*) begin rising on the plains and mountain-slopes, which gradually supplanted the ancient *oppida*. It is very difficult to reconstruct their exact relations and more generally the political and administrative structures of the Marsi as Roman *socii*. To be sure a national structure remained, above all in order to supply troops to the Roman army. But this national structure cannot be regarded as a territorial, unitary state; as in the case of the Samnites, I think it was a federal state which joined minor communities, probably centred on *oppida*, ruled by *meddices* as in the case of Antinum. On the other hand, the quaestors of the *vicus Supinas* (near Trasacco) per-

haps demonstrate a quest for autonomy for the *vici*, formally still dependent on the old *oppida* (CIL I² 388 and 2873d). It is necessary to emphasize that these local magistrates had Roman names, incompatible with the Osco-Umbrian linguistic structure, in confirmation of a deep “auto-Romanization.”

I think indeed that these *vici* were communities of *socii* in Marsic territory rather than communities of *cives Romani* on parts of confiscated land turned into *ager Romanus*, as Tarpin (2002) and Stek (2009) maintain. It is difficult to believe that practically all the country was reduced to *ager Romanus*. As a matter of fact, the known *vici* spread over almost all the country: the *vicus Supinas* (near Trasacco), the *vicus F(i)staniensis* (CIL IX 3856) and the *vicus An(n)inus* (near Lecce dei Marsi: CIL I² 391; AE 1978, 286) to the south and southeast of the Fucine, and the *vicus Eidianus* (near Cerchio: Letta in *Fucino* 2011) to the north.

While the cultural “Romanization” of the Marsi was speedy and pervasive from a linguistic, onomastic, military and institutional point of view, in the area of religion the situation was very different. Many dedications to various gods and goddesses that date back to the two centuries before the Social War betray a strong Greek influence, mostly without a Roman mediation, as in the case of *Vesuna Erinia* (CIL I² 392; cf. Luschi 2008b), who bears an epithet of the Greek Demeter, or Angitia, re-interpreted on the model of the Demeter-Kore couple, or Hercules, Apollo, and the Dioscuri, whose names are documented among the Marsi in forms that go back to the Greek-Etruscan environment of Campania. Also the mysterious *Purcefer*, from a lost dedication from Pescina (CIL I² 1770), perhaps betrays the same Greek-Etruscan influence, if it really is a re-interpretation of the name of a local lake god in connection with the Etruscan form *purcius* from the name of the Greek sea god *Phorcus* (Letta 2012).

Information about the social and economic structures of the Marsi supplied by the literary sources is scarce and at least partly goes back to generalized themes (the Marsi as brave warriors and snake-charmers), while the archaeological data are few and fragmentary. On the whole it seems that the economy remained marked by subsistence agriculture and sheep-rearing. Even if it is perhaps to reshuffle the importance I had attached to transhumance in the centuries before the Social War (Letta 1972), anyhow it is probable that it was becoming always more important and constituted the main ground for the enrichment of the local élites.

There are indeed clear indications of the presence of a warlike aristocracy already in the earliest times, betrayed by the name itself of the Marsi (“the men of Mars”); it may perhaps imply that the Marsi were the source of a large number of mercenaries starting in the late fourth century BC. The presence of many Campanian coins of the fifth and fourth century BC in the Marsica could be connected to this, a practice to which the *foedus* with Rome put an end in 304 BC. Henceforth, the Marsi were almost always engaged in military service at the Romans’ side.

In this new situation, due to the unity and stability of Italy guaranteed by Rome, shepherding grew to an even larger scale. This activity presumably was the basis of the wealth of some of the great families who afterwards were at the head of Italic insurgents in the Social War. This social environment is well illustrated by a bronze

tessera hospitalis, found perhaps in the sanctuary of the Dioscuri at San Manno, between Ortucchio and Trasacco (*CIL* I² 1764). It testifies to a hospitality-relationship of a patron-client type between a local leading family and the Manlii Torquati, a great Roman senatorial family, in the third or rather second century BC (Luschi 2008a).

Beginning with the second century BC there was an influx of wealth and slaves as a consequence of the sharing in the benefits of the Roman imperial expansion, and this very probably caused great socio-economic changes among the Marsi as well. Some great Marsic families were perhaps also among the Italian *negotiatores* who were involved in businesses throughout the Mediterranean. For the time before the Social War there is no direct proof of this, but we know of a M. Attius Peticus Marsus who operated with his ships in the eastern Mediterranean in the middle of the first century BC (Plut. *Pomp.* 73.4–9). He is perhaps the same “Peticus Marsus” who dedicated a wonderful bronze copy of the Lysippean Hercules in the shrine of Hercules Curinus near Sulmona (*Suppl. It.*, 4, 1982, 38, no. 2). The name “Peticus Marsus” appears also on amphorae and dolia; according to Tchernia (1992), a relief in the Museum of L’Aquila representing a dromedary has some connection with Peticus’ commercial activity in the Near East.

V Final Romanization and the establishment of the Marsic *municipia*

In the early phases of the Social War (91–89 BC) the Marsi were the most resolute among the rebelling Italian allies and acted as the leaders of the coalition. The grant of Roman citizenship broke the unity of the insurgents and led to peace, but the last remainders of their cultural autonomy rapidly vanished, and in the course of two generations the local languages also disappeared.

With the direct intrusion of the Roman state, the middle-Apenninic peoples experienced a radical change in forms of settlement and administrative organization. In these non-urbanized or scarcely urbanized areas the urban model was superimposed on old structures, that is on ancient small *oppida* and rural settlements, with a series of *municipia* being established, to which all minor centres were subordinated. At the beginning of this grand process of urbanization a few pre-existing minor centres were selected to become the seat of the new *municipia*, the administrative and judiciary hubs for the surrounding area. They were therefore provided with the essential elements of a true city: a *forum*, some temples, a *curia* for the local senate, a theatre for spectacles and a popular assembly, and town-walls with more or less monumental gates. This often also meant a new town-plan with an orthogonal street-grid on the model of colonies. Among the Marsi this phenomenon was especially invasive: in spite of the proximity to an urban model such as the Latin colony of Alba Fucens, founded in 303 BC, their territory remained at a pre-urban stage until

the Social War, and the establishment of the *municipia* caused a radical re-foundation of some centres.

The municipal arrangement of the Marsica after the Social War is reflected in a passage of Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.106) that apparently supplies a list of five Marsic *municipia*: *Marsorum Anaxatini, Atinates, Fucentes, Lucenses, Marruvini*. The available epigraphic evidence allows first of all two easy textual emendations: *Atinates* is surely an error for *Antinates*, with reference to *Antinum* (mod. Civita d'Antino, in the Valle Roveto), and *Anaxatini* is to be corrected to *Anxatini*, since an inscription from the territory of Alba Fucens (*CIL* IX 3950) mentions someone who held municipal magistracies both in Alba and among the *[Ma]rsi Anxates*. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find in the archaeological evidence as many as five different urban centres, since from inscriptions we know of municipal structures for only three: *Marruvium* (near San Benedetto dei Marsi), *Antinum* (Letta 2009), and the mysterious *Marsi Anxates*. I think that Pliny has erroneously arranged in alphabetical order and misinterpreted as five different *municipia* the words of an official list of *municipia* which actually included three names of *municipia* and two attributes, originally relating to two of them. According to my proposal (Letta 1988), behind Pliny's list we can recognize the *Antinates* of *Antinum*, the *Marruvini Fucentes* of *Marruvium*, who were named *Fucentes* in order to distinguish them from the inhabitants of a homonymous Sabine centre near Reate; and lastly the *Anxates* or *Anxatini Lucenses* of *Anxa* or *Angitia* (mod. Luco dei Marsi), who are named *Lucenses* with reference to the sacred grove of the goddess (*lucus* or *nemus Angitiae*), in order to distinguish them from the homonymous inhabitants of *Anxanun* (mod. Lanciano), among the Frentani.

Nevertheless, this municipal reorganization created a large amount of building activity and opened a period of rapid economic growth that stimulated competition among the leading families, eager both to gain prestige and gratitude in their communities through their contribution to the monumentalization of towns and sanctuaries, and to reaffirm their power through the magnificence of their houses. In addition to the establishment of the *municipia* as administrative, judiciary and religious centres, the *vici* survived and maintained their administrative structures as well as a limited autonomy inside the new municipal organization. The definitive fusion of the Marsi into Roman society is evident in the last decades of the Republic and at the beginning of the Principate (Letta 2008), when local families entered the Roman Senate (the Vettii Scatonas, the Octavii Balbi, the Octavii Laenates, and perhaps the Ostorii Scapulae) and the equestrian ranks (e.g. Q. Fresidius Peto, *epistrategus Thebaidis* in AD 23).

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I The Vestini: territorial organization and archaeological evidence (Oliva Menozzi)

The Vestini (Fig. 1) were located in the central Abruzzo, along the long hydrographical basin known as Aternus/Pescara valley system, running from the inner Apennine mountains to the coast. The river Saline was the northern boundary along the coast, while the southern boundary was the Aternum river, creating a very narrow outlet to the sea, but quite crucial from an economic point of view. The literary tradition mentions for this population a *ver sacrum* under the auspices of the goddess Vesta or the Umbrian god *Vestikos*, as protector and eponymous god (Buonocore and Firpo 1998, 823–840, with discussion of the literary sources and the previous bibliography; see also Di Fazio in this volume for more on the *ver sacrum*). The name *Vestini/Oestinoi* is attested only by later literary sources. For earlier periods, the homogeneity of the archaeological finds since the ninth to eighth centuries BC suggests that the local tribes were part of a wider *Safini/Sabellian* context, as for the rest of the mid-Adriatic area.

The most famous find in the Vestinian area is certainly the so-called Capestrano Warrior (Fig. 2), which is not simply a Vestinian funerary statue, used as marker of an important tomb, but is one of the most representative documents of early social and cultural practices among the *Safini/Sabellians*. It is actually one of a series of sculptures which have been found throughout the *Safini/Sabellian* territories. It stands on a rectangular base between two pillars with the representation of two spears incised on the outer side of each pillar. The figure wears an apron fastened with a belt, together with two *kardiophylakes* (chest plates), a sword, an axe and a very distinctive helmet. The military attributes indicate a leader: the inscription attests to a local, monarchic-style organization for the sixth century, thanks to the mention of a *raki* (in Latin *rex*, or “king”), and it notes that a sculptor or a donor, *Aninis*, made (or paid for) the statue for the *raki* Naevius Pompuledius (Moretti 1936; Morandi 1974; Calderini, Neri and Ruggeri 2007, 46–47; La Regina 2011) as a “nice image of the king.” It represents one of the earliest epigraphic documents in the “palaeo-Sabellian” language (Marinetti 1985; see also Zair in this volume), which finds linguistic parallels mainly in the South-Picene inscriptions, confirming an original cultural *koinè* for the mid-Adriatic area. According to later epigraphic evidence, the Vestinian dialect became, after the fourth century, more similar to the Oscan dialects of the tribes of

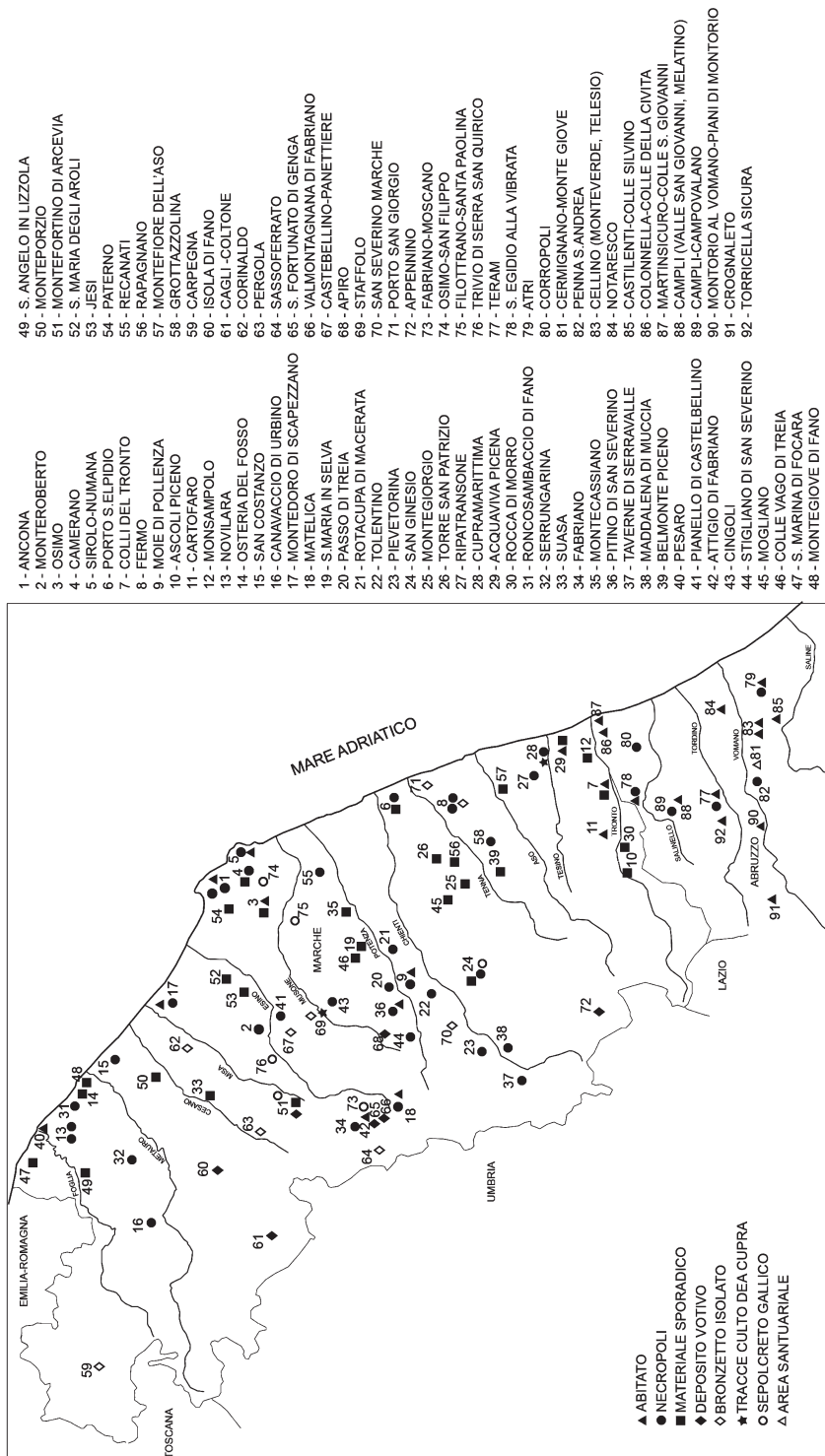


Fig. 1. The territory of the Vestini and their distribution between Cismontani and Trasmontani (after Staffa 2006, fig. 9).



Fig. 2. The statue of the so-called Capestrano Warrior, which was found by G. Moretti in the territory of the ancient Aufinum (Moretti 1936).

the south Abruzzo (primarily the Marsi, Marrucini and Paeligni) than to the Osco-Umbrian dialects of the north (the Umbrian and Picene areas).

The Vestini were organised in two different sub-groups (Plin., *HN* 3.107): the Vestini Cismontani, located along the upper Aterno valley and on the western Apennine slopes, and the Vestini Transmontani, occupying the fertile area from the eastern slopes of the Apennines to the Adriatic coasts (Fig. 1). Their boundary was the Fisci-lus Mons (Sil., *Pun.* 8.517), and in particular the southern ridges of the Gran Sasso Mountain complex. Geography, then, created a break between the two territories, which communicated with each other through two natural trails, one along the Aterno river valley, and the second one through the mountain crossing at the pass of Forca di Penne. These natural inter-valley and mountain trails became the Roman Via Claudia Valeria and Via Claudia Nova, following the course of the Aterno valley and connecting this area with Rome, with the Adriatic coasts and also with Sabine territories. The geomorphological differences between the two areas created a different kind of territorial organization, mainly based on hillforts for the Cismontane area and on villages for the Transmontane zone.

During the First and the Second Samnite Wars, this population was allied to the Samnites against Rome. At the end of the second conflict, according to Livy (10.3.1), a *foedus* was created between the Vestini and the Romans in 302 BC, just two years later than the *foedera* with other central Italic tribes (Livy 9.45.18; for a general discussion about the *foedera* from the historical point of view see Buonocore and Firpo 1998, 823–826). The Romans then considered the Vestini to be allies in the third conflict with the Samnites and in the Punic Wars. It is likely that in this period the cast bronze coin-series with the ethnic *VES-* was issued (Fig. 3), which was based on an Adriatic Italic weight system. This series finds parallels with those of Hatria, Firmum and Ariminum in Picenum. These coins could have celebrated the alliance with Rome in a metal (bronze) and a weight system already used and accepted locally, or it

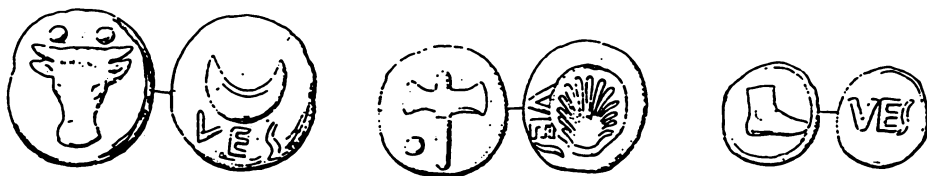


Fig. 3. The bronze series issued by the Vestini in the third century with the indication of the ethnic VES- (after Fossataro 2008).

could also represent the payment of local troops allied to Rome during the Punic Wars, especially the Hannibalic War; cf. La Regina 2011, in part. 232–233).

The territory of the Vestini, with the Augustan reorganization, became part of the *Regio IV*, and the main centres mentioned for this period by the sources were Aveia, Aufinum and Peltuinum for the Cismontane area, and Pinna, Angulum and Ostia Aterni for the Transmontane territory. Although these centres are first attested in Roman literary sources, they all have earlier finds attesting to a long continuity of occupation and also to the hegemonic role of these centres in a hierarchical organization of the two Vestinian territories.

In general the settlement pattern in Vestinum seems to have been based on territorial sub-units, later known as *pagi*, which were semi-independent districts having their own councils responsible at the local level for all social, religious and agricultural matters. For later periods the *pagi* and *vici* are clearly attested by epigraphic and literary sources (e.g. *CIL IX* 726, 1455, 2823, 3137, 3138, 3849; Strabo, *Geog.* 5.4.2; Livy 9.13.6, 9.17.2–3, 31.30.6; Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.4, *Epist.* 1.18.105; Fest. 502 L; and so on). The evolution from the early territorial unit to the *pagus* system is not very clear in detail, but it is certainly a natural evolution. Within the territory of each unit the most common kinds of settlement were fortifications and villages (Letta 1988), often strategically located and tightly connected. Recent excavations have clarified our picture of these kinds of settlements, which were obviously adapting their role, shape and organization to the geomorphology and topography of the different territorial districts.

Recent excavation in the area of S. Clemente, near Tocco da Casauria (Pescara), in the Transmontane territory, produced remains of an Archaic settlement, including two circular huts and a well preserved rectangular structure with a small corridor at the entrance, with different floor levels, remains of fires, and a large quantity of impasto pottery. According to the excavation the village covers a large area and dates from the end of the Bronze/early Iron Age. The settlement was probably related to the large cemeteries excavated in the area, with tombs dating from the Archaic to the Roman periods. Unfortunately, the excavations both of the settlement and of the cemeteries were limited to small areas (Maurizio 1995; Staffa 2004). The settlement became the Vicus Interpromium, as attested by epigraphic sources (*CIL IX* 3044, 3046). Moreover, an Oscan inscription, dating to the second century BC and coming from the *vicus*, is particularly interesting especially because it gives the name of a

meddix, attesting therefore that the local government was based on magistrates (Coarelli and La Regina 1984, 341–343; Mancini and Menozzi, forthcoming). The role of this *vicus* as a market along the main road network (Via Tiburtina Valeria) and along the lower Aternus valley is particularly interesting, because the river was certainly navigable up to this point, which offers here the possibility of easy docking (obviously with small boats with flat keels, but useful for transporting heavy goods). It worked then as a market point, as attested by a *mensa ponderaria* (measuring table) from this *vicus* (CIL IX 3046; Staffa 2004, 162–164; 2006, 29–30).

Other settlements in the Transmontane territory are attested at Pinna, Loreto Aprutinum and Pescara, on the top of Colle del Telegrafo. Pinna and Loreto, which have produced only scanty remains relating to the settlement, but have very rich funerary contexts, were probably main hilltop fortified settlements. Colle del Telegrafo represents probably the earlier original site of a settlement, later known by the sources as Aternum Vicus and Ostia Aterni (Strabo, *Geog.* 5.4.2; *It. Ant.* 101.5), dominating the use of the mouth of the homonymous river, which was both the starting point of the natural road that became the Via Tiburtina Claudia Valeria, and also the natural caesura between the seaport, the river navigation, and the main road network. Strabo (5.4.2) mentions the role of Ostia Aterni as main port for the Vestini, but it was also used by the Marrucini and the Paeligni. The earliest remains at Colle del Telegrafo (mainly huts, impasto pottery, pits) date to the Archaic period (Staffa 2004). It seems to be plausible that in later times, the *vicus* moved to the plain just below the original hilltop settlement, in order to get closer to the sea and the fluvial port.

For the Cismontane Vestini the main centres mentioned by the sources were Aveia, Peltuinum and Auvinum. The former was certainly an important settlement since early times, as attested by the monumental funerary context (necropolis of Fossa), and was probably one of the main fortified centres for this area. Remains of the polygonal fortifications are still preserved in the modern (and medieval) hill-top village of Fossa, but the settlement has never been excavated. Between the third and first centuries BC the settlement of Aveia became a *praefectura* and was located in the plain just below the ancient hillfort and had an urbanization according to “Roman urban planning” (Pesando 2014).

Peltuinum was another *praefectura* in this area, and its transformation into a *municipium* is uncertain and debated (Buonocore and Firpo 1998, 859–860). It was certainly a Vestinian settlement in the Archaic period, as attested by the scanty finds from the settlement and by the numerous finds from the necropolis (see below). However, this centre became a proper urbanised centre just after the Social War and during the early Imperial period, when the natural trail passing through Peltuinum was reorganised and monumentalised (Campanelli 1996; Clementi 2007; Migliorati 2014), becoming the Via Claudia Nova, which passed through this centre. It seems plausible that the change of emphasis of the local road network from the trail running along the Tirino Valley, where Auvinum is located, to the axis passing through Peltuinum, also determined a different evolution for these two settlements

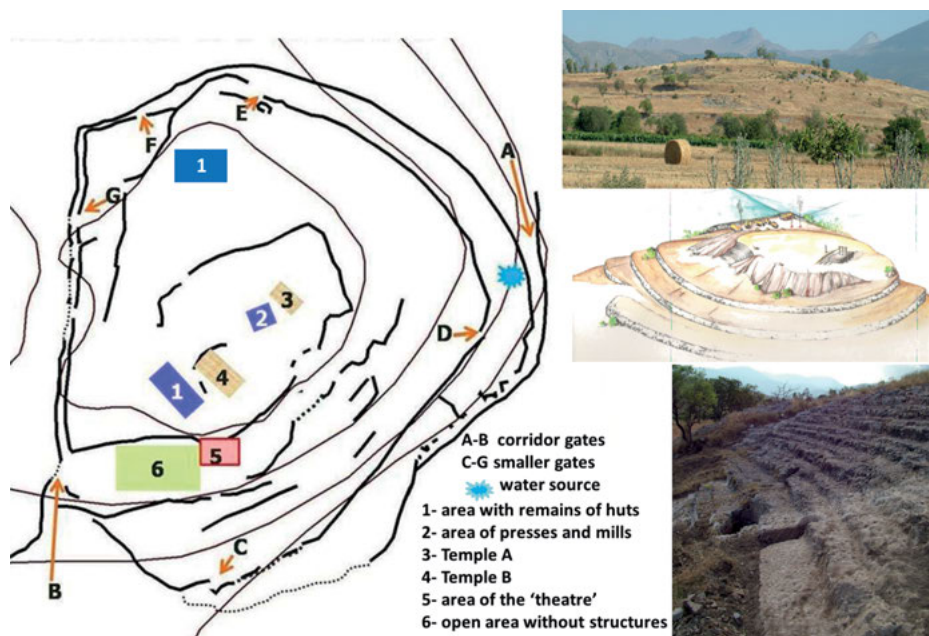


Fig. 4. Capestrano (Aufinum). The plan of the settlement on the hill of Colle S. Antonino with the main remains (plan by D. Fossataro and O. Menozzi). View of the hill (above, photo by O. Menozzi); reconstruction of the terracing system (by E. Di Valerio); and view of the so called “theatre” (photo by O. Menozzi).

in early Roman times; in fact, the centre of Aufinum, which was the main one for this area, was bypassed by this new road and lost its hegemonic role, which passed to Peltuinum.

The territory of Aufinum (Fig. 4) was characterised by a very fertile plain located between modern Capestrano and Ofena, and has always been strongly influenced by the Tirino hydrographical basin and its river terraces. The area is particularly famous because of the find in the beginning of the twentieth century of the so-called “Capestrano Warrior,” mentioned above, together with other fragments of Archaic sculptures, such as the female bust now in the Museum of Chieti, and other pieces thought lost (but which have been found again in storerooms in Rome). Systematic studies of this territory and excavations date only to the last fifteen years (Menozzi, Fosstaro, Torello and d’Ercole 2014; Menozzi and Di Antonio 2015). This area has always played an important agricultural and economic role in the region, at least since the Iron Age, because it was located on an important *tratturo* (transhumance pathway), later to become the Tratturo Magno. The finds from the plain around Aufinum are particularly rich and interesting, but for the earliest phases there is still a need for further excavation. What seems to be clear from the surveys is that in early periods the main settlement-area was the territory just around Capodacqua (Tozzi 1966; Bonuccelli and Faedo 1968; Menozzi and Di Antonio 2011), which has interesting if

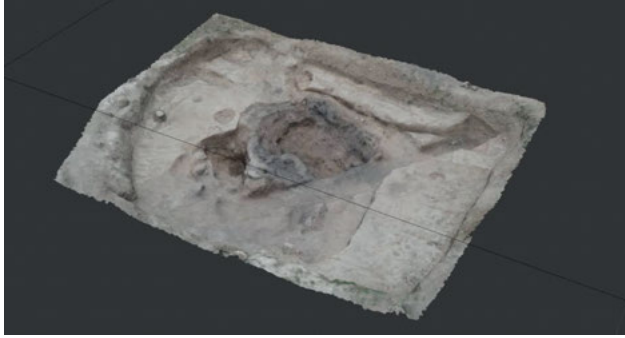


Fig. 5. Capecetrano (Aufinum). View of the hut at Vatormina, from point clouds by 3D laser scanning and photo-merging (by D. Palumbo) and plan of the hut (by O. Menozzi).

sporadic finds dating to the Bronze Age period, around an abundant and ancient natural water source.

Early Iron age finds, suggesting a small settlement, seem to be attested in the area of Vatormina, again very close to another important water source and along the main course of the Tirino river, in the plain just below the modern centre of Capecetrano. This area has been recently investigated, with systematic excavations and geophysical survey, possibly showing the presence of a village dating between the eighth and seventh centuries. Among the more interesting finds is that of a well-preserved U-shaped hut (Fig. 5), built in wattle-and-daub, still containing the remains of a small oval pottery kiln (about 80 cm wide), and a large number of pottery vessels dating to the seventh century, which probably fell down from wooden shelves on the walls. The study of the finds is still in progress and the excavation of further structures is also in progress, although there is evidence for local pottery production and settlement in the plain in this period. Archaeozoological analysis of the bone remains from the main pit is giving interesting results for the kind of meat consumed in the local diet, which seems to have been deer, sheep and cattle. The bones show signs both of slaughter and marks indicating machining and polishing. The archaeometric and paleobotanic analyses at the moment are focusing on the wattle-and-daub/pisè to try to reconstruct ancient building techniques for this area.

The settlement known as Vestinian Aufinum, then, was probably located on a nearby hilltop which has been regularly excavated since 2003 (Colle S. Antonino, Fig. 3). The earliest finds in this site are connected to huts located on the hilltop, probably dating to between the second half of the sixth and the fourth centuries (Fig. 4, and plan of the best preserved in Fig. 6). Paleoecological analysis seems to indicate that the area had a quite humid phase, which waterlogged most of the lower areas in the plain, including the areas of Vatormina and Capodacqua. Therefore, the choice to move on a hilltop location can be explained not only by its defensive and dominating position, which certainly helped in slightly later periods, but also with the need to avoid wetlands. The earlier settlement, on the top of Colle S.

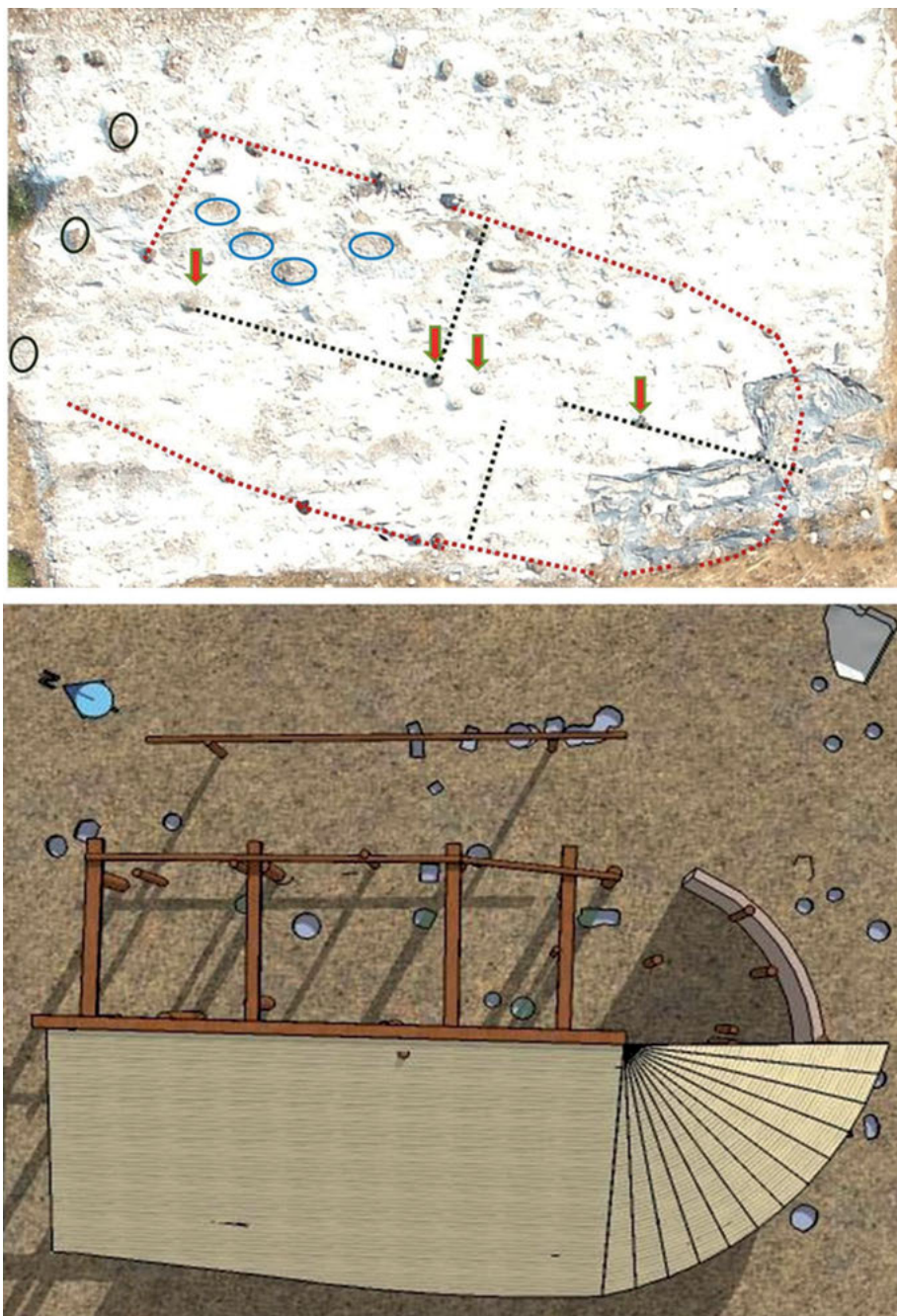


Fig. 6. Capestrano (Aufinum). Ortho-photo plan (by D. Fossataro) and 3D model (by E. Di Valerio) of one of the huts found on the top of Colle S. Antonino.

Antonino, is characterized by rectangular structures, with apsidal back walls, quite large and articulated in plan (up to 12 m long), probably used as refuges both for people and their livestock. Millstones, mortars and presses, which were directly carved into the bedrock, as well as pits for food, fodder and water storage, attest both to settlement and animal breeding on the basis of the paleobotanic analysis. The site is then characterized by monumental “fortifications,” consisting of three circuits of walls, mainly supporting and regularizing the resulting terraces (Fig. 3). They are, in fact, supporting and regularizing the natural terraces and organizing the site into three main areas: a religious centre on the hilltop, with two temples dating between the third and second centuries; a possible “public area” on the southern terrace, where there are the so-called “theatre” and a *forum pecuarium* (cattle market); and an area of huts and houses on the northwestern and northern slopes.

The theatre is of particular interest (Fig. 3). It is completely cut into the rocky southwestern slope of the hill and has some very peculiar features: a very limited curvature of the “cavea” and also rows of steps of different types, with alternating higher steps for seats and thinner ones for the feet. One finds this last feature only with Hellenistic theatres in southern Italy and Greece. It seems conceivable that the structure has not been intended for performances, but rather for common space for political, economic and religious meetings, probably connected to the zone around Temple B, and for animal fairs and auctions connected to the open space which has been interpreted as a possible *forum pecuarium*; it is noteworthy in this regard that both the temple and the forum are near the theatre as well (Mancini and Menozzi, forthcoming). This typology of “theatre” with political, economic and religious functions is quite well known in the area, as in the examples of Iuvanum and Pietrabbondante; there is also the monumental staircase of the Sanctuary of Hercules Curinus at Sulmo, which probably had similar functions. The urbanization that occurred between the Social War and the Augustan period transformed the hilltop into the “acropolis” of a wider settlement, with the urban expansion in the plain just below the earlier site. Aufinum lost its importance when Peltuinum became the main centre of this area with the Julio-Claudian monumentalisation of the Via Claudia Nova, continuing its life as a “minor” settlement, probably depending politically on the nearby *prefectura* of Peltuinum.

The organization of the *vici* within a *pagus* is often difficult to understand, and in the absence of detailed archaeological evidence, epigraphic sources are the only help one has to understand it. For example, an inscription from the area of Peltuinum, in the Cismontane Vestinian territory, attests the presence of three *vici* within the *pagus* and gives their names (*CIL* IX 3513). The inscription was found in the Vicus Furfo and tells us that a temple was dedicated in the *pagus* to Iuppiter Liber, by the Furfenses, and that the Taresuni and Fificulani, inhabitants of other two *vici*, also participated in the ceremony because they belonged to the same *pagus* (Laffi 1977, 121–130; La Regina 1971, 443–459; Letta 1992, 109–124). This inscription is also important as it provides some insight into the internal relationships within a *pagus* of the *vici*

with the main sanctuary, which was used as assembly-point by the inhabitants of the whole *pagus*.

Another sanctuary with similar functions, again in the area of the Cismontane Vestini, was located at Navelli, where remains of a sanctuary (Coarelli and La Regina 1984, 31–34) and those of the Vicus Incerulae are attested, closely related probably also with a *vicus* or a small village at Centurelli (D'Alessandro, d'Ercole and Martellone 2011, 186–191; D'Alessandro 2014, 209–228). Neither of the two sites, however, have been investigated rigorously.

A similar territorial organization of the *pagi* can be also hypothesized for the Transmontane area. For instance, it has been suggested, on the basis of the archaeological finds (Staffa 2004), that Spoltore, Città S. Angelo and Moscufo were, in early times, three villages/*vici* administering the coastal territory and having their main political centres in Pinna and Loreto, the latter also acting as the main sanctuary for the area. With “Romanization” one of them became the *municipium* of Angulum, but we are uncertain which of them, because of a lack of definitive epigraphic evidence.

There are three types of fortified settlements in Vestinum – the wider fortified centres, the middle-size hillforts, and the smaller fortified refuges. The first of these were also the primary hegemonic centres and have been mentioned above, such as Pinna, Aveia and Aulinum. Middle-size hillforts have been found mainly in the Cismontane territory (Mattiocco 1983, 1989; and more recently Bourdain 2011, 2014) and these have also been investigated only recently. They generally are located around 1000 m above sea level and present only few rows of rough masonry without mortar (often collapsed but still *in situ*) surrounding the hilltop, with a single or double circuit; they usually have at least one or two small gates with corridor entrances, useful to control both people and livestock. Most of these hillforts also have funerary areas nearby, attesting to the continuity of their use as settlements.

The smaller fortified refuges were located on higher peaks (more than 1200 m above sea level) and have very small circuits. They also have a lower percentage of finds, perhaps because they were used as seasonal centres (i.e. closely connected to transhumance). Obviously the middle-size and smaller hillforts worked not as isolated fortifications, but as articulated systems, controlling, throughout a network of hillforts, the mountain passes, the natural trails, the fertile zones nearby, and guaranteeing reciprocal communication in case of incursions. While the main fortified centres show a long continuity of use, some of the middle-size hillforts and the small fortified refuges seem to have been reused during the Social War, and then definitively abandoned in Roman times, or used sporadically as temporary refuges.

II Funerary practices (Valeria Acconcia)

Concerning funerary practices and the development of burial areas, the Cismontane and Transmontane regions have similar features, from the beginning of the Iron Age

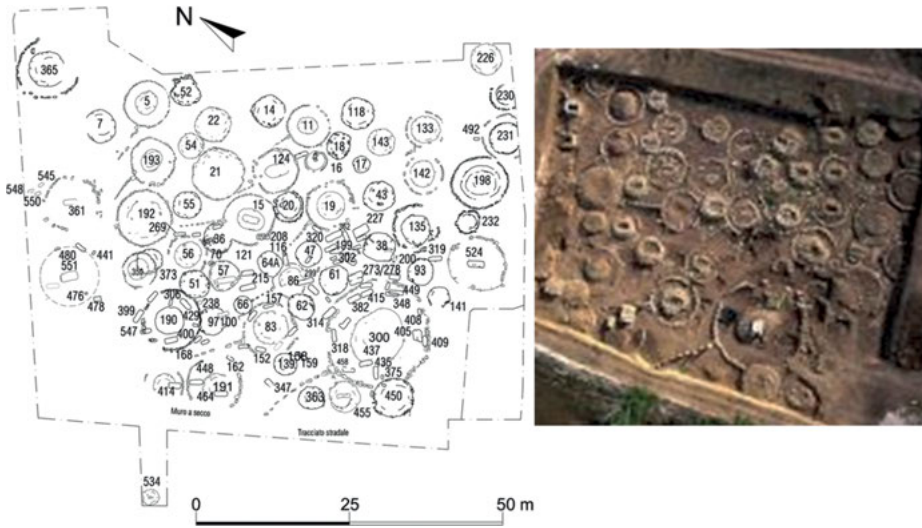


Fig. 7. Fossa (Aveia). Plan and Aerial view of the main section of the cemetery (plan by V. Acconcia and photo from the Archives of Chieti University).

until the early phases of the process of “Romanization” (in general, d’Ercole 2014a). The few differences must be ascribed to the proximity of the Cismontane area to the Sabines and to other paleo-Sabellic peoples, while the Transmontane territory seems to gravitate towards the south Picene district, much more open to Tyrrhenian influence (Acconcia 2014a, 213–215). Furthermore, the inner and mountainous area corresponding to the Province of L’Aquila has been surveyed more intensely during the last thirty years by the Soprintendenza per Beni Archeologici dell’Abruzzo and various Italian and foreign research institutions, which have excavated a number of necropoleis, some of them extensively studied and published. For instance, the excavations at Fossa brought to light approximately 600 graves; those at Bazzano, 1670 graves; in the Capestrano area, almost 300 graves (Cosentino, d’Ercole and Mieli 2003; d’Ercole and Benelli 2004; d’Ercole and Copersino 2003; d’Ercole, Menozzi, Fossataro and Torello Di Nino 2011; Weidig 2014).

Most of the cemeteries show a long continuity of use. For example, Fossa is the earliest currently known (Fig. 7): it was planted in the upper Aterno basin during the middle of the eighth century and used until the early Imperial period. Other necropoleis in the same area and also in the Transmontane district were occupied later, at the end of the eighth century or during the seventh century, but were likewise used until the Imperial period. Regarding their territorial distribution, they were mostly placed in a valley floor, close to natural pathways, probably to mark the presence of local communities, their territorial distribution and also their stability and cohesion (d’Ercole, Faustoferri and Ruggeri 2003, 452–453; d’Ercole, Cosentino and Mieli 2003, 533–534; d’Ercole and Martellone 2008, 146; d’Ercole 2014a, 30; 2014b, 37; Acconcia 2015a). This feature is particularly clear for the area directly to the

southeast of L'Aquila, which is characterised by at least four topographical and political "units," occupied since early periods by communities which became later Aveia, Peltuinum and Aufinum, and Incerulae-Navelli (see above; Acconcia 2014b).

On the other hand, in the same region we also know of a limited number of necropoleis on mountainous summits, near fortified settlements (as with Campo di Monte at Caporciano, Guado Sant'Angelo at Barisciano, Pesatro at Ofena), used for a short period between the seventh and sixth centuries (d'Ercole and D'Alessandro 2007). They seem to be composed primarily of tumulus tombs (although just a small number of them have been excavated), and they were positioned to emphasize the control practiced by local communities on mountainous passes and vertical transhumance pathways during a period likely characterized by a climatic cooling, as attested by iron tips for snow walking sticks or iron crampons for snow footwear included in male funerary equipment (Weidig 2007). Much more evident in the inner than in the coastal area is the spatial organization of burial places. These are characterized, from the late Iron Age to the Archaic period, by the adoption of the tumulus/circle burial type, originally intended to cover one central tomb and often progressively occupied by later graves belonging to individuals, probably those linked to the previous ones by family ties.

Tumulus graves are characterized by a circle of rough stones delimiting a large amount of earth overlying a shallow deposition: they seem to be the core elements of funerary organization in a number of necropoleis (Acconcia 2015b). The earliest examples have been found at Fossa, used for adults (males and females) and also for young individuals. This site and its stratigraphy were preserved by the alluvial deposits from the nearby Aterno river, which also caused a continuous overlapping of recent tumulus and fossa graves at the oldest levels. A great example of this feature is the big tumulus Tomb 300 (about 18–19 m wide), which was built during the Iron Age for a male burial, and was then re-occupied by at least 63 burials (fossa graves) until the first century BC; at that point, the earliest burial was destroyed to build a chamber tomb (d'Ercole 2014b, 37). In Fossa, tumulus graves were progressively substituted by the use of fossa graves, which became prevalent in the sixth century. From the excavations it seems to be conceivable that at Fossa there was an attempt to mark the burials of leading figures and their relatives. During the Iron Age, for instance, some tumuli for eminent male burials were also characterized by alignments of huge stones, oriented west (Cosentino, d'Ercole and Mieli 2003, 193–194; Weidig 2014, 3).

These kinds of funerary structures are quite well known in other sites of the inner Cismontane area from the end of the eighth through seventh centuries, as in Bazzano, Capestrano, Peltuinum, Navelli, etc. But post-depositional events, different from those noticed for Fossa (intense agricultural exploitations, building works), often caused their partial or complete destruction. Frequently, tumulus graves can be recognized by only a few remains of stone circles, as in the case of Tomb 690 in Bazzano (Weidig 2014, 32–33). They can also be revealed by circular empty spaces left by neighbouring tombs later built around an earlier single grave (as in the case of

Piano at Navelli), or by the circular organization of single groups of tombs, as in the necropolis of Fontanelle at Capestrano (Acconcia 2015a). In some other “extreme” situations, the earliest central grave was completely destroyed, and the original presence of a tumulus could be hypothesized only by later graves, distributed around a wide circular space: this is the case of the 2007 excavations at Capo d’Acqua in Capestrano, where a certain number of Hellenistic chamber tombs delimited a wide circular area (d’Ercole and Cella 2007), although in this case a later ritual reason can also be hypothesized.

Remains of these kinds of burial structures are much less known in the Transmontane district, for instance in the necropolis of Torre de’ Passeri (PE), where five fossa graves (dating to the end of the seventh through sixth centuries) have been excavated around an earlier tumulus (d’Ercole and Martellone 2003, 68–69). Moreover, most of the cemeteries known in this area seem to be ascribable to a later period, not before the sixth century, when the tumulus type is progressively abandoned in other parts of the middle-Adriatic area with the exceptions of Campovalano at Campi (TE) or some Picene necropoleis. The only early example in the Transmontane area (at the moment) has been found in Contrada Cardito-Farina at Loreto Aprutino, with 19 fossa graves, dating to the late seventh/early sixth centuries (Staffa 1998, 18–19). The rest of the tombs found in the nearby areas of Casone-Colle Fiorano (25 units), Cappuccini (6 units), Corolongo (6 units), Fiorano Basso, Paterno (44 units), Villa Scannella (3 units) mostly belong to the period from the late sixth/fifth century until the second century (Leopardi 1954; Staffa 1998, 18–22, 26–27; 2003a, 567–584; 2003b, 84–85; 2010a, 48–49, 59–62). The same chronological extension is revealed by other Transmontane funerary areas, such as at Pescara-Campo Sportivo (11 units), or at Penne (PE), in the Arce Conaprato necropolis, or at Civitella Casanova (12 graves from Archaic to Hellenistic periods) and Nocciano-Fonte Schiavo (24 graves: Staffa 2001; 2003a, 558–564, 579–582; 2010a, 47, 51, 62, 75; 2010b, 21).

Furthermore, as already mentioned, tumulus graves become the core of the funerary framework’s development, being surrounded by later tombs, frequently organized in regular patterns. This feature is particularly evident in Bazzano (Fig. 8): from the late seventh century fossa pits occupied rectangular-shaped areas around the earliest small tumuli. These “rectangles” were also marked by trenches in natural bedrock (d’Ercole and Martellone 2008, 148; Weidig 2014, 29, 713). A regular pattern for grave-distribution has been recognized also in the necropoleis of Cinturelli at Caporciano, Colli Bianchi at San Pio delle Camere and Varranone at Poggio Pienze (d’Ercole and Martellone 2007, 25–31; 2008, 148; d’Ercole 2014a, fig. 1): here, the fossa tombs seem to be aligned in regular rows until the Hellenistic period, with some circular inner spaces probably marking the original presence of earlier tumuli, as mentioned above. An intentional pattern of development has been noticed also in Navelli-il Piano, where a relevant number of fossa graves were distributed in circular shapes around the eldest tumuli, from the end of the seventh to the fifth centuries (Fig. 9; Acconcia 2015a). In the later Hellenistic period, the funerary pattern of the chamber tomb was adopted in most parts of the inner region, as shown by the dif-

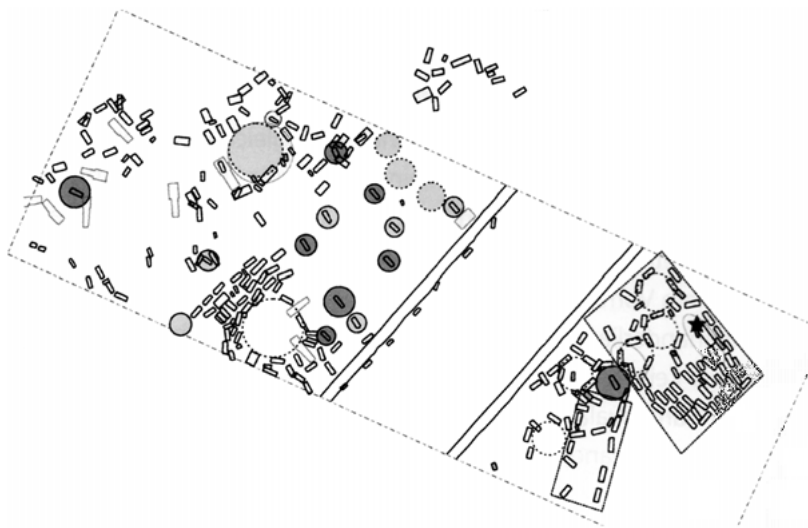


Fig. 8. Bazzano. Plan of the excavation of the necropolis (by V. Acconcia).

fusion of the so-called *grotticella* tomb (completely excavated in the natural soil) known in Paelignan areas, and the constructed chamber tomb (Benelli and Rizzitelli 2010).

Concerning funerary rituals, both the Cismontane and Transmontane areas are characterized by common features, spread all over the whole ancient Abruzzo region and partially in the Molise and inner Campanian districts. From the Late Bronze Age, supine inhumation is the only burial rite known for this area: only during the Imperial period is cremation also attested (d'Ercole, Menozzi, Fossataro and Torello di Nino 2011). Burial rites were due both to men and women, as well as to infants and youths. A recent evaluation of the total number of men and women burials in the necropolis of Fossa, compared to those of Campovalano, Bazzano, Alfedena and Corvaro di Borgorose, suggests a prevailing presence of male individuals with a reduction of females, perhaps due to the “militaristic” attitude of local communities (see further Acconcia 2014a, 33, 91, 171–172; Weidig 2014, 111; Naso 2014, 22).

Anthropological analysis, carried out for the necropolis of Alfedena, has shown that buried female individuals were prevalently old-aged, and that at Bazzano young male burials were included in groups of fossa graves, which were composed primarily of warrior tombs (Weidig 2014, 720–725). This could reasonably be characterized as a feature of the central Italic area (including the middle-Adriatic, and also Sabinium, Umbria, inner Campania and Basilicata), which emphasized male warrior identity (mostly for adults, but also youths). Almost all the male burials known in the whole Vestinian region were provided with weapons: short swords/daggers from the eighth to the first half of the sixth centuries, used by infantry, and long swords from the middle of the sixth to fifth centuries, used in cavalry combat, similar to that shown with the Capecstrano Warrior (Weidig 2008; d'Ercole 2010). Male burials were

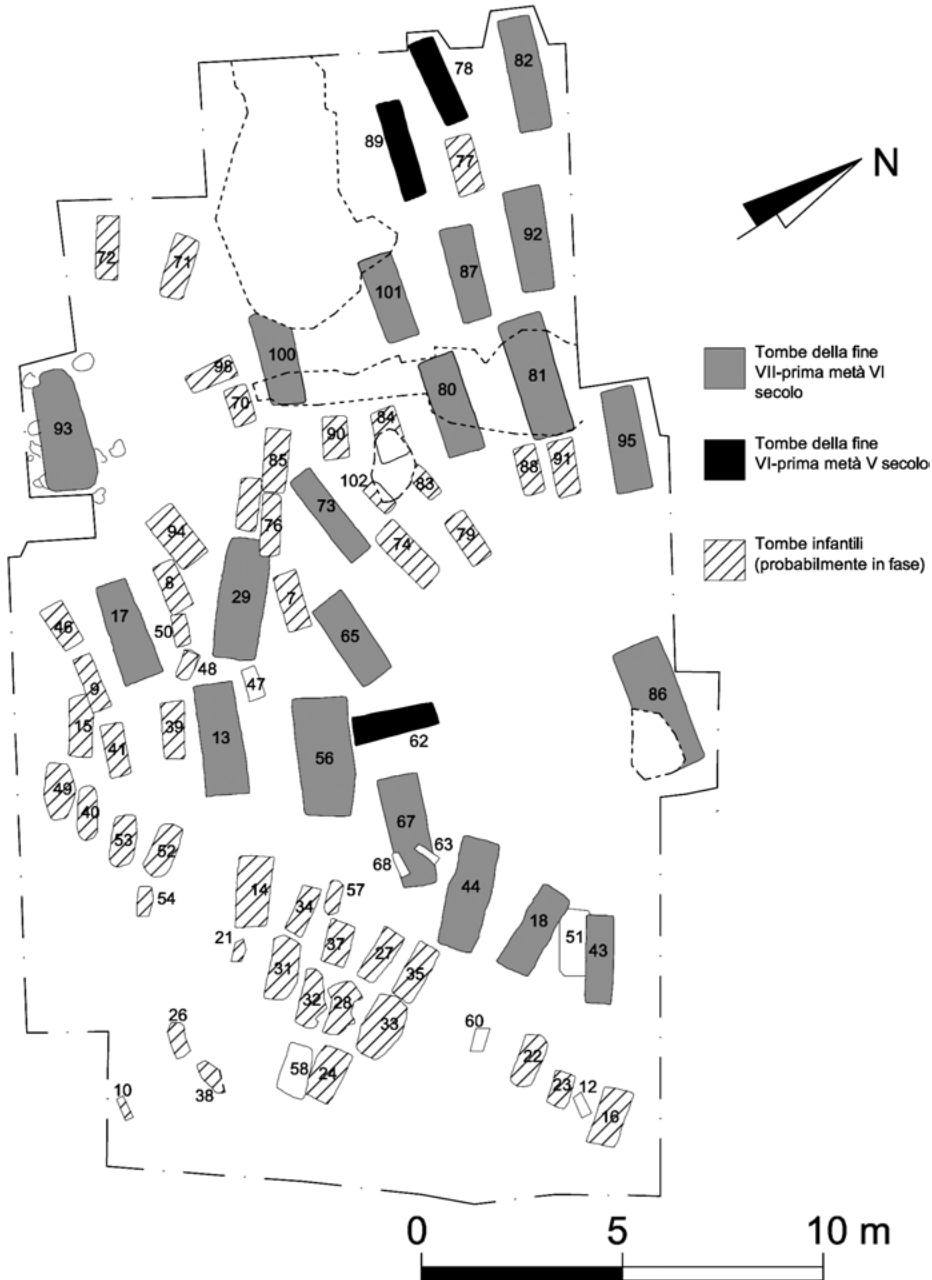


Fig. 9. Navelli. Necropoli at "Il Piano" (by V. Acconcia).

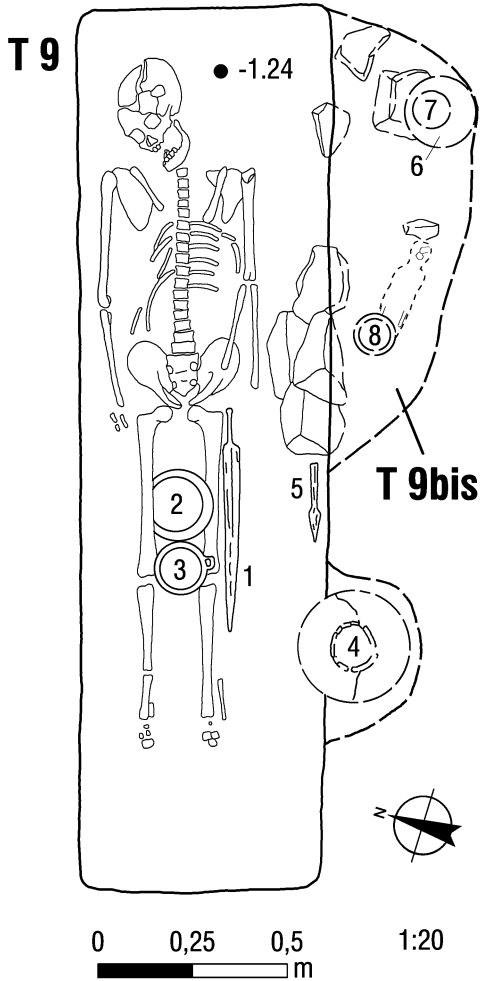
also provided with one or two spears. Defensive elements of the equipment were much rarer: a helmet (composed of bronze plaques fixed on a base of now lost organic material) is known in Tomb 361 in Fossa, and two bronze breastplates were found

in Tomb 118 in the same necropolis. In the Hellenistic period, weapons disappeared from male grave-furnishings and spears were attested only in a few graves, especially concentrated in the Capestrano area, where in addition a *La Tène* type sword has been found in Tomb 9 of the Fontanelle necropolis (unpublished; Fig. 10). Typical adult male tools are razors (prevalently made of iron) and, more rarely, mace heads.

Female funerary equipment included a number of body ornaments, such as *fibulae* (also found in male graves), bracelets, necklaces made in amber or glass paste pendants, rings, and *chatelaine* pendants (as in Loreto Aprutino). Drilled ornamental iron plaques were found only in Tombs 365, 135 and 190 in Fossa, as an imitation of artifacts produced in bronze primarily in the Fucine area. Spindle whorls and loom weights are rarely known in comparison to Tyrrhenian areas. For instance, single spindle whorls have been found in a scarcely significant percentage of Fossa female graves (Acconcia 2014a, 37). On the other hand, a number of textiles tools were found in Tombs 9 and 10 of Loreto Aprutino and Cardito-Farina, probably signifying an emerging role for the deceased women (Staffa 1998, 18–19). Infants and young individuals (without any gender characterization) were provided with a number of ornaments, increasing in number with the age of the person at death.

Concerning the terracotta vessels in the funerary equipment, adult graves are characterized by a coarseware jar, deposited at the bottom of the fossa grave, and covered by a large number of stones, known by modern parlance as *ripostiglio*; from the seventh century, they are regularly accompanied by a small one-handled vessel used to draw liquid contents from the jar. This liquid has always been interpreted as wine. According to recent analysis on jars from Bazzano, Capestrano and Cinturelli, however, the presence of an alcoholic beverage obtained from the fermentation of fruits mixed with resin has been found, at least for these sites (Weidig 2014, 47–51). The *ripostigli* could be interpreted as ritual offerings dedicated by the deceased's relatives and closed with stones to preserve them. They recur in almost all the adult graves, and also in some young burials, with the substitution of the jar with a small amphora or jug. This local use of alcoholic beverages that are not wine is different from the typical Tyrrhenian “banquet” practice (Acconcia 2014a, 20). During the Hellenistic period the *ripostigli* change their original position: the jars, without shapes for drawing liquids, were usually located inside an irregular niche carved on one of the long sides of the grave (Ferrerri in Acconcia 2014a, 270).

A local ritual practice can also be hypothesized for the recurring deposition of single open-shaped vessels (such as bowls, cups, plates, chalices and, in bronze, basins) on the feet or on the legs of the deceased. They contained the remains of solid or semi-liquid foodstuffs (parts of small animals, cereal mashes). Although it has been suggested that there is a connection with this practice and the Etruscan use of pottery of the same shapes, which are related to wine drinking, they should perhaps be interpreted as elements of a local practice of food offerings. In the Transmontane area, the single open-shaped vessels could be accompanied by others. This feature seems to be extremely rare in the Cismontane region, and connected to exceptional burials, whose funerary equipment probably alluded to the Etruscan



Tomba 9

1. spada in ferro con
fodero in ferro e legno
2. piattello a vernice nera
3. coppetta a vernice nera
4. olla in impasto
5. punta di lancia in ferro

Tomba 9bis

6. olla in impasto
7. anforetta in impasto
8. coppetta a vernice nera

Fig. 10. Fontanelle necropolis: plan of Tomb 9 (by V. Acconcia).

practice of drinking wine and eating boiled and roasted meat as a status symbol. In addition, the deposition of iron spits seems to allude to symposiastic practice, and must be interpreted as a symbolic allusion to the roasting of meat: in the Cismontane

area they are found in both male and female graves, but in the Transmontane district, they seem to be reserved for men only (Acconcia 2014a, 208–211).

Imported artifacts, especially in bronze, are not so widespread in Vestinian graves as they are in Picene contexts, suggesting the intent of a local self-representation, a reluctance to adopt foreign ideological influences, and/or a preference for local bronze and metalwork productions. For instance, only the male Tomb 551 at Fossa (dated to the Late Iron Age) contained an imported bronze one-handed bowl and a bronze jug which in southern Etruria is characteristic of emerging warrior-chiefs. They were deposited together with other bronze vessels (a basin and another bowl), two razors, two knives similar to a typical Tyrrhenian shape, and two iron *fibulae* (Acconcia 2014a, 56). Bronze vessels of the seventh and sixth century BC (cauldrons, *olpai*, *oinochoai*, *kantharoi*) are relatively rare, with a few examples at Bazzano (for instance, Tombs 890, 1238, 1566), Caestrano (2003–2007 excavations, d'Ercole and Cella 2007), Cinturelli (Tomb 310; Martellone 2013), Loreto Aprutino (Tomb 2, Casone-Colle Fiorano), and Pescara (Tomb 3, Campo Sportivo; Staffa 2003a, 558–564).

Imported pottery or other goods seem to show a different picture for the Transmontane and the Cismontane territories, with few imported Etrusco-Corinthian vessels for the latter, and, for the Transmontane area, a larger number of Greek black-glaze and figurative pottery, such as at Spoltore, as well as a larger number of glass paste pendants, as at Montebello di Bertona (Tagliamonte 1987; d'Ercole and Menozzi 2007; new finds from Spoltore have been presented recently by Staffa and Cherstich but are still unpublished). During the Hellenistic period the single open vessel was sometimes substituted by a black-glaze pot, and in addition by a number of vessels of various shapes, with iron scissors and strigils, pottery lamps, *kreagra*, bronze mirrors, and other personal care items.

In conclusion, from a funerary point of view, the inner and coastal areas seem to be connected by recurring features, although the former is better known because of the amount of survey and excavation data available. From the Iron Age to late Archaic period, burial rites seem to be characterized by a strictness in the exhibition of gender, age and also status, limiting the amount of vessels, ornaments and weapons. These items perhaps reveal the intention to preserve local funerary ideology from foreign (mainly Etruscan) influences. This tendency is rarely disregarded, usually only by the adoption of artifacts used in symposiastic practice, and these are deposited only in the graves of emerging individuals. After the beginning of the Romanization process, local communities seem to abandon traditional funerary patterns: first of all with the self-representation of adult males as warriors, probably in coincidence with the adoption of a “neutral” policy towards Rome. Local communities and especially the elites developed new funerary habits and luxury items (such as carved bone beds: see Fig. 11; cf. Martellone 2010) and, at the end of Hellenistic period abandoned previous customs, homogenizing their funerary customs to the rest of Roman Italy, although maintaining inhumation prevalent on cremation.

III Conclusions (Oliva Menozzi)

The Vestini, as mentioned above, had quite early contacts with Rome (Livy 9.45.18 and 10.3.1; Plin., *HN* 3.107), especially the Cismontane Vestini, because of the need of Rome to use their wide river valley systems and mountainous passes as natural road networks (Aromatario 1985, 1992; Acconcia 2015b), which were then “monumentalised” and regularized, becoming proper *viae publicae romanae*, the Via Claudia Valeria and the Via Claudia Nova (Gardner 1913, 1920; Orsatti 1992; La Torre 1984; Fossataro 2008). Differences between Cismontane and Transmontane territories also required a different approach to the “Romanization” of the two areas. In fact, the Cismontane Vestini were annexed to Roman territory in the beginning of the third century, and the Transmontane Vestini only as a consequence of the Social War.

The first step in the “Latinization” of the alphabet occurred earlier as attested by the inscription dating to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries BC, using still an Osco-Umbrian dialect, but employing Latin letters. A series of coins issued with the ethnic *VES-* are also dated to the third century BC, attesting both to the role of the Vestini during the Second Punic War (see above), as well as to the strong sense of ethnic ties, with attendant territorial implications, which probably date to the period before the establishment of Roman *prefecturae*. The third century also saw the abandonment of some of the early hillforts, especially the temporarily used refuge-places, though these were sometimes then reemployed during the Social War. The main Ocrei (hillforts/fortified hilltop centres) became the principal settlements in a hierarchic organization of the territory, determining also the widening of the site and the construction of new quarters just below the earlier settlement.

In this period new typologies of burials were introduced, often with rich equipment including pottery imported from Campanian areas together with local imitations. Hypogeum and semi-hypogeum chamber tombs were built, often with short and narrow descending *dromoi*, moreover, also less regularised “grotticelle” tombs, which were totally below ground. They represent different architectonic solutions, not only due to the geological context – because both types have been used in combination in some necropolis, such as at Capestrano – but probably also because of cultural choices.

Between the third and second centuries BC rural sanctuaries were monumentalised and became important market points along the natural road network. With the second and the beginning of the first century BC the territorial organization saw important changes, mainly due to the increased importance of some of the *prefecturae*, as well as because of the regularization of the road-network. The main centres, at this point, seem to have based their political and economic influence on a network of minor settlements, which were mainly dedicated to the exploitation of the local resources (D’Alessandro 2014; Mancini and Menozzi, forthcoming). It was then natural after the Social War, that the main settlements became *municipia* (Campanelli 1995; (Mancini and Menozzi, forthcoming). Some earlier settlements did not get this status



Fig. 11. Funerary bed in bone with catachthonian Dionysian decorations from Fossa (photo by Vincenzo d'Ercole).

because other close sites became more important for specific reasons (Mancini and Menozzi forthcoming), such as, for instance, Peltuinum which became the main centre (Campanelli 1996; Clementi 2007) in spite of Aulinum (Capestrano), or probably also Angulum, which inherited a hegemonic role although the Loreto was close by. In both cases it was the role of *prefectura* and/or the closeness with important Roman roads to have determined the change of the hegemonic role within the territory.

In this period, the “grotticelle” tombs (Maurizio 1995) became rarer, while chamber tombs were not only rock-cut, but also built as free-standing monuments (Menozzi, Fossataro, Torello Di Nino and d'Ercole 2014); moreover, more often within the funerary equipment there was a decorated funerary bed or *kline* (see Fig. 11), locally produced, with examples also of export outside the mid-Adriatic context (Bianchi 2010). With the first century BC also the practice of cremation is attested (Martella 1998–2000), although inhumation continued to be prevalent. Cremation burials were also, mostly concentrated along the main road network, as for instance at Capestrano in the Vestinian territory (Menozzi, Fossataro, Torello Di Nino and d'Ercole 2014), as well as at Amiternum and Corfinium (Martella 1998–2000); this is probably because these areas were more influenced by Roman funerary practices.

With the Augustan organization new public buildings were planned for the main centres of the Regio IV. These were often finished by the end of the Julio-Claudian period, transforming not only the physical character of Vestine centres, but also re-monumentalising the rural sanctuaries and reorganising the older road-network.

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Gary D. Farney and Giulia Masci

The Sabines

I Geography and introduction to the Sabines

The Sabina (ancient Sabinum) divides naturally into two distinct areas along the Monti Sabini, a spur of the Apennines (Fig. 1). The area east of the mountains, located in the Rieti valley, but including territory further into the mountains to the east and north, is sometimes referred to as “highland Sabina.” Highland Sabina was linked to Rome by the ancient track, the Via Salaria, which had originated in the Reatine valley (but later extended further into the hinterland). In contrast, the region west of the Monti Sabini, which extends to the Tiber River, is often called the “lowland Sabina” or the “Sabina Tiberina,” and ready access to this region might be had along the river and by the Via Salaria for its southernmost portions. The Anio River is sometimes seen as the southern boundary between Latin and Sabine territory (e.g. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.374). Accordingly, the Augustan geographer Strabo (5.3.1) says the land of the Sabines stretched from the town of Nomentum (just north of the Anio) to Vestinum. The Sabines were surrounded by Latium, Picenum, Umbria and the Apennines, according to Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.109). Ancient Sabine territory covers parts of what are today the modern Italian regions of Lazio, Abruzzo and Umbria.

Six Sabine settlements that could be considered large – Cures, Eretum and Trebula Mutuesca in the Tiber valley, and Reate, Amiternum and Nursia in the Apennines – can be traced to the pre-Roman conquest period. Strabo (5.3.1), however, believed that of these only Reate and Amiternum could properly be called cities in his day. The Reatine plain itself was enlarged when the marshy Lacus Velinus, north of the city of Reate itself, was drained and turned into farmland in the Roman period (third century BCE). A permanent path for drainage of the valley was made to the northwest, cutting through the mountains and creating the Marmore Falls, the “Cascata delle Marmore” to the Nera River near Umbrian Interamna Nahars (mod. Terni).

Nevertheless, the ancient Sabine people were believed to have been distributed throughout a wide swath of central Italy, not just in the area defined as the Sabina. Our literary tradition suggests that people of Sabine origin lived in much of what we would consider northern and western Latium today: Nomentum, Gabii, Tibur, Tusculum and, of course, Rome, all had traditions of a Sabine population in their early settlements (Farney 2007, 109–110). Moreover, people much further to the east and

Gary D. Farney: Rutgers University (Newark), Department of History, Conklin Hall, Newark, New Jersey 07102 U. S. A.; Email: gfarney@rutgers.edu

Giulia Masci: Project and Programme Management Support, CPO – EG202, Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road, London SW7 5BD U. K.; Email: giul.masci@gmail.com

south claimed an ancestral connection to the Sabines: some of their towns claimed Sabine foundations, some groups boasted of Sabine ancestry, and some even adopted the name Sabelli, “Little Sabines,” for themselves (see below for more on this term).

The economy of the ancient Sabines was based on agriculture and animal husbandry, and the Sabines were particularly famous for the latter in the Roman period. The Tiber, navigable upriver to Otricoli in Umbria, or just north of there at the Nera River, provided easy transport downriver to Rome from the Sabina Tiberina (see Verga 2002 for roads passing through here in the pre-Roman and Roman periods, as well as evidence for docks along the Tiber). The Via Salaria provided a means to drive animals from Highland Sabina to markets at Rome and the lower Tiber. Thanks to these two routes, the Sabines of the Archaic period reached levels of wealth, administrative organization and government comparable to those structures at Rome, and later these two byways also seem to have provided the key to Roman exploitation of the region.

II History of scholarship on the Sabina and overview of modern archaeological projects

Interest in the Sabina and its archaeology first arose in the Renaissance, when scholars supposed they could match mentions of Sabine places from literary texts of Greek and Roman authors with visible archaeological remains (Sternini 2004, 5–21). Their interest in finding famous sites, such as villas belonging to Cicero, Sulla or Horace, often led them to falsify the evidence and create hypothetical reconstructions that tainted these studies for centuries. Among these Flavius Blondus is worthy of mention, in particular his *De Italia illustrata* (1474). Following him, Pirro Ligorio, Philipp Clüver (Cluverius), Lucas Holste (Holstenius) and Athanasius Kircher (in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries) helped to settle scholarly disputes about the topography of the ancient Sabina. In the nineteenth century excavations began in the Sabina and studies were initiated with a more scientific approach; but it is indeed only in the twentieth century that clear evidence of pre-Roman Sabine culture came to light.

The best known pre-Roman Sabine sites are all in the Sabina Tiberina – at Cures, Colle del Forno, Poggio Sommavilla and Magliano Sabina – but more work is being done in the Highlands. In the last decades, some early Roman villas and other sites in the area have also been excavated and studied, and various projects launched to understand the Sabine countryside. Notably, the Tiber Valley Project (Patterson and Millett 1998; Patterson, et al. 2000; Di Giuseppe, et al. 2002) and the Rieti Survey (Coccia and Mattingly 1992 and 1995), both led by the British School at Rome, had the goal of analyzing settlement in these regions from prehistory to the Middle Ages. The Roman town of Forum Novum in the Sabina Tiberina (3 km east of



Fig. 1. Map of Ancient Sabine Sites.

mod. Collevectchio), perhaps only founded in the second century, has also been partially excavated by the British School at Rome and the British Museum as part of the Tiber Valley Project (Gaffney, Patterson and Roberts 2001, 2004 and 2006; Verga 2006; see also below). The Roman villa at Cottanello in the Sabina Tiberina, apparently owned by the Sabine-Roman *gens Aurelia* (with material from the second century BCE, and possibly even the third), has been known since the 1960s and continues to be excavated, now by the Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (Sternini 2000; Pensabene and Gasparini 2011; Sfameni, et al. 2014 for the most recent work at the villa and on the quarry of Cottanello pink marble nearby). The Galantina Project, begun in 2000 by the British School at Rome together with several Italian cultural institutions in cooperation via the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, announced a topographic survey aimed at filling the gap of knowledge of Sabine archaeology in a “middle” portion of the Sabina Tiberina (so far, see Gabrielli, Guidi and Santoro 2003; Candelato, Guidi and Santoro 2004; Agneni, et al. 2005; Guidi, Santoro and Rioda 2008). Finally, the Upper Sabina Tiberina Project was started in 2011 under the aegis of Rutgers University with the purpose of exploring a selected group of Roman villas in the northern Sabina Tiberina, attempting to place them and other man-made features into the landscape as it evolved from the pre-Roman to Roman periods; this has included excavation of the Roman “Villa d’Ora-

zio” at Vacone (evidently dating from the second century BCE to the late second century CE) (Bloy, et al. 2014 and 2016).

III Archaeological evidence for the Sabines

Substantial differences exist between the settlements in the Tiber Valley and those of Highland Sabina (Alvino 2009; see also Benelli in the present volume). The main sites mentioned by the ancient literary sources for the early Sabina Tiberina are Cures (or Cures Sabini) and Eretum, together with a site called Regillum (or Inregillum). The original home of the Roman patrician Claudii, according to literary sources, Regillum has not been linked to an existing archaeological site (see Masci 2010 for discussion of other unidentified sites noted in the literary sources). An extended necropolis, however, has been discovered in a place called Colle del Forno that is likely to be connected to the ancient town of Eretum, and the city of Cures has been securely identified and studies of it continue (see Masci 2009 for a survey of sites in the Sabina Tiberina with the literary sources, and Verga 2006 for just those in the Upper Sabina Tiberina around Forum Novum).

Traces of occupation at **Cures** (near mod. Fara in Sabina) go back to the eighth century. But it is only in the seventh century that the site reached an extension of 30 ha, comparable to that of contemporary Latin settlements. During the Archaic period it was a flourishing city that progressively lost its importance and was reduced to a village by the Augustan age (Muzzioli 1980; see also Cavalieri, et al. 2015, with recent bibliography). Archaeological investigations have brought to light defensive structures, houses, productive areas and warehouses. The defensive structures were formed by moats and ramparts, surrounding a hill with two main spurs: the necropolis occupied the western summit, the citadel (*arx*) the eastern, and the city in the space between. Residential buildings have a circular or rectangular shape, some with annexes. The houses of the seventh century are often huts with postholes and timber to support the roof, or they are short rock walls topped by beams or wooden walls covered with plaster. In the sixth century the architecture of residential buildings shows change: e.g. one house with a colonnade and several buildings with tile roofing and more than one room inside. As far as the productive areas are concerned, excavations brought to light a brickyard for pottery, a vat for the settling of clay, scraps of bones and horns from production of various materials, as well as traces of olive and vine cultivation. Study of the site, targeting the Roman areas of Cures, was resumed in 2013 (Cavalieri, et al. 2015).

Eretum (mod. Montelibretti), frequently mentioned in clashes between Roman and Sabine troops in Livy’s and Dionysius’ narratives, was near Cures on the western slopes of the Monti Sabini. It was on the Via Salaria on the junction with the Via Nomentana, very close to the Tiber. The site of the town has not been excavated – indeed its precise location remains uncertain – but a few remains have been found through survey (Quilici Gigli and Santoro 1995). Nevertheless, the important necrop-

olis of Colle del Forno as been identified as belonging to Eretum and has been scientifically excavated for the past forty years (Benelli and Santoro 2011, with previous bibliography). First traces of use of the cemetery go back to the eighth century, but it was only in the sixth century that it reached a wide extension; some tombs were used through the fourth century. Red-figured vases of the Faliscans, who were just across the Tiber, were found in some of the tombs. Thirty-nine tombs have been excavated, of which thirty-eight were chamber tombs, and one was a simple pit grave. The tombs were dug in the tufa stone and could be reached through a *dromos* (entrance-way). Inside the rooms recesses were dug in the walls for burials or there were burials in the floor. The burial recesses were closed using tiles or wood; they were often reused. The grave goods gradually reduced in quality as time went on. Some of the tombs at Colle del Forno have produced good information about Sabine society. In two of them excavators found the remains of two chariots, rich grave goods and, in one of them, a terracotta “throne.” In two other tombs two apparent iron *litui*, augural staffs, were found, the most ancient known from archaeological excavations. The monumentality of these two tombs obviously show the high social position of the “augurs” buried within.

Noted in our literary sources as a town of some consequence in the Roman Sabina, polygonal walls (unexcavated) found around **Trebula Mutuesca** (mod. Monteleone Sabino) suggest the site was an important pre-Roman site as well (Alvino 1995; Alvino and Leggio 1997, 21–22, 81–82). Nearby (at mod. Pantano) there was a sanctuary, possibly of the goddess Feronia, founded between 265 and 240 BCE (Alvino 2000, 2003; Vallarino 2009). Cures, Eretum and Trebula were all within 15 km of each other, and Eretum may have been subsumed within Trebula after the Roman conquest.

Several other cemeteries (seventh through third centuries) are known in the Upper Sabina Tiberina. These are less well understood than Colle del Forno because of damage done to them in explorations of the 1800s. Of these, **Poggio Sommavilla** (in the territory of mod. Collevectchio) is the best known, but other cemeteries have been found near **Magliano Sabino** just to the north (mod. Colle del Giglio and Foglia: Alvino and Leggio 1997, 18–21, 61–77, with previous bibliography). The tombs were typically simple chambers cut out of the tufa bedrock, the larger ones with a long *dromos* leading to the burial chamber, which sometimes have loculi for the laying out of corpses and with tiles covering the bodies, as at Colle del Forno. At Poggio Sommavilla, Tomb 14 had the interior sculpted to look like the interior of a home (very similar to the Etruscan style, especially reminiscent of those at Caere). Forty-eight burials have been identified at Poggio Sommavilla in total. Typical grave goods were present, mainly pottery, including Hellenizing Faliscan and Etruscan pots (emulating Greek painting and shapes), but also a number of bronze implements and vessels. These cemeteries in the Upper Sabina Tiberina are not certainly linked to any of the sites known from our literary sources. But settlement sites of the same age as the cemeteries have been identified by field survey; notably, these are on the heights overlooking the Tiber between Magliano Sabino and Poggio Som-

mavilla, continuing a habit known from other local Iron Age settlements (Verga 2002; see Benelli in the present volume for more discussion of Poggia Sommavilla and Magliano Sabina).

As far as Highland Sabina is concerned, in addition to the Rieti Survey noted above, more recent excavations have brought to light Iron Age and Archaic cemeteries in or near the valley of ancient Reate. These burials contained goods imported from neighboring peoples and the Greek world – e.g. at **Campo Reatino**, with burials from the early Iron Age to the sixth century CE (Virili 2014). There are also burials at **Amatrice** from the sixth and fifth centuries BCE (Alvino 2014, 48), as well as other possible Sabine sites in the Apennines outside of the Reatine plain (e.g. San Martino a Torano: Colantoni, et al. 2009; others noted by Alvino 2014, 44 ff.; more work is currently underway in the center of Amatrice in the wake of the devastating earthquakes of 2016). Various short studies have dealt with other features of the plain, e.g. the courses of the Via Curia and Via Salaria, the evidence of centuriation, Lake Velinus, and other traces of proto-historical activity (articles in De Santis 2009, 17 ff.).

Reate itself was home of the Roman polymath Varro and his family, the Terentii Varrones. The Flavian emperors (the Flavii Sabini) were also from a small, nearby town named Falacrinae (mod. Collicelle: Coarelli, Kay and Patterson 2008). Ancient Reate is situated directly underneath modern Rieti, and so has received little systematic work and attention, i.e. only where modern work and repairs to roads and buildings have permitted it. In one of these rescue excavations, however, pottery was found from the end of the eighth century, confirming Reate's early habitation (Alvino and Lezzi 2013, 2014). With the Roman conquest (third century) a flurry of building has been detected, including city-walls and a bridge over the Velinus River. Otherwise, the features of a Roman city dominate our knowledge of Reate (forum, possible temple locations, amphitheater: Lezzi 2014). It should be noted that more work in the center of modern Reate is underway (summer 2015).

Amiternum, home of the historian Sallust, was considered to be one of the principal cities of the Sabines. It is near modern L'Aquila, and indeed Amiternum seems to have been abandoned for L'Aquila in the Middle Ages. Mostly only Roman material has been discovered at the site (at mod. San Vittorino), which has been known since the nineteenth century. But geophysical survey and excavations conducted by the University of Cologne from 2006 to 2012 have revealed more of the Roman town, and an Iron Age tomb (Heizelmann, et al. 2011 with earlier bibliography; reports on work since can be found at <http://archaeologie.uni-koeln.de/node/425>, including information about the tomb).

Nursia (mod. Norcia) in the Nera River Valley (the mod. Valnerina) is only mentioned for the first time in our literary sources in 205 BCE (Livy 28.45.19). But the leveling of modern buildings for construction just outside Norcia in 2006 revealed a huge necropolis (at Colle dell'Annunziata), covering an area of well over one square kilometer with more than 500 burials. Some belong to the Archaic period (end of the eighth century), with iron weapons and vessels in bucchero, bucchero-like impasto, or bronze. But most of the burials date to between the fourth century BCE and the

early first CE (and they continue to the third CE). The male burials of the fourth century contained weapons and red-figure Greek vases, and many infant ones had miniature weapons and terracotta figurines (Costamagna, et al. 2011 with earlier bibliography). Moreover, in the 1920s, a temple with a forum in front was excavated in the territory of Nursia (at mod. Cascia, under the church of Villa San Silvestro) with features similar to temples found in Latium in the same period, i.e. the late fourth and early third centuries (Diosono 2009, noting recent work there). Coarelli (2009) believes that this offers some proof for the existence of Roman colonists settled in the Sabina at the time of the conquest, perhaps as part of land redistribution activities (see below). The town suffered badly from siding with Lucius Antonius against Octavian during the Perusine War in 41 BCE: Cassius Dio (48.13.6) claims that they suffered an enormous fine, and so many residents had to abandon the city and the territory. The rebel Sertorius and the emperor Vespasian's mother, Vespasia Polla, were natives of Nursia.

IV Sabine language and inscriptions

The Sabine language seems to have been similar to others of central and southern Italy, but what we know about it (if there was in fact only one language) is rather limited. There are only eleven extant inscriptions that might be classified as "Sabine" in alphabet or language, all dating between seventh and fourth centuries, and the longest is of less than twenty words (Crawford 2011, 9–10, Caere 1, Satricum 1, Sabini 1–2, Forum Novum 1–3, Cures 1–2 with bibliography; see also Rix 2002, and Zair and Benelli in the present volume). To this corpus Varro and other ancient scholars identify some Latin words or names as Sabine in origin (e.g. Varro, *Ling.* 7.2: *cascus*, "old" in Latin, is a Sabine word; these are collected in Conway 1897, 351–363, and for more on these, see Negri 1992 and 1996). But other than these "glosses," many of which are dubious, the language seems to have been lost by the late Republic. Only a rustic-sounding dialect remained, that (for example) pronounced Latin *au* as *o* (Suet. *Vesp.* 22: the emperor Vespasian spoke this way; see Farney 2007, 88–89 for more examples).

The Sabine alphabet (or rather alphabets) derived from those used by western Greeks and the Etruscans. Some of the epigraphic samples have been found in what we understand to be Sabine territory but others a bit further afield (e.g. *Imagines* Sabini 1, found at Chiusi). Translations and interpretations of the contents of these inscriptions vary considerably. Thus, it is hard to gain any certain insight into Sabine culture from them. The longest and arguably most important Sabine inscription discovered so far was found near Cures in the bed of the Farfa River in 1982 (Morandi 1983). It is now displayed in the Archaeological Museum of Fara in Sabina (*Imagines* Cures 1–2). It is usually dated to the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the fifth based on writing style. It appears on a *cippus* with three sides inscribed, perhaps from different individuals and at different times, with a partial reuse of

the stone. In what seems to be the later “reuse” time-period of the inscription, the word *toutaih* appears, which may be the same as the politically important Oscan word *touta*, “the people.” If so, this might imply a system of government or tribal organization among the Sabines like those of Oscan-speaking peoples in other parts of the Apennines. The alphabet and the languages of both periods of the inscription (and of other Sabine inscriptions) seem to be akin to those of Penna – Sant’Andrea, in the territory of Picentes. Hence the language of the Sabines is sometimes called “South Picene” in modern linguistic contexts. “Sabellian” or “Sabellic” is also often used for these languages and others of the Apennines (e.g. Oscan).

V Literary sources for the Sabines and Sabine-Roman history

Accounts of the early Sabines appear in the fragments of our earliest Roman writings – the histories of Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, and the *Origines* of Cato the Elder, all from the late third century and early second century BCE. But most of our narrative information comes from writings of the first century BCE or later. Because of this, one can only reconstruct the events of (say) the eighth century (the putative time of Kings Tatius and Numa) with little confidence. (The *Fontes Antiqui Sabinorum* project, recently begun, proposes to collect all literary sources of the Sabines, with plans for digital access: Tassi Scandone 2014).

Nevertheless, it was accepted by the Romans that the early Roman state was an amalgam of both Latins and Sabines (Farney 2007, 78 ff.). Most importantly, this tradition claimed that the Sabine king, Titus Tatius, after the Rape of the Sabine Women and a battle with the Romans in the Roman Forum, jointly ruled the original Roman state with Romulus. The raped Sabine women then became legitimate Roman *matronae*, and so half of early Rome was regarded in this way to be Sabine. Some sources even claim that Tatius created anywhere from three (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.46.3, but see 2.47) to one hundred senators from his Sabine warriors (Plut. *Rom.* 20.1: to match Romulus’ one hundred, cf. Cic. *Rep.* 2.14, 35). This tradition further strengthened the Sabine links to Rome by giving prominence to the Sabine Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, who was credited with founding many Roman customs, especially religious ones. Both Tatius and Numa were believed to be from Cures, and the Romans imagined that it was from the name of this Sabine town that the epithet of the *populus Romanus*, the *Quirites*, came to them (Prosdicimi 1996; Spadoni 2009).

At least five patrician Roman families – the Claudii, Valerii, Aemilii, Marcii Reges and Pinarii – claimed Sabine descent via elaborate genealogical legends (Farney 2007, 79 ff.). These last three families traced their origins from Numa, as did the ancient plebeian families of the Marcii, Pomponii and Calpurnii. At least in later periods the patrician Claudii also widely advertised their Sabine origins; in the funerals of the Julio-Claudian emperors, actors even wore the *imagines* of great pre-Roman

Sabine ancestors of the Claudii. Hence the legends of their arrival with their retinue of 5,000 clients into Rome, and invitation into the Senate, recorded in many accounts of the early Republic (Livy 2.16.4–5, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.40.105, etc.). As a result of this “endorsement” of Sabine ethnic identity by its aristocracy, many Romans considered Sabine ancestry to be no less aristocratic than Latin (cf. Livy 4.4.7).

As for the mythical origins of the Sabines themselves, some Romans, like Cato the Elder, believed they were the descendants of the Greek Spartans, a group with the same reputation for toughness and austerity (Dench 1995, 86–87; 1998, 135–136; Farney 2007, 101–104). Family-legends among the Valerii and Claudii agree with this origin and name Spartan ancestors for themselves. Other writers, however, ascribed Sabine values to their Italian origin or their own native goodness: e.g. Varro (from Sabine Reate, one remembers) claimed that the god Quirinus married an Aborigine girl from Reate and that their son, Modius Fabidius, founded Cures, piously named after his father (Varro ap. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.48). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.14–15), citing Varro’s *Antiquities* as his source, mentions other Sabine cities founded by the Aborigines: Palatium, Tribula (= Trebula Mutuesca?), Suesbula, Suna, Mefula, Orvinium, Corsula, Maruvium, Batia, Tiora/Matiene, Lista and Cutilia (= Cutiliae?). Some of these we might be able to link to existing sites based on their names and the locations given in the text – most are identified in relation to their supposed distance from Reate – but some are completely unknown to us.

Many Roman gods were thought to have a Sabine origin, as is known to us again from Varro: among these were Diana, Feronia and Quirinus. Several deities are associated with the Sabines in literary sources, and some are found on Latin inscriptions from Roman Sabina, e.g. Feronia, Hercules Respiciens, Pater Reatinus, Pater Sabinus, Vacuna, Sancus (or Semo Sanco), the Novensides and Angitia (Alvino and Leggio 1997, 26–29; Farney 2007, 82–88; and see various short articles about individual Sabine cults and gods in De Santis 2009, 109 ff.). The Sabines were famous for their piety, and perhaps some had mystical pretensions, like their scion Numa (Farney 2007, 99–101, citing among other sources Varro ap. Fest. 464–465L who argued that the Sabines in fact got their name from the Greek σέβεσθαι, “to be holy”).

In the narratives of the early Republic, despite the tradition of a Sabine-Latin foundation, the (other?) Sabines are a recurring foe of Rome. For example, there is Appius Herdonius, the Sabine adventurer who briefly seized the Capitolium in 460 BCE (Livy 3.15–18; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.14–16). After 449, however, we hear no more about the Sabines as enemies; in fact, in 350, in a speech in Livy (7.24), a Roman consul says they have been turned into allies (*socii*). Following this our literary sources indicate that Rome conquered the Sabina in 290 through the agency of one of the consuls of the year, Manius Curius Dentatus. The *Periocha* of Livy says the Sabines “had rebelled” in 290 (*Per.* 11: *rebellaverant*; other sources for this event collected in *MRR* 1.183–184, and see especially Vell. Pat. 1.14.5–7, Flor. 1.10 and *De vir. ill.* 33.3). Nevertheless, the incorporation of the Sabina has always seemed to modern scholars to be part of a consolidation of power by Rome in central Italy

following the Samnite Wars and the Battle of Sentinum in 295 (see Bradley and Hall in this volume).

After Rome granted limited citizenship (*sine suffragio*) to the Sabines immediately after the conquest, full citizenship followed in 268 BCE (v. *infra*). Many existing Sabine towns became *praefecturae*, governed directly by prefects from Rome, until the time of Augustus (Humbert 1978, 240–243: Amiternum, Reate, Nursia and possibly Cures and Trebula Mutuesca). Only two new Roman sites, Forum Novum and Forum Decii (the latter site uncertain, but perhaps on the Via Salaria northeast of Reate), were ever established in the Sabina (Humbert 1978, 341); their names seem to indicate they were something of an afterthought (see Laurence 1999, 27–38, 190–192 for towns with the name “forum” in them). Sabine territory was divided into three Roman voting tribes: the Sergia for the Lower Sabina, the Clustumina for the Upper Sabina Tiberina, and the Quirina for the eastern highlands of the Sabina. In fact, the Quirina (perhaps named after the conqueror Curius Dentatus, if not perhaps for one of the other *Quir-*, *Cur-* words we find associated with the Sabines) was created in 241 specifically for the enrollment of Reate and the highlands. Furthermore, Polybius (2.24) seems to catalog at least some Sabines separately from the Roman legions – i.e. among *allied* forces at Rome’s disposal – in 225. This all suggests that Sabine land was, in fact, incorporated at different times, and that not all Sabines received citizenship at once, as the literary sources claim (Taylor 1960/2013, 60–65; see Coarelli 2009 for a reappraisal of the historical material in light of archaeological discoveries).

After a dispute about how confiscated Sabine land should be divided (and Dio Cass. 8.37.1 implies it was a very large amount), some land went to the Roman veterans of Curius Dentatus in a virgated distribution of seven iugera each, and some became a sort of *ager publicus* called *ager quaestorius*. This “quaestorial land” seems to have been sold by the quaestors in Rome in 50 iugera blocks, some tax might have been collected on it, and the terms of the sale may have indicated that it could not be resold. The size of the plots, those 50 iugera, likely sold at market rates, would make it so that only the rich could buy them (Di Giuseppe, et al. 2002, 114–118; Roselaar 2010, 39–45, 312–313). Moreover, perhaps during his censorship of 272 BCE, Curius Dentatus drained Lake Velinus in the Reatine plain (Cic. *Scaur.* 27; *Att.* 4.15.5) and the land there was centuriated, probably as part of one of these divisions (Camerieri 2009). Centuriation is also mentioned by the Gromatic writers (*Grom. Vet.* 255) with respect to the territory of Forum Novum, a town that appears (organically?) in the Upper Sabina Tiberina, perhaps in the second century BCE. One notes that its location is between the ancient Sabine cemeteries at Magliano Sabina and Poggio Sommavilla (Farney, forthcoming, on Forum Novum). Later, to resolve debt accumulated during the Second Punic War, some more public land in the Sabina might have been sold by the state as *ager in trientabulis* to creditors in 200 BCE, with other public land within 50 miles of Rome (Livy 31.13.6–9). This was probably also parceled out in large blocks, and if so only benefitted Romans able to afford it (Roselaar 2010, 39–44, 127–128).

Accordingly, Fabius Pictor, writing ca. 200 BCE, claims that the Romans only became truly wealthy once they had conquered the Sabines (Fab. Pict. ap. Strabo 5.3.1 = *FRH* 1F26; cf. Fab. Pict. and L. Cincius ap. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.38.3 = *FRH* 1F10 and *FRH* 2F5 for “Sabine luxury” in the time of the kings of Rome). Gabba (1989) suggested that the Romans did this by exploiting the rich agricultural land of the Sabina Tiberina through land confiscation and redistribution, in conjunction with control of the Tiber, allowing relatively cheap transport downriver to markets in Rome (also, Di Giuseppe, et al. 2002, 115). Certainly, the large number of villas in the Sabina Tiberina suggests that villa-culture was how the land was exploited and wealth drawn out from there (Bloy, et al. 2014; Farney, forthcoming).

At any rate, claims to Sabine descent by some of the ancient families of Rome and the early “history” of a connection between the Romans and Sabines may have facilitated the later inclusion of the Sabina into the Roman body politic. But it could have been the other way around, since we cannot securely say that pre-Republican Rome did in fact have a Sabine element – only our literary sources attest to this, written much later. In other words, the legends of a very early connection with the Sabines may have evolved to rationalize the inclusion of this otherwise foreign (i.e. non-Latin) body into the state. Many scholars have argued persuasively for such a model, seeing the first Sabine connections starting in the fifth century at the earliest (Farney 2007, 80–81 for discussion and bibliography, esp. Ampolo 1996). The Sabine and Latin history of Rome then may have started in the fifth century, with the inclusion of a few families, but then was retrojected even further back in Rome’s history on the occasion of the inclusion of the Sabines and their land into the state in the third century. In fact, we happen to know of a large number of families of Sabine origin who become senatorial from the third century BCE forward: e.g., the Aurelii, Terentii, Fulvii Gillones, Memmii, Titurii, Vettii, Petronii, Sertorii, Vatini, Sallustii and Flavii Sabini, and possibly the Annaei, Veranii and Turrani; we might also be able to include the Porcii, the family of Cato the Elder, who lionizes the Sabines in his writings (Farney 2007, 78–124; Farney, forthcoming).

Sabine ethnic identity became one of the most preferred in late Republican Rome. Cicero (*Fam.* 15.20.1) and others ([Verg.] *Catal.* 10) even joked about how many men named “Sabinus” were candidates for political office in the 40s BCE (Farney 2007, 88–97). Accordingly, various Apennine peoples – Samnites, Picenes and others – claimed to be descended from the Sabines, sometimes through mythical “sacred spring” (*ver sacrum*) rituals (Dench, 1995, 186–193; see in the present volume Briquel, Scopacasa, and Di Fazio for other thoughts about the Sacred Spring stories). They may even have invented a new ethnic monicker “Sabellus,” “Little Sabine,” to re-identify themselves and transform their barbarism and alien-ness to rusticity and honorable piety, like that possessed by their Sabine “ancestors” (Farney 2007, 206–210; 2014, 448–450). By this time we can say that “Sabine” became a quality of Roman-ness, the actual distinctiveness of the pre-Roman Sabine people long since lost.

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Jacopo Tabolli and Sara Neri

The Faliscans and the Capenates

The aim of this chapter is to present the Faliscans and the Capenates throughout the first millennium BC. A certain similarity in the material culture, especially in the earliest phases, resulted in a common scholarly identification of a “Faliscan and Capenate” culture, defined as a wide but united area. Indeed the two areas corresponding to the two populations were divided only by a ridge, where around 220 BC the Romans built the via Flaminia. Despite this geographical proximity, the most recent literature has stressed the deep differences between the two populations. Therefore, it is no longer possible to use the widespread and traditional definition.

I The Faliscans (Jacopo Tabolli)

The ancient Ager Faliscus, before becoming an archaeological entity in the pre-Roman period of the first millennium BC (Fig. 1), corresponds to the geographical basin of the Treja River Valley, one of the tributaries (flowing south to north) of the Tiber River. The Tiber, of course, separates the Ager Faliscus from Sabine and Umbrian territory. The other geographical boundaries, less clearly defined than the Tiber, are represented by Mount Soracte to the southeast, the Sabatino Volcanic Complex to the south and the mountains of Vico with the Ciminian Forest to the west. Soracte was an most important landmark not only for the Faliscans, but also for the neighbouring Etruscans, Sabines and Capenates, due to the presence of the cult of Pater Soranus there (Colonna 2009).

From the eighth to the end of the third centuries BC the Faliscans settled in the Valley of Treja and its minor tributaries. The major centers were located in a strategic position controlling access to the valley. Falerii, the modern Civita Castellana, the “capital” of the Ager Faliscus, which exercised its hegemony over a large territory, gave its name to the population and to the area (Fig. 2). Corchiano (Ambrosini, et al. 1996) and Vignanello (Poleggi 1995) occupy the north area of the Ager Faliscus; going up the Treja, to the south, the area was under the control of Narce, the modern Mazzano Romano-Calcata (Fig. 3), the largest town after Falerii, identified as Fescennium (Narce 1894; Colonna 1990) and probably called “Thevnalthia” in its early history (Maras 2013). The Faliscans resisted the Romans for more than a century after the fall of Veii in 396 BC, until the capitulation of Falerii in 241 BC. Six centuries of history, for a region that appeared to have been a crossroads between peoples

Jacopo Tabolli: Department of Classics, School of Histories and Humanities, Trinity College Dublin;
Email: tabollij@tcd.ie

Sara Neri: Dipartimento di Scienze dell’Antichità, Sapienza Università di Roma, Piazzale Aldo Moro 5, 00185 Rome; Email: s-neri@hotmail.it



Fig. 1. Map of the Ager Faliscus (by Tabolli) after De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli (2013), fig. 1.

and cultures, an open frontier, a valley sometimes unified and sometimes divided, where different phases succeeded each other, demonstrate the dynamism of this area.

The first exploration of Ager Faliscus took place during the last decades of the nineteenth century, in the golden years when the *Carta Archeologica d'Italia* project was conceived in order to map the archaeological cultural heritage of newborn Italy (Gamurrini, et al. 1972). Those surveys resulted in the discovery of Falerii in 1884 (Cozza and Pasqui 1981). In 1889 the Villa Giulia Museum was inaugurated with an exhibition displaying finds from the settlement and the necropoleis of Falerii. In these early years of its history, and for a long time after that, the Museum of Villa Giulia was commonly referred to as a “Faliscan Museum” or even as a “Museo topografico delle antichità preromane del territorio falisco” (Santagati 2004, 9). With the opening of Villa Giulia, the excavations at Falerii ended, while the explorations at Narce began. Twenty-two necropoleis were discovered on the slopes surrounding the three hills of the habitation site between 1890 and 1893: Narce, Monte Li Santi and Pizzo Piede (Narce 1894). In May 1892 the new exhibition



Fig. 2. Map of Falerii drawn by Adolfo Cozza, after Cozza and Pasqui (1981), pl. 1.

at the Museum was inaugurated. While keeping the Falerii section unchanged, the museum was enhanced with the exposition of finds from the necropoleis of Narce, displayed in the hemicycle of the first floor, the famous Room IV (Tabolli 2013). The publication of the excavations at Narce in *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei* appeared in 1894 (Narce 1894). The scope of this publication was certainly historic. The 1892 exhibition and the 1894 publication not only constitute the “foundation” of a long tradition of studies for the Ager Faliscus, but also concluded the earliest season of excavations of an Italic ancient culture by a young Italian state, which seemed to explore its own identity in this small Italic population. However, the interest on the Faliscans was not only limited to Italy. The rich discoveries attracted the attention of international scholars and institutions. Ancient Faliscan culture is better known than many other Italic cultures, especially in the US, mainly due to the nine-

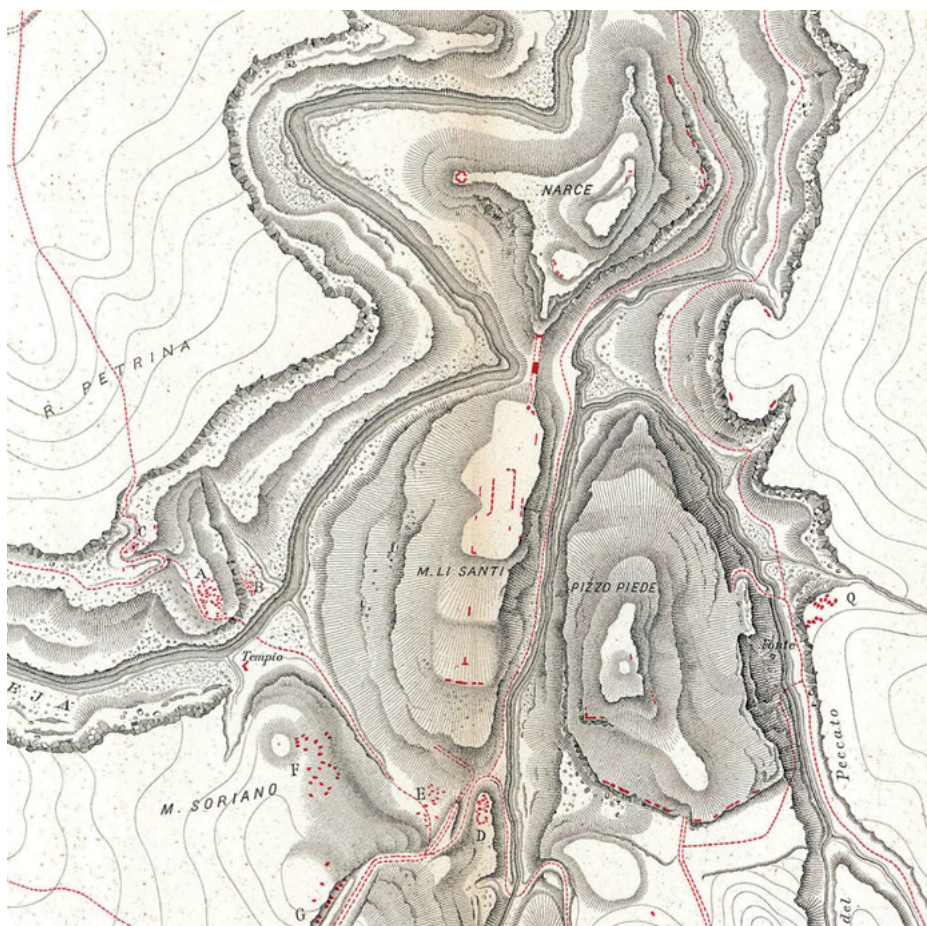


Fig. 3. Map of Narce drawn by Adolfo Cozza and Enrico Stefani, after *Narce* (1894), pl. 3.

teenth-century exportation of artifacts from Iron Age and later sites, particularly Narce (Tabolli 2013b). The remainder of Narce's excavated materials, not acquired by the US, was purchased by foreign institutions and museums or by private collectors. Before 1903 Faliscan material was legally distributed and proudly displayed in the institutions that owned them (Dohan 1942; Davison 1972; Salskov Roberts 1974; Berggren 1986; De Pouma 1986; Gaultier 1999).

Inhabited already from the Paleolithic and the Neolithic periods, with their characteristic settlements in shelters, the so-called "Faliscan grottos" (Rellini 1920), the Faliscan valleys began to be densely populated in the Bronze Age. Middle Bronze Age villages are well known in the areas of Vignale (Falerii), Pizzo (Nepi) and Narce (Di Gennaro 1986; Barbaro 2010). Excavations as well as surveys revealed vibrant communities. The area appears already from this earlier period to be open to a wide range of connections and cultural exchanges as witnessed, for example, by the

“sub-Mycenaean” fragment from Narce, probably an import, found during the excavations of the British School at Rome (Potter 1976, 209). It has been recently suggested that the area corresponding to the historical Ager Faliscus became an autonomous “territorial entity” focused on Falerii in the late Bronze Age (Barbaro 2010). Falerii is the only site that preserves tomb groups intact dating to the Late Bronze Age; at least four cremations were discovered under the temple of Juno Curitis in Celle in the necropolis of Montarano South (Cozza and Pasqui 1981, 3–4, 13–19; and most recently De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2012, 35 with bibliography). The excavations in the settlement of Narce in 1933 by Raniero Mengarelli (Tabolli 2013, 47–59) and Tim Potter (1976) revealed the presence of a stable Late Bronze Age settlement at Narce.

This system collapsed at the end of the Late Bronze Age when the entire Faliscan area was quickly abandoned (Di Gennaro 1982; 1986). All the Late Bronze Age communities of the small villages moved probably towards Veii, joining the so-called “proto-urban revolution.” In the first century of the Early Iron Age (traditionally set in the ninth century) the territory appears almost empty. Veii now controlled an enormous territory, approximately from the Tiber to the coast.

After more than a century of “silence,” just within the first half of the eighth century, new communities settle down in the Ager Faliscus once again, founding Faliscan towns such as Falerii and Narce (Iaia 1996; Tabolli 2012; Cifani 2013). A debate revolves around the identity of these people. This movement of population could not be simplistically attributed to the well-known phenomenon of the aristocratic reoccupation of the territory, which characterized Veii as well as the entirety of Etruria in the second half of the eighth century (Bartoloni 1997). This earlier phenomenon requires a more complex explanation. Colonna (1986) has demonstrated how the Late Bronze Age constituted a period of formation of the different pre-Roman *ethne*, and how ethnic and linguistic differences existed and did not appear as if by magic, one day after another, even if there was no perceived break. Is it possible that a “Faliscan” self-perception of identity was already clear in the Late Bronze Age (as in Barbaro’s proposal of a “territorial entity” focused on Falerii)? If a “Faliscan identity” already existed from the Late Bronze Age, is it possible that in the movement towards Veii the Faliscan group had maintained its original identity, preserved on the plateau for at least one century? Is it possible that after a century the group itself returned back to the Faliscan territory? The myth of Halesus, descendant of the Agamemnon (Ov. *Amor.* 3.13.31; *Fast.* 4.74; Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 7.695, 723; Sil. Ital. 8.76), founder of Falerii and at the same time ancestor of the Veientine king Morrius, seems to link Falerii and Veii deeply (as suggested by Cifani 2005).

The presence of a few Bronze Age vases from more recent, well-constructed tombs dating to the mid-eighth century at Narce has been discussed elsewhere (Baglione and De Lucia Brolli 1990, 90–92; Tabolli 2012). These finds might reveal the construction of identity by the earliest Iron Age community at Narce. These vases come from the fill of a *tomba a pozzo* (well tomb), and not from the interior of a *tufa custodia* (stone container) (Tabolli 2012, 488–491). It might be possible that during the excavation of the pit for the eighth-century cremation, an earlier Bronze Age

burial was found and respected, conserving the tomb-groups in the fill of the new cremation, but outside the *custodia*. Nevertheless, this phenomenon does not necessarily imply a direct link between the Bronze Age community, who left Narce to join the proto-urban revolution at Veii, and the community that settled at Narce at the beginning of the eighth century. At the same time and from a similar perspective, the earliest settlement of Falerii seems focused once again around the necropolis of Montarano, recalling the Bronze Age location of the necropolis.

Certainly, we would expect that Veii had some influence on the early eighth-century occupation of Faliscan territory; however, if we look at the earliest funerary evidence from Narce (I Tufi and La Petrina) and Falerii (Montarano), the tomb groups reveal mixed cultural identities (Tabolli 2013, 356–385). Different artefacts such as ones probably from Latium are found together with artefacts from central Abruzzo, Latium and the nearby Sabina. Colonna (1986) has demonstrated how the demographic void caused by the creation of Veii in the Early Iron Age could have encourage the steady arrival of *gentes* from central Italy. These movements occurred along the same directions of trade routes and transhumance movement with Sabine influence on the Capenates and Latin on the Ager Faliscus. Concerning the Faliscans in particular, the cultural and demographic movements from Latin areas could also be explained as a consequence of the increasing influence of Rome in the Tiber Valley since the early III Latial period (Colonna 1988; Carandini 1997).

During the eighth century cremation and inhumation coexist in the territory. The most common tombs are equally distributed well-pits and trenches (*pozzi* and *fosse*). By mid-century a niche (*loculus*) for the deposition of grave goods was added to the well-pit or the trench-tomb. From the end of the century these *loculi* hosted burials (*loculus* tomb), while the trench became the entrance in the form of a shaft. Tombs with one *loculus* belong to the “Narce type” (di Gennaro 1988, 114–15; Belevi Marche-sini 2011; Tabolli 2013b), whereas tombs with two facing *loculi* belong to the “Montarano type” (Gennaro 2007, 127). The evolution of the trench-tomb preceded the very first chamber tombs, which, by the first half of the seventh century, already appeared to be the preferred funerary structures of the emerging upper classes of the Ager Faliscus. A tomb excavated between 1895 and 1896 by Mancinelli Scotti at Falerii, in the Celle necropolis, recently rediscovered, appears similar to a Montarano-type *loculus* tomb, but constitutes a variant, because the two burial *loculi* are not set on opposite sides of the *caditoia*, but instead form an L (Tabolli and Turfa 2014). We could consider this form to be the missing link in the chain between the *loculus* tomb and the earliest chamber tomb. Together with the early adoption of chamber tombs, from the Orientalizing to the Hellenistic periods, a peculiar type of chamber is attested in the Ager Faliscus: a chamber with several *loculi* on the walls, each one closed by tiles. Especially in the central and northern part of Ager Faliscus the chamber tomb is carved around a pilaster, similar to the types of chambers common in the Sabine area.

Moving from funerary ideology to material culture, as already seen in the Bronze Age, the Faliscan area appears to be a crossroads of trade also in the Early Iron Age.

There is evidence of links with Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. The presence of a bird skyphos from tomb T15 (XII), I Tufi necropolis, from the mid-eighth century (Tabolli 2013, 286, fig. 4.27) and of the Corinthian Thapsos cup from Monte Cerreto (LII) in the first quarter of the seventh century (De Lucia Brolli 1991, 113–114) demonstrate the vitality of the local aristocracies at Narce. At the same time in Falerii we have direct imports from the Levant, such as the North Assyrian Lyre Player Group seal (Rizzo 2008–2009) and a Mesopotamian cup in bronze with a cuneiform inscription. The vibrance of cultural exchange and commercial trade is reflected by the rich and varied coarse-ware (*impasto*) productions, mainly locally made, characterized by forms particularly decorated with plastic reliefs or excisions. Nonetheless, it is the Orientalizing *impasto* production decorated with incisions that we might call the “national” pottery of the Ager Faliscus (Biella 2014). Especially at Falerii the presence of specialized artisans is also evident: the production of *impasto* vases in fact appears organized according to criteria of almost “industrial” character with wide distribution both local and external (Biella 2007; 2010; 2011). The *holmos* – or stand – is the most characteristic shape of the Ager Faliscus. Even if it is common in other contexts of South Etruria as well as at Capena, in the Ager Faliscus it becomes a typical burial object. It has been stressed that in multiple burials (especially *loculus* tombs and chamber tombs) the number of *holmoi* often corresponds to the number of burials (Benedettini 1999).

In the course of the seventh century both Falerii and Narce appear to have completed the occupation of different areas of the settlement with the necropoleis located in a radial pattern around the nuclei of settlements. Emerging funerary structures like tomb C2 (XLVII), the monumental tumulus at Narce (Tabolli 2012, 491–497; 2013, 150–152), or the oldest chamber tombs in Falerii, were oriented toward the emerging urban center (De Lucia Brolli 2013). The wealth of the funerary offerings provides testimony for the emergence of an aristocracy.

This wealthy Faliscan aristocracy began to write during the Orientalizing period. Indeed, the earliest, numerous inscriptions date from the seventh century. Faliscan writing may be traced back to a common Latin origin (Deecke 1888; Giacomelli 1963; Bakum 2009). Nevertheless, both at Falerii and Narce the earliest inscriptions were written in Etruscan. At Narce in particular, the majority of the inscriptions are in Etruscan. These inscriptions have been attributed to the stable presence of an Etruscan community in the territory (Cristofani 1988), while more recently this evidence has reinforced the theory of an Etruscan foundation of Narce as a Veientine “stronghold.” However, if we look more closely we observe that the numerous Etruscan inscriptions (Colonna and Maras 2009) from Narce come from only three tombs (Biella 2013), and that the alphabet used is not identical to Veii and thus might be considered south Etruscan but without a direct dependence on the known scriptural schools (Maras 2013). Finally, the onomastic evidence reveals Italic names, sometimes with a provenience from central Italy, such as Samnium.

Compared to the capital Falerii, where during the seventh century we observe the creation of a real town, what we call an “urban choice,” at Narce the peculiar mor-

phology of the five hills does not seem to come together in a truly unified, urban center, as indicated for example by the sixth-fifth century wall system (De Lucia Brolli 1991, 20–21). During the sixth and fifth centuries the Ager Faliscus is characterized by an impressive amount of trade with the Attic world, first in black-figure and later in red-figure pottery, with several examples of the most famous potters and painters (Ambrosini 2005; 2009). In this chronological horizon Falerii definitely emerged as the leading center and assumed a central role in the political and economic system of the region, consolidating its hegemony as a capital over its *chora*, the Ager Faliscus. At Falerii an increase in the number of chamber tombs together with an increasing number of *loculi* for funerary deposition probably demonstrates a population growth. A system of urban and suburban sanctuaries was inaugurated along the roads towards the town and near the city gates. The shrine of Juno Curitis (Colonna 1985, 110–113; Benedettini, et al. 2005; Albers 2007), facing the acropolis of Vignale, becomes from the first half of the sixth century onward “a landmark not only for the Faliscan community” (De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2013, 264).

Compared to the system of sanctuaries at Falerii, only three shrines have been identified at Narce. An urban sanctuary on the hill of Pizzo Piede was excavated in 1933 by Mengarelli (De Lucia Brolli and Baglione 1997; Baglione and De Lucia Brolli 2004; Carlucci 2013). A significant small group of architectural terracottas revealed the presence of a small temple at least from the late sixth century. On the other hand, along the Valley of Monte Li Santi, a belt of suburban sanctuaries consisted of at least two shrines. The first, on the northern slopes of Monte Soriano, was identified in 1890 and briefly re-excavated in 1901 (Tabolli 2013, 473). The second consisted of a series of buildings and open-air altars from the first half of the fifth century lasting until the end of the second century and was excavated from 1985 to 2004 (De Lucia Brolli 1990; 1990a; Benedettini, et al. 1999; De Lucia Brolli and Benedettini 2002; De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2014; De Lucia Brolli 2016). From the second half of the fifth century Narce goes through a period of strong decline. Only four out of twenty necropoleis survived. Nevertheless, the tomb groups still contained prestigious funerary offerings.

A complex restructuring of the town of Falerii occurred at the beginning of the fourth century. The plateau was organized according to a regular system, as it was especially revealed by the excavations of Via Gramsci (De Lucia Brolli 2006). The reconstruction of most of the temples and sanctuaries can be dated to the Hellenistic period. The temple of Scasato II, dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, becomes the most important shrine within the urban walls. Outside of the walls the temple of Juno Curitis changed its orientation recalling that of the temple of Argive Hera at Greek Argos. During this century the coroplastic art reached an exceptional level, evident from masterpieces like the Apollo of Scasato. The Faliscan red-figure and the superposed color became the most common pottery productions.

The fall of Veii in 396 BC had great consequences for the entire Ager Faliscus and especially Narce. After the capture of Veii, the Roman army conquered Capena destroying the countryside and reaching the walls of Falerii, which surrendered (Livy

5.24–27). Narce seemed to survive the conquest for at least one hundred years, but the social and economic crisis of the city is visible in the extant archaeological record (De Lucia Brolli and Baglione 1997). Livy (10.46) tells of a triumph in 293 BC over the Faliscans celebrated by the consul Spurius Carvilius Maximus (De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2013, 267). The cultural changes, which occurred exactly in the first half of the third century in the sanctuary of Monte Li Santi-Le Rote, now devoted to Fortuna and Minerva Maia (Biondi 2016), might have been the proof of the ongoing changes in the town. Within less than a century Narce was abandoned, with the exception of the suburban sanctuary, which survived until the beginning of the first century (De Lucia Brolli 2016). After 293 the Faliscans signed a peace treaty with the Romans paying *centum milia gravis aeris et stipendium eius anni militibus* (Livy 10.46.12). In 241 BC Polybius and Livy tell of a Faliscan rebellion against the Romans. The Faliscans were defeated in just a few days, Falerii surrendered, and more than 15,000 people died in this war (Polyb. 1.65.2; Livy, *Per.* 19). Rome confiscated weapons, horses, household goods, slaves and half of the territory (D.C. ap. Zonaras 8.18). The town was destroyed and the population was transferred to a nearby lowland. The site of Falerii Novi was thus founded (a collection of sources can be found in Di Stefano and Manzella 1990). The Roman conquest of the Ager Faliscus is marked by the construction of Via Amerina that connected Rome with Umbria along the shortest possible route. The date of construction is not known, but the fact that its track coincides with the *cardo maximus* of Falerii Novi seems proof that its construction can be dated after 241 BC. It has been stressed that the Romanization of the territory is actually a process of a much longer duration that has its origins in the increasingly close relations between some families of notables of Falerii and the Roman *gentes* (De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2012). After the conquest the necessity of territorial control by Rome led also to the construction of the Via Flaminia (220 BC). It is not an accident that the new roads cross none of the previous Faliscan sites.

II The Capenates (Sara Neri)

The Ager Capenas (Fig. 4) occupied the Middle Tiber Valley, extending from the large plain on the right bank to the gentle hills, the last offshoots of the Sabatino Volcanic Complex. This area is crossed by a dense hydrographic network of short tributaries of the river and interrupted by small lakes of karstic origin (Casto 1995). To the north, the isolated summit of Mount Soracte and, to the west, the route of Via Flaminia, mark the border with the Ager Faliscus, while to the south lies the territory of Etruscan Veii. To the east, the Tiber River was a very permeable barrier between the Ager Capenas and, for a short stretch, the Latins of Crustumerium as well as the Sabina Tiberina. Its peculiar location at the crossroads between different populations, some of which exerted increasing pressure all over the area, as in the case of the Sabines (Colonna 1986), as well as in determining settlement choices and the flourishing of the Capenati community, resulted in the composite character of the culture.



Fig. 4. Map of the Ager Capenas (by Sara Neri) after De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli (2013), fig. 1.

Linguistically, the Capenati, belonged to the Italic strain, variously linked with either the Sabellic (Briquel 2014; Benelli 2008, 26) or the Faliscan languages, and therefore with the Latin group (Bakkum 2009; see Zair in the present volume). Evidence for this is mainly based on a group of inscriptions dating to the Hellenistic period that have numerous similarities with Sabine inscriptions. Only a few texts, however, date back to the Late Orientalizing and Archaic periods, and these were discovered outside the Ager Capenas (Colonna 1988; Benelli 2008): a biconical vase at Uppsala, with an unknown provenience, probably coming from Capena but possibly made elsewhere (Minetti 2008); a small coarse-ware flask from the tumulus of Poggio Gaiella (mod. Chiusi); and the Ferrone Crater from Tolfa (Bellelli 2008). The majority of the remaining inscriptions are written in Etruscan (*CIE* II.2.1; *CIE* Add. II.1). The recent survey by Benelli of the entire – if not numerous – corpus of the Sabina Tiberina has stressed that the Capenate alphabet appears to have been a sort of “compromise” between the different traditions of both banks of the Tiber (Benelli 2008; 2013, 318).

The ambivalent and composite nature of the archaeological record from Capena is echoed also in the historical narrative where ethnically it oscillates between Sabine in the time of Tullus Hostilius and Etruscan during the wars between Rome and Veii the end of the fifth century, in which Capena figures as a faithful ally of Veii (Briquel 2014). Capena, following the fate of Veii, asked for peace in 395 BC from the Furius Camillus, who only a year earlier, after a ten-year siege, had conquered the Etruscan town. In 387 the Romans created the *tribus Stellatina*. The name is connected with the Campus Stellatinus, probably located in the northern part of the Ager Capenas, hosting all the Capenates who remained faithful to Rome during the Gallic raids. The date of the creation of the *municipium* is currently a subject of debate between the time of the formation of the *tribus* or in the aftermath of the Social War (Turchetti 1995, 92 with bibliography). According to the latter thesis, the creation of the *municipium* could have occurred in 90, with the subsequent loss of autonomy for Capena and the sanctuary (see below). Capena was also the object of the *deductio* of a colony, *Julia Felix Lucus Feroniae*, in the period of Sulla or Augustus, located near the sanctuary, with the subsequent reassignment of land (Gazzetti 1992, 8–9).

The archaeological evidence available for the territory of Capena is very discontinuous, related to the lack of systematic investigations; there are, however, the surveys conducted by the British School at Rome (Jones 1962; 1963; Keay, et al. 2006). At the same time, most of rescue excavations present an uneven record, worsened by the endemic, unpublished state of the previous excavations. This “silence” makes difficult at this moment for any kind of detailed and complete reconstruction of the region based on the archaeological record, especially for the earliest periods.

Concerning the Bronze Age (Guidi 2004, 40; Barbaro 2010), the only small evidence comes from different sites (Barbaro 2010) and from the necropolis with cremations, recently excavated in the area of Lucus Feroniae (Trucco, et al. 2013). The arrival of Latin populations on the right bank of the Tiber, ancestors of the historical Faliscans, was dated by Colonna to this period. During the Iron Age he identified the subsequent arrival of Sabine people in the Capenates’ enclave, wedged in the bend of the river (Colonna 1988, 412). Even during the Early Iron Age I (ninth century) there is a substantial lack of data, except for sporadic evidence, the results of chance discoveries or of surface survey-collections (Iaia 1996, 26; Cifani 2003, 107; Turchetti 1995, 55, 75; Barbaro 2010).

A new phase of the settlement is clearly evident in the eighth century (Fig. 5) with the development of the main center of Capena and, in the countryside, with the appearance of the settlement of Nazzano-Colle S. Antimo, with the necropolis of S. Lucia, and the settlement of Vacchereccia, with the necropoleis of Monte Tufello and Monte Palombo (Cifani 2003, 110–113). As is well known, this phenomenon should be related to the creation of the proto-urban settlement of Veii that, at the passage between Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, catalyzed communities over a wide area, including the bend of the Tiber, and then promoted during the eighth century a restructuring of the territory through a system of settlements in strategic

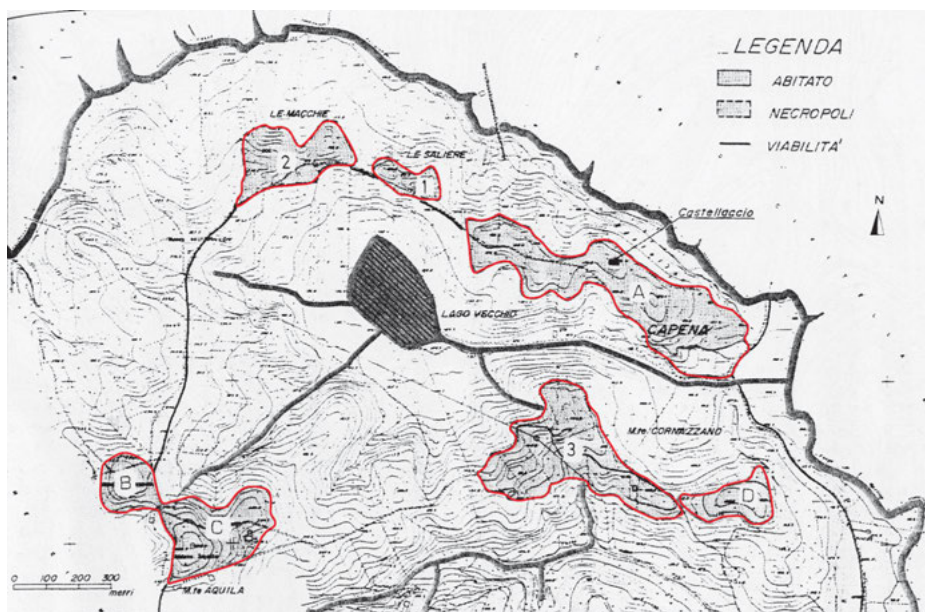


Fig. 5. Map of Capena after Cifani (2003).

locations (Iaia 1996; Di Gennaro 2012, 45; Bartoloni 2012, 106–107; Cifani 2012, 158). The projection of Veii towards the Capenate district and, through it, towards the Middle Tiber Valley, is reflected in the Late Archaic period in a “neighborhood” policy. This is reflected in the legend of the foundation of *Lucus Feroniae* (see below), and might be evident in the preferential use of the Etruscan language in inscriptions and in the participation of the district of Capena in the circulation of ceramic productions and, marginally, types of tombs, such as the *loculus* tomb, which probably has an origin at Veii (Di Gennaro 2007, 167–172 with bibliography). The interest of Veii and desire for control over this area, however, did not eliminate local political and cultural identity. At the same time Veii could not have stood in the way of interaction with other Italic peoples, especially the Sabines. This interaction comes together in the tradition of the market and the meeting place of the *Lucus Feroniae* sanctuary. At the same time, from the late seventh century, the composition of the tomb groups within the necropoleis of Capena reveals an Italic tradition, based on the deposition of weapons in the burials. The influence of the people of the left bank on the lands beyond the river is also evident in the location of the Sabine villages in the vicinity of the river, as opposed to Faliscan and Capenate communities, whose sites are located further inland from the Tiber (Colonna 1986, 92). The main settlements were located corresponding to the principal ports and ferries: Cures, Eretum and Campo del Pozzo on the Sabine bank; Capena, *Lucus Feroniae*, and Nazzano/Saeperna on the Capenate bank.

With the seventh century the settlements of the Ager Capenas appear more and more vibrant (Iaia 1996). The necropoleis paint a picture of a society with complex social stratification with aristocratic families (*gentes*) at the top. Examples are offered by Tombs 71a and 71b, and the princely Tombs 16 and 114 in the San Martino necropolis (Mura Sommella 2004–2005). During the Archaic period a clear hierarchy of settlements was consolidated in order to manage agricultural resources, within a system of farmhouses, controlling trade along the Tiber (Civitella San Paolo; Fiano Romano, Torre Busson; La Croce-Monte Casale; Grotte Colonna, Acqua Bianca, Muleranca) (Cifani 2003, 108–109, 113 with bibliography).

The identification of the archaeological site of Capena dates back to 1756. Nevertheless, it is only from the late nineteenth century that systematic excavation began, focused especially on the necropoleis, which are, unfortunately, still waiting for full publication. Inside the settlement area limited excavations were conducted by the Soprintendenza in the 1980s (Gazzetti 1992, 63–64 figs. 38–39; Sgubini Moretti 1995) together with topographical surveys (Jones 1962; 1963; Turchetti 1995; Patterson 2004; Keay, et al. 2006). The site presents a complex system of settlement: the different areas of the settlement (Colle della Civitucola or Castellaccio, Monte Aquila e Monte Cornazzano) alternate with the necropoleis, creating a “crown” layout on the hills around the ancient lake (Lago Vecchio) which does not exist nowadays. The name of Capena itself is the Latin word for valley. The town was linked to the ford on the Tiber and to the nearby sanctuary of *Lucus Feroniae*, by the rivers of Gramiccia/San Martino, the ancient “Capenas,” and of Vallelunga.

The earliest evidence of the settlement dates back to the eighth century, while the remains of the Archaic town were discovered on Monte Aquila (sixth century), and consist of houses and auxiliary structures. The walls in *opus quadratum* surround the main hill of Civitucola (late fifth century). An access ramp to the hill of Monte Aquila has been dated to the Roman period (third to second centuries). There is currently a debate concerning the relationship between different nuclei of the settlement: should they be considered separated entities with an autonomous foundation on the site of Capena/Civitucola assuming the role of principal settlement with urban characteristics only later, while the others communities remained villages (Turchetti 1995, 94)? Or do all the settlements represent the expression of the unification of the Capenate community, extending over 60 ha? It is more probable that the topography of the site influenced the separation of a unique entity into the different settlements, as it did for Narce and Gabii (Cifani 2003, 107–108). The proximity of the different nuclei appears incompatible (especially in a proto-urban context) with every nucleus being autonomous. It might be possible that the town has expanded from the hill of Civitucola to the adjacent areas that remained free.

The earliest tomb groups are contemporary to the first settlement, especially in the necropolis of Le Saliere, Le Macchie (Stefani 1958) and San Martino (Paribeni 1905; 1906b; Stefani 1912; Bendinelli 1922; Felletti Maj 1953; Sommella Mura 2004–2005). In a later chronological horizon, certainly by the Orientalizing period, the nec-

ropolis of Monte Cornazzano appeared (Paribeni 1906a; Felletti Maj 1953), together with the little known cemeteries of Monte Pacciano and Monte Cucculo (Jones 1962).

Compared to the silence of the historical sources, the funerary evidence – different customs, rituals, and local and imported handicraft productions – allows us to identify specific cultural features. Above all, it allows us to trace the movements and contacts with the populations at the borders and beyond, a feature that characterizes this borderland between the Etruscan and the Italic worlds. In particular, a detailed study of the Iron Age evidence can define the roles played by the Veientine and the Sabine components in the early occupation of the site. During the Orientalizing period Capena played a fundamental role as a bridgehead to the central Italic and Adriatic area (Colonna 1986, 1988; Camporeale 2005, 2009). This peculiar position is evident in the trade and circulation of objects and pottery models: the plaque belts (Benedettini 1996, 63–65; Colonna 1958), the cuirass discs (Colonna 1974) and also the excised impasto productions (Biella 2007).

The foundation of the sanctuary of *Lucus Feroniae* could presumably date to a very early period. The sanctuary was located at one of the major crossings on the Tiber River and constitutes a primary religious center as well as an interregional market, opened to the populations on either side of the river. The presence of a sacred forest, the *lucus*, probably mediated this contact between different peoples (Di Fazio 2012, 391–392). The sanctuary was devoted to the deity *Feronia*, linked to the Sabines, who had a chthonic character, and was linked to the wild aspects of nature. Literary sources narrate the foundation of the sanctuary by *iuvenes* (young men) from *Veii*, sent to Capena by the king *Propercius* (Cato ap. Serv. Auct. *Aen.* 7.697). The name of the king reveals an origin from central Italy, Umbria or Sabina (most recently on the sanctuary: Stopponi and Puppo 2010; Di Fazio 2012). The earliest evidence for cult is a series of small bronzes and pottery dating between the sixth and the mid-fourth centuries found in a secondary deposit during the excavation of the Hellenistic sanctuary (Moretti Sgubini 2006). Especially during the third century the sanctuary reached a period of substantial prosperity. In fact the ancient sources remind us of the fame of the sanctuary all over Italy and the sacred festivals celebrated there every year, as well as the deviation made by Hannibal in 211 BC in order to plunder the place (Livy 26.11). The Roman-period structures developed substantially during the second century. The sanctuary was destroyed during the Civil War era. The creation of the colony *Julia Felix Lucus Feroniae* revitalized the sacred area that had in fact replaced the functions of the *municipium* of Capena (Stopponi and Puppo 2010, with a survey of the literary sources and updated bibliography; on the topography of the sanctuary: Gazzetti 1992; Moretti Sgubini 1995).

In conclusion, Romanization was not a break in the life of the main centers of Capena, *Lucus Feroniae* and *Nazzano/Saeperna*. Together with their satellites sites, they survive for the entire fourth and part of the third centuries BC. In 220 the creation of the *Via Flaminia* caused the decline of the *Via Tiberina*, the Archaic local road, and altered the gravitation of the entire territory. A new settlement model prevailed, based on dispersed farmhouses, which entered into crisis at the end of the

second century coinciding with the gradual emergence, especially in areas with the highest profitability, of large villas (Jones 1962; Cambi 2004; Camilli, et al. 1995). The villa of Volusii Saturnini is the most famous example of this new trend (Gazzetti 1992, 38–43; Sgubini Moretti 1998, with bibliography).

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Oliva Menozzi and Alessandra Ciarico
The Picentes / Piceni

I Introduction

The area formally known as Picenum certainly represents a quite problematic ethnic and geographic unit, both in terms of the tribal groups inhabiting this region, as well as its boundaries (Fig. 1). The concept of Picenum, as a homogeneous region, in the scholarly literature is mainly based on the Roman sources, which give quite a late geographical and cultural picture of this territory when it became the Augustan *Regio V-Picenum*, delimited by the Esino valley to the north and the Saline river valley to the south. In earlier periods, however, the situation seems to have been slightly different concerning the boundaries.

The earlier phases of the Picene culture are attested from the ninth century BC, which is known as Picene I, and several different facies are known, conventionally from Picene I to VI (Lollini 1976; Baldelli 1999, 55–56; Bergonzi 2007, 87–95). Picene II (eighth century BC) and Picene III (Orientalising period: seventh century BC) are certainly the most representative for the homogeneous evolution of this culture, especially looking at the funerary practices, typologies of settlements and material culture, which seems to be dominated by a strong aristocratic class of warriors, showing their social roles through their funerary equipment rich in weapons and personal ornaments.

Between the sixth and the fifth centuries BC (Picene IV, Archaic period), two different tribal and cultural groups were emerging in this territory: the “Southern Piceni/Picentes” (in northern Abruzzo and southern Marche) and the “Northern Piceni/Picentes” (in northern Marche). For both territories the western boundary was the eastern Apennine slopes. The epigraphic sources attest two different linguistic groups, with a “Paleo-Sabellic” idiom for the south (widely attested in Abruzzo and southern Marche) and a different one for the Novilara Texts in the north. In this period this dichotomy is also attested by two different ethnics mentioned in the epigraphic texts, such as *pupun-* and *safin-* (interpreted as early Picentes and Sabellicans: La Regina 2011, 233–237), which seem to highlight a conscious differentiation in an ethnic self-determination; according to the most recent interpretations (La Regina 2011, 233–237, with previous bibliography) the label *pupun-*, used in the context of the stelae from Penna S. Andrea, in combination with other ethnic names, must be interpreted as an ethnic itself, and therefore the older interpretation of a

Oliva Menozzi: Università G. d'Annunzio di Chieti-Pescara. DiSPuTER, Sezione di Archeologia e Geologia. Campus Universitario, Via dei Vestini 31, 66013, Chieti, Italy; Email: o.menozzi@unich.it
Alessandra Ciarico: Archaeologist. Via San Rocco 144, 64038, Silvi, Italy; Email: aleciarico@hotmail.it

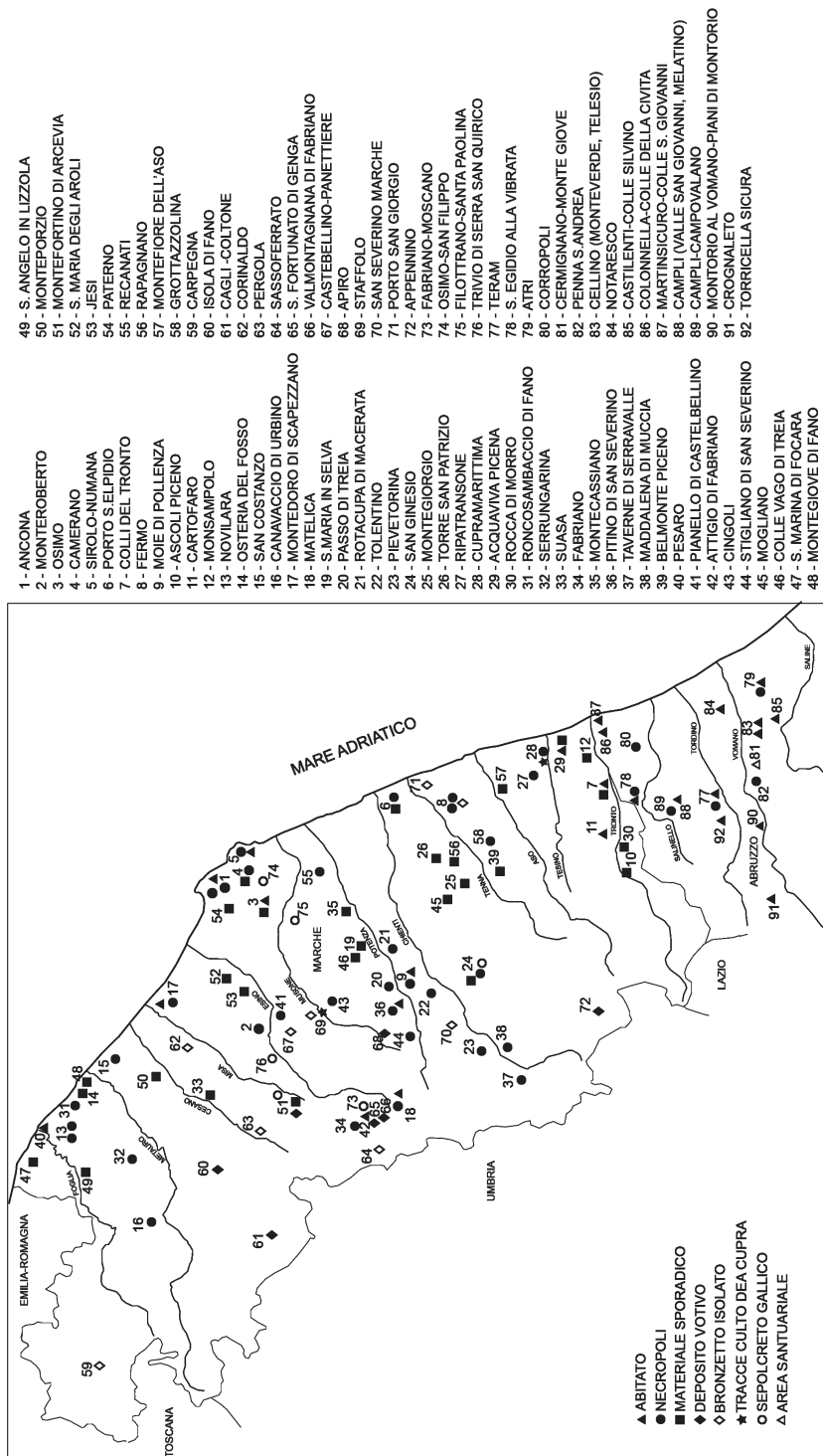


Fig. 1. The Picene area: distribution of the main sites.

possible gentilitial name is not in use any more. The archaeological sources show both common cultural bases, as well as a differentiation in funerary practices and economic trends. Moreover, besides these two homogeneous tribal groups, there are also two limited contexts differing from the rest of the region, as in the Piana Plestino, around Colfiorito, also with Umbrian influences, and around Fermo, with Villanovan features for early periods (Bonomi Ponzi 1997).

The phase Picene V (475–beginning of the fourth century BC) saw important changes for Picene culture: power was not concentrated any more in the hands of the warrior aristocracy and a new social “middle” class was improving external trade and contacts, creating slow but definitive changes, in cultural aspects and funerary practices. Moreover, the arrival in northern Picenum of new peoples in this period was influencing greatly, from the cultural point of view, the local tribes: such as the Galli Senones invading the northern Picenum, and the Greeks from Syracuse frequenting more intensively the western Adriatic coasts with the foundation of Ancon (mod. Ancona). In southern Picenum the boundaries were slowly changing and different tribal groups, although ethnically similar, were redefining their territories. One can probably ascribe to this period the development of the aetiological mythology (Strabo, *Geog.*, 5.4.2; Fest. 235 L) of the “migrations” of the Sabellic tribes, which mentioned the Picentes as originating from the Sabine area, moving during their *ver sacrum*, under the auspices and the protection of Mars and using as a symbolic and eponymous sign the *picus* (the woodpecker), totemic animal of this god (see Di Fazio in this volume for more on the *ver sacrum*).

Both the names Piceni and Picentes are attested in the sources, and, for the south Picene area, also a third name is mentioned, the Praetuttii; what this represents is a quite debated question (see below; cf. La Regina 2011, in part. 237–238).

II South-Picentes and Praetuttii (Oliva Menozzi)

According to scholars, the South-Piceni/Picentes and the Praetuttii (Lollini 1976, 107–195; Coarelli and La Regina 1984, 10–12; Landolfi 1989, 315–372) lived in northern Abruzzo (within the territory of the modern province of Teramo) and southern Marche (in the area between the valleys Tronto and Chienti) and were quite prosperous. The economy of the inner territory traditionally has been thought to consist principally of stock-raising and, probably, of exploitation of forest-land; while the fertile river terraces and hills, between eastern sub-Apennine system and coasts, were mainly exploited for agriculture.

The Piceni and Praetuttii were two different tribes mentioned by the sources as sharing this territory. However, this apparent coexistence seems to have been reflecting a later situation, which was due to the Roman sources, and not an original status. In fact, only after the foundation of the Latin colony of Hadria was there a sort of redistribution and new delimitation of the *ager colonialis*, differentiating between the *Ager Hatrianus* and the *Ager Praetuttianus*. On the basis of homogeneous culture,

territorial organization, funerary practices and epigraphic finds, it seems plausible that the area of south Picenum was inhabited by Sabellic/Sabellian groups of Sabine origins, defining themselves with the ethnic *Safin-* in inscriptions, and showing a quite common and homogeneous culture as in the rest of the mid-Adriatic area (La Regina 2011).

The language spoken in this territory, which has been variously termed as “Paleo-Sabellic,” “Mid-Adriatic,” “South-Picene” or “Eastern Italic” (Morandi 1974; Prosdocimi 1978, 343–558; Cianfarani, Franchi Dell’Orto and La Regina 1978, 63–75, 343–350; Marinetti 1985; La Regina 2011) consists of an Italic dialect of the Osco-Umbrian sub-group (Penney 1988, 730–732) and was widely used in the Archaic period in central-eastern Italy. Twenty examples of Paleo-Sabellic inscriptions have been found in several sites of this territory and in Mid-Adriatic contexts, such as at S. Omero, Campovalano, Bellante and Penna S. Andrea, all of them in southern Picenum. Moreover, at Acquaviva, Castignano, Belmonte, Loro Piceno and Mogliano, and in neighbouring areas such as Castrano, Casteldieri and Crecchio, and outside the Mid-Adriatic area at Cures, Canosa and Bologna (Morandi 1974; Prosdocimi 1978, 343–558; Coarelli and La Regina 1984, 325–330; Marinetti 1985; La Regina 1986, 125–130).

The three inscriptions found at Penna S. Andrea (Fig. 2) have been decisive for the interpretation of the Paleo-Sabellic language, because of their long texts. They have been dated to the middle of the fifth century BC and they offer, for this period and for this territory, important evidence for the local political system. The word *touta*, in fact, is attested in two of them, indicating a form of “territorial state” (Salmon 1967, 77–101; D’Ercole, Papi and Grossi 1990, 65–72; La Regina 2011). Together with *touta* we find the ethnic attribute *safin-*, evidently testifying that the subject of the texts is a specific state-territory, that of the Safines. One inscription, moreover, mentions the *okrei safina*, i.e. fortified settlements, which probably have been used as the political centres of the *touta* for the Archaic period (D’Ercole, Papi and Grossi 1990, 122, 226–227). The leading figure of the *touta* was a sort of *princeps* called *nir* (pl. *nerf*), as we see in the third inscription from Penna S. Andrea, which mentions *Safinum nerf*, i.e. chiefs-principes of the Safines.

The principal form of permanent settlement of the South-Picene area was middle size centres with administrative autonomy and control of the neighbouring territory and resources. Recent excavations are now providing information about these settlements for the period between the sixth and the fourth centuries BC, but unfortunately most of them have been published only as in short reports (D’Ercole 1986, 401–421; 1993, 632–651). *Interamnium Praetuttiorum* (mod. Teramo), for instance, was probably one of the villages in the Praetuttian area (Mazzitti 1985; Guidobaldi 2001). Several tombs were found during excavation in the area of the modern town, attesting to a cemetery dating to the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Remains of the ancient settlement have been recently excavated, including huts, dry-laid foundations, and impasto pottery, dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC. Moreover, later sources attest for this settlement the status of *conciliabulum*, a centre with an aggregative



Fig. 2. One of the three stele from Penna S. Andrea (photo of the authors).

function for the population which lived scattered or in hamlets in the territory. The settlement had an important role along the main road system from west to east, and in a territory between two rich river valleys.

The village at Case Valdon, not far from S. Egidio (mod. Teramo) in northern Abruzzo, is better documented. The site is located on a valley terrace of the river Vibrata. Excavations have brought to light an elliptical hut (4 × 2.5 m wide) with well preserved post-holes. Part of the reed walls with traces of plaster were found collapsed on the floor; not far from the hut three pits were found, ranging in size from 2 × 1 to 6 × 4 m, and from 35 to 50 cm deep. They were filled with sherds of local pottery dating to the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The pits are thought to have been used for the extraction and purification of the clay, in connection with a pottery kiln nearby. The village seems to have been surrounded by a wooden palisade and a defensive ditch (Rossi Diana 1988; Guidobaldi 1996, 173–174). The site was probably related to the Archaic cemetery nearby discovered at the end of last century with circular tombs (Fiorelli 1877, 441–442; 1884, 345–347).

Other villages have been recently excavated or simply surveyed, and have produced hut floors, post-holes cut into the rocky soil, and rough stone walls, dry-

laid, often associated with pits, burnt clay and pottery (*impasto*), indicating probable settlements between the sixth to the fourth centuries BC (e.g. in the province of Teramo at Cellino, Notaresco, Colle Silvino at Castilenti, Colle della Civita at Colonnella, Colle S. Giovanni at Martinsicuro, Valle S. Giovanni, Colle Melatino at Campoli, Piani di Montorio at Montorio al Vomano: D'Ercole, Festuccia and Stoppiello 1995, 79–109; Staffa 1995, 110–146; 1986, 437–460; Guidobaldi 1996, 157–175; Menozzi, Martella, Grue and Antonelli 1998). These sites, however, have been very poorly investigated, and it is, therefore, very difficult to know whether the sites represent significant settlements or simply small hamlets.

The rural sanctuaries have played, along the river valleys, an essential role as centres for political, economic as well as religious meetings (Gabba 1975, 143–161; La Regina 1976, 219–254; Letta 1992, 109–112; Campanelli, Faustoferri and Agostini 1997), as probably was the case for the main sanctuary of the region, dedicated to Cupra. The sanctuaries were often situated at nodal points in the communications network, and are thought to have served a widely scattered rural population. In general the “monumentalisation” of Italic sanctuaries belongs to the period between the third and early first centuries BC; nevertheless, many sites have produced earlier finds and it is probable that cult activities, and perhaps also political and economic aspects, were established well before the Hellenistic period. For some of these sanctuaries in south Picenum their role seems to be clearly attested for also in earlier periods.

From the area of the sanctuary at Monte Giove (Cermignano-Teramo), finds dating to the fifth and fourth centuries BC suggest an early use of the sanctuary. Particularly interesting is a silver figure (Fig. 3), schematically representing a woman, dating to the fifth century BC. Nine rich tombs have been excavated in the cemetery nearby. These date from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the third centuries BC, and are probably connected to the sanctuary itself (D'Ercole 1986, 131–135).

Hillforts were not widespread in this area, except for in the mountainous areas. Along the hilly river valleys and coasts, only a few fortified centres are attested, as certainly at Hatria (mod. Atri) and probably at Civitella del Tronto and Cupra. Remains of the fortifications still survive at Atri with a circuit in rough polygonal masonry, dating between the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Recent excavations have been able to produce evidence of settlement dating to this period in two areas of the modern town: with remains of a hut floor with post-holes and pits and early structures (Fig. 4), dating, at least, to two different phases of the Italic fortified settlement. Smaller hillforts are known mainly in the mountainous areas, but they were not as numerous as in other Italic contexts. Colle del Vento, near Crognaleto, and Magliano di Torricella Sicura are at the moment the only known examples in the area. The building technique of these fortifications was a very regular polygonal masonry, probably dating not before the fourth and third centuries BC.

A large number of cemeteries, mainly dating between the eighth and fourth centuries BC, has been found in this territory. The cemetery of Campovalano (Fig. 5) in northern Abruzzo is one of the most fully explored in the region, with most graves



Fig. 3. Finds from the sanctuary at Montegiove-Cermignano-Teramo province (photo of the authors).



Fig. 4. Atri. Remains of the earlier settlement (photo of the authors).

dating from the seventh to third centuries BC (Cianfarani 1972, 27–32; 1980, 41–54; 1969; Cianfarani, et al. 1978, 234–287; d’Ercole and Grassi 2000, 193–266; d’Ercole

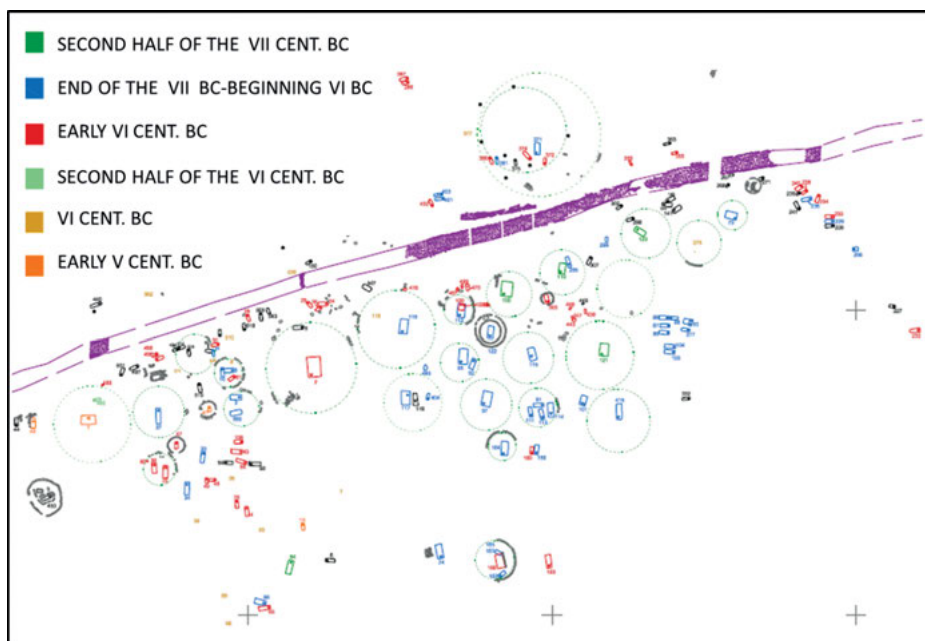


Fig. 5. Campovalano: view of the tombs and finds (by Valeria Acconcia, after Chiaramonte Trerè, d'Ercole and Boccolini 2003).

2010; Chiaramonte Trerè, d'Ercole and Boccolini 2003). The earlier monumental tombs in this necropolis are circular tumuli, quite rich in funerary equipment. Tomb 122, for example, consists of a large tumulus delimited by two concentric circles of stone blocks. It belonged to an adult male who was buried with his bronze ornaments, two spears, one dagger, several iron spits and pottery. Three graves were found in Tomb 201, the central one belonging to a young woman and the other two probably to her children. The woman was buried with her bronze ornaments, namely fibulae and pendants, a *dolium* and two bronze vessels. Together with circular tombs we find also rectangular graves, dating to the same period. Tomb 164, for instance, was particularly rich in bronze vessels, pottery and iron weapons. A pair of bronze horse bits ending with engraved horse's heads and the remains of a war chariot were found in this burial. The particularly rich equipment suggests that this was the tomb of a local leading figure or "prince" of the sixth century BC. Other exceptional finds from Campovalano include a pair of finely decorated bronze sandals, a glass sceptre and an ivory pendant. The pottery from this necropolis consists of impasto, Etruscan bucchero and more commonly local imitations of bucchero, decorated with incised and impressed decorations, including zoomorphic motifs, typical of the Faliscan area. The weapons are similar to finds from the other necropoleis of Abruzzo, and typical of the mid-Adriatic area in general, although a bronze helmet and a single bronze greave are unique to this cemetery (Tagliamonte

1995, 25–141). Personal ornaments were characterised by fibulae in iron and bronze, and one in silver; pendants in bronze, ivory and bone; iron and bronze rings; necklaces made with amber or faience; and bronze belts and stoles.

Other circle tombs have been found in the cemeteries at Corropoli, S. Egidio alla Vibrata and Teramo (Fiorelli 1877, 441–442; 1884, 345–347; d’Ercole 1986, 416–418). The funerary practices between the second half of the sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries BC were characterised by the end of the circular tumuli. The graves of this period consisted of simple trenches or *cassoni* (i.e. trenches lined and covered with large stone slabs). In the two necropoleis at Atri, both dating to Picene IVB, i.e. the second half of the sixth century BC (Giove Ruggieri and Baldelli 1982, 631–651), the bodies were buried in rectangular graves oriented east-west, with poor local pottery, rare bronze vessels, bronze and iron ornaments, and iron weapons.

The tombs dating between the mid-fifth to the mid-fourth centuries BC are very simple, poor in grave goods, or often completely empty (Guidobaldi 1996, 194–212): this feature has often been considered as a symptom of social and economic crisis. However, another possibility is that it simply represents a change in funerary practice. Only a few examples of cemeteries dating to this period have been excavated, and frequently the tombs can not be easily dated because of the poverty of diagnostic materials. Therefore it is still difficult to provide a summary picture of the cemeteries in the period between the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

During the last twenty years archaeology has been able to provide remarkable evidence of the contact, both cultural and commercial, between the local tribes and other Mediterranean populations. Phoenician pendants, dating to the fifth century BC, representing heads, made of glass paste, have been found at Penna S. Andrea. Another interesting example is an ivory pendant from Tomb 127 at Campovalano, dating to the sixth century BC, decorated with several animals in an oriental or orientalizing style, and probably Phoenician (Cianfarani, Franchi dell’Orto and La Regina 1978, 285; d’Ercole 1986, 131–135; Martella 1995, 223–236; Menozzi, et al., 1998). Greek pottery finds are also attested, including three black figure *kylikes* found at Campovalano, a fragment of red figure *kylix* from Atri, and several Attic cups with high foot and in black gloss from Campovalano (Cianfarani, Franchi dell’Orto and La Regina 1978, 260; Tagliamonte 1987, 37–45; d’Ercole and Menozzi 2007).

A large quantity of Etruscan bronze vessels and bucchero has been found in cemeteries, especially at Campovalano, most of them coming from the southern Etruria. Caere, Vulci, Veii and Tarquinia seem to be the centres of production of these objects (Zanco 1974). Moreover, Etrusco-Corinthian pottery such as *aryballoi*, *kylikes* and *oinochoai*, generally with simple geometric decorations, dating to the first half of the sixth century BC, has been found in cemeteries mainly in northern and central Abruzzo, such as Campovalano and S. Egidio. The centres of production of these exemplars are mostly Vulci and Caere, and similar examples are widely attested in both Sabine and Faliscan areas, as well as in south Etruria, Latium and Campania. The local tribes probably exchanged these goods for the products of local agriculture and pastoralism, such as oil, olives, grain, animals and animal products (milk,

cheese, wool, leather). According to Hecataeus, for example, the animals exported by the Piceni of Hatria were considered of very high quality (Hecateus, in Steph. Byz., *Ethnicon*, 14, 15–20). Most exchanges were based on trade by land, especially with the Etruscans and the Greeks of southern Italy, using natural routes like river valleys and mountain passes.

According to the “traditional” point of view, long-distance transhumance played an essential role for the exchange of goods already in the Archaic period, but it is a subject of much debate (Barker 1989, 1–19; Barker and Grant 1991, 15–88). It is possible that transhumant shepherds transported their flocks between the winter and summer pastures already in early periods, but probably only for short distances from the mountains to the coast. Moreover, archaeological evidence for long-distance transhumance earlier than the Hellenistic period is still scanty.

Sea trade in the Adriatic probably followed the line of the coast from the Etrusco-Padanian settlements towards Apulia, with stops at the main harbors for the exchange of goods. Recent finds of Greek pottery in the Marche and Abruzzo are clear proof of this trade. They are not always reliable evidence for sea trade, however, since they might have been brought into these regions also by land through Etruscan mediation. On the other hand, both Etruscan and Greek ships frequented the Adriatic sea during the Archaic and Classical periods, as we know from literary and archaeological sources (Hdt. 1.163; Strabo 5.1.7, 8.16.16; Thuc. 1.24–26; for discussion see Cristofani 1983, 95–104).

III Northern Picenum (Alessandra Ciarico)

Northern Picenum in Picene I produces cremation tombs in the cemetery of Ancona-Colle Cardeto (Brizio 1902; Baldoni and Mazzacurva 1978–1979; Baldelli 1985; Landolfi 1985, 1988b), Numana-Area Quagliotti T52 and Numana-Davanzali T455 (Lucentini 2007, 99–100), and Matelica-Località Brece T14 (Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 57) (Fig. 6). Except for these limited examples the main funerary practice was inhumation, with the body on the right side in fetal position, in some cases laid out on a bed of marine gravel, which is a quite common practice also in later periods. The funerary equipment is still quite poor, mostly lacking in pottery, and including just a few limited ornaments (mostly fibulae), weapons (swords, spears), very simple utensils for daily work (knives, spindle whorls) and toiletries (simple razors). Most of these objects find parallels in Villanovan and trans-Adriatic contexts (Lollini 1976, 122). Other cemeteries dating to this period have been found at Monte Roberto (Lollini in Percossi Serenelli 1998, 55), Moie di Pollenza (De Marinis and Percossi 2005), and Porto Sant’Elpidio (Bergonzi and Ritrecina 2009). Moreover, the necropolis at Fermo-Contrada Misericordia is also important because of its very different features, closer to Villanovan culture, with numerous cremation tombs (Baldelli 1996; Drago Troccoli 2003; Baldelli, et al. 2003; Montali 2006).

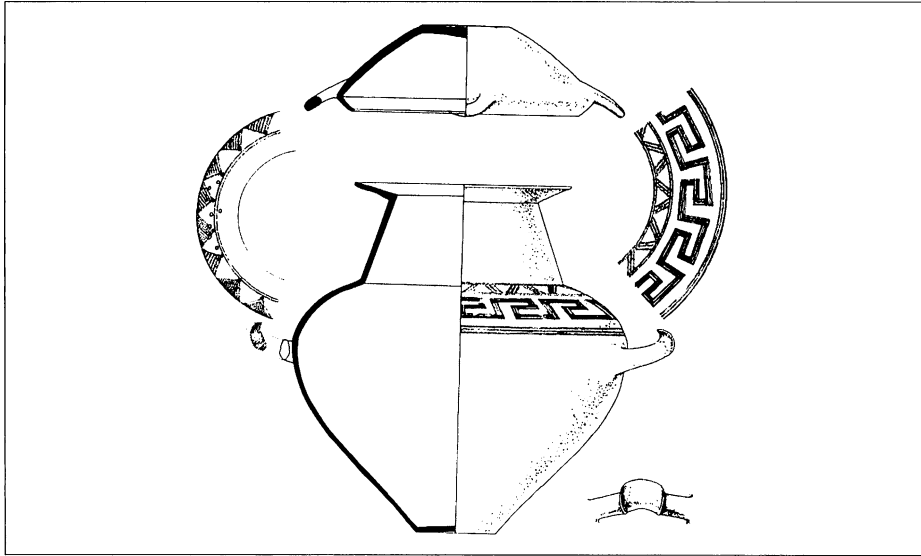


Fig. 6. The cinerary urn from Tomb 62 from Sirolo-phase Picene I (after Percossi Serenelli 1998, fig. 15).

In Picene II the cemeteries have more peculiar features, with a higher concentration of burials, a closer connection with a settlement, and a placement among the main natural trails (Baldelli 1999, 55). New centres and cemeteries are attested for the first time in this period, such as Novilara, which is one of the few completely published sites in this area (Brizio 1895, 85–463; Beinhauer 1985). Together with the crouched position burial, the supine burial is also attested now, which was adopted also at Fermo. The funerary equipment also includes pottery: predominantly the *kantharos* with an oval mouth and the *cothon* with cylindrical spout, typical of the female tombs. Iron now appears in the funerary equipment, used mainly for weapons, while the local production of bronzes of Picene tradition seems to be attested, with influences both from the surrounding Italic contexts, as well as from Illyrian areas.

The funerary equipment in general becomes richer and more diverse in Picene II, attesting to a more elaborate social differentiation, both for social status and for specific roles within society. Ornaments appear, such as articulated pendants, pectorals with plate decorated by double ornithomorphic protomes (Fig. 7), e.g. the case of the tomb found at Ancona-Ospedale (Lollini and Baldelli in Percossi Serenelli 1998, 45 ff. and fig. 14). Quite rich equipment is also attested in child burials, probably members of a local élite. For the female burials another aspect is quite important, which is the introduction of numerous objects closely related to spinning, testifying to the role of women in the production of textiles (Percossi 2004; Bergonzi 2007).

With Picene III the supine burial becomes prevalent, except for Novilara, whose burials are still characterized by the body being in a crouched position. In this period

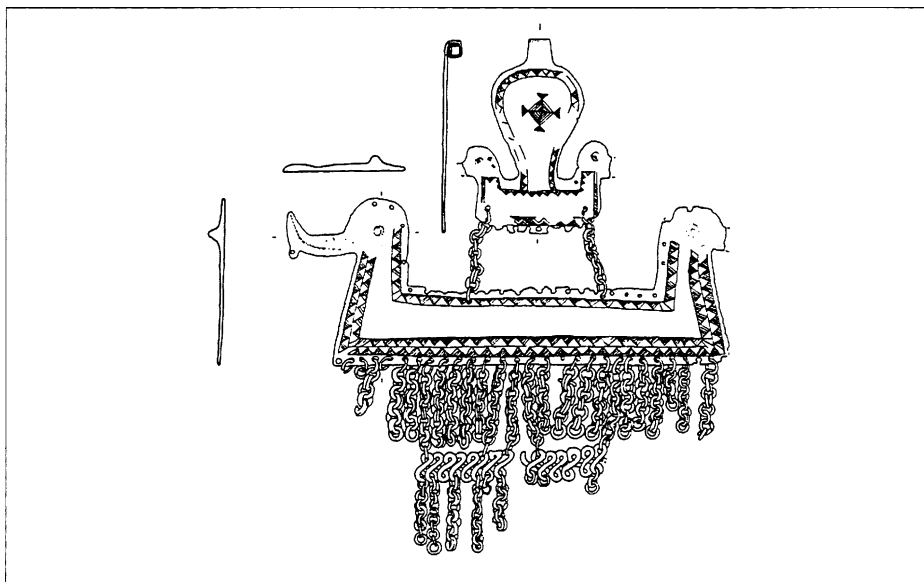


Fig. 7. Double zoomorphic pectoral plaque from the woman's tomb of Ancona-Colle Cardeto-Ospedale (after Percossi Serenelli 1998, fig. 14).

the cemeteries monumentalize, with the construction of circular tumuli, often delimited by stones and ditches. This monumentalization is widely attested, for instance, in the central area of Marche and between high and medium Esine and Chienti valleys, where Orientalizing caisson tombs or pseudo-chambers are found: such as at Fabriano (Sabbatini 2003; Sabbatini in Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 123–131; Baldelli in Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 132–140), Monte Penna di Pitino di San Severino (Landolfi and Moretti Sgubini in Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 141–154), Tolentino (Percossi Serenelli 1992), and Matelica (Biocco, et al. in Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 72–122). In the latter, the tombs known as T1 (of “the Princess”) at Passo Gabella and T182 (of “the Prince”) at Crocifisso (Sabbatini in Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 197–214) are certainly the most spectacular for their luxurious equipment, with imported vessels, exotic objects (ivory, ostrich eggs), together with rich personal ornaments and jewels, and scepters. Male burials feature swords, spears, helmets, shields, and a new status symbol, the chariot (Camerin 1997). In female burials some new ornaments are attested, such as the stole with bronze disks, as in the cases of Monte Penna, Pitino and Pievetorina (Naso 2000, 115 ff.).

For the first time we see regional differentiation and local distribution patterns in the typology of pottery and vessels (Lollini 1976, 130). The metallurgy is now more specialized and laminated bronzes are also produced: this includes helmets, disks with incised and embossed decorations with geometric patterns of figurative themes, and *cistae* of the typology known as *a cordone*, typical of Novilara and Ancona. Iron is now used exclusively for weapons. With this phase we see an emerging upper

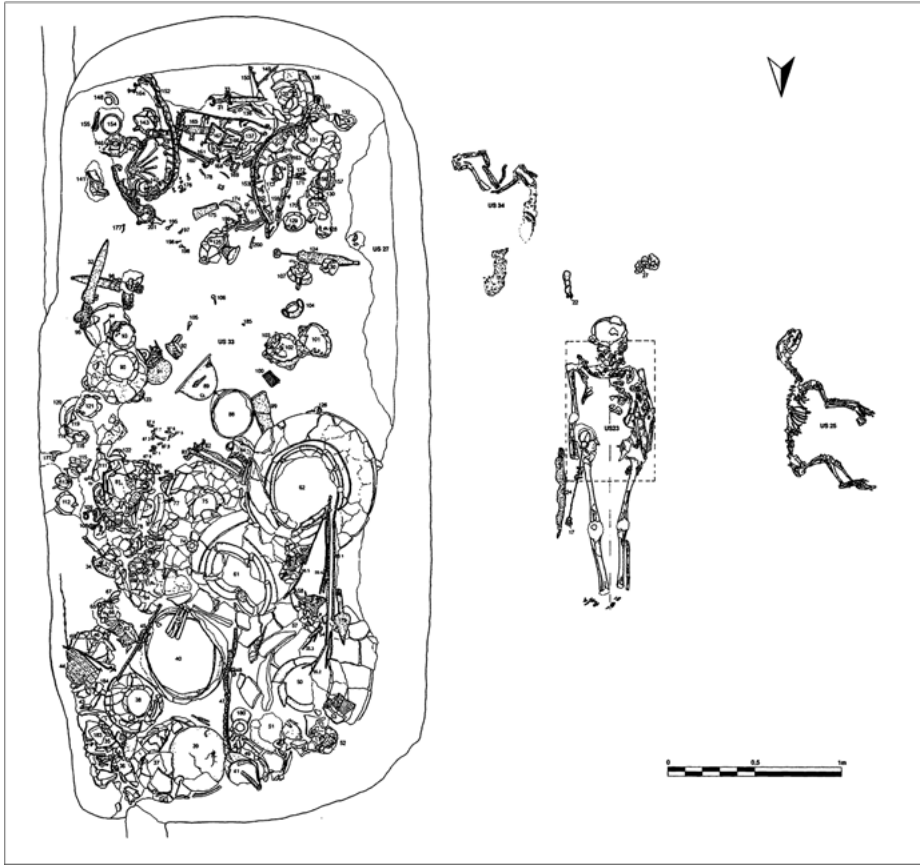


Fig. 8. Plan of the Tomb 182 at Crocifisso di Matelica (after Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, fig. 83).

class, with rich funerary practices and equipment for both men and women, strongly influenced by Greek and Etruscan practices. Some have suggested that this new, widespread wealth might have come in part from the payments of tolls for the passage through territories controlled by the emerging local aristocracy (Naso 2000, 95).

With Picene IVA, Picene culture reaches its maximum *floruit*, with a wider distribution of the resources (Landolfi 1988a, 330), a richer economy with a greater amount of importation of goods, and Picene objects themselves appearing as far away as the Balkans (Landolfi 1988a, 332). A large number of cemeteries is attested for this period (for a list see Lollini and Baldelli in Percossi Serenelli 1998, 23). Prestigious status symbols become more common, as the chariot and personal ornaments are richer and more numerous. Tombs attesting to this wealth have been found at Belmonte Piceno, Grottazolina, Cupramarittima and Numana (Camerin 1997), but the most sumptuous burial is the so called Tomb of the Queen of Sirolo, found at Sirolo-Numana. This burial, in a circular tumulus, is strictly local in its ornamentation, such as pendants and plates, together with the *cothon*. But there are

also two chariots and numerous bone and bronze objects used for spinning cloth (Landolfi 1997, 2001, 2004).

Picene IVB starts a new and more complex cultural phase. Bodies are also buried with the legs slightly flexed and the tombs can also be delimited by circular ditches, as in the case of the cemetery of Sirolo-Numana. A typical ornament of this period is the so-called *certosa* fibula, which are found in different sizes and have different typologies. Moreover, both black- and red-figured Attic pottery appears, beginning a trend which seems more typical of the following period. The most represented weapon in the male tombs is the large scimitar-style sword, while female ornaments are characterized by bronze or iron rings and necklaces in amber or colorful glass paste. The basin with pearl rim is typical among bronze vessels, while some new shapes find parallels with those from Etruscan areas (Percossi Serenelli 1998, 25). Pottery shows great innovation in shapes due to the introduction of the lathe. The Greek-style funerary banquet is evoked also through the finds of kitchen tools like spits, andirons, knives, and graters. As for funerary sculpture, the only example from northern Picenum belongs to this period – the monumental head in limestone, known as the Numana warrior, whose date is still open for debate (Colonna 1992, 93–98) (Fig. 9).

Picene V, apart from the cemeteries of Sirolo-Numana, Camerano, Pianello di Castelbellino, Pitino di San Severino and Tolentino (Percossi Serenelli 1998, 124–135), is represented mainly from sporadic finds, mostly of Greek pottery, along the coast line. Numana now emerges, chiefly because its port had become an important Adriatic harbour for Greek trade not only for the Picene area, but also for the inland Etruscan and Umbrian centres. The funerary equipment of this period is characterised by the same objects as the previous one, but not as wealthy and the number of rich burials becomes rarer. Among weapons found in burials bronze arrowheads and javelins are attested, while the scimitar swords are smaller and the careened helmet becomes popular. Pottery production is more standardised; the *cothon* disappears, the biconic vessel is very rare, and the *kantharos* is now only in miniature. Bronze vessels and Greek pottery seem to suggest more frequent contact with the Etruscan and Greek worlds.

With the Picene VI this long process of cultural development saw the loss of many aspects of Picene culture, as a result of wider historical events. There are just a few cemeteries attesting to this final phase: Camerano (Lollini in Percossi Serenelli 1998, 174–175), Sirolo-Numana (Landolfi in Percossi Serenelli 1998, 176–177) and in the area of Macerata (Pieve Torina, Cessapalombo, Tolentino); moreover Celtic cemeteries are attested (Kruta 1999) at Montefortino at Arcevia (Brizio 1899), Santa Paolina at Filottrano, and San Filippo di Osimo and tombs at Moscano and Monterolo (Landolfi in Percossi Serenelli 1998, 159–162). There are not many vessels in the funerary equipment – in some case even just one – of painted “north Adriatic” pottery, Etruscan and Apulian vessels, black glaze pottery, together with achromatic plates, cups, amphorae, and more rarely *alabastra* and *pyxis*. The only metallic vessel at this point is the large bronze cauldron. Fibulae are attested in large quantities



Fig. 9. The head of the Numana Warrior (Colonna 1992, Table I).

and are very similar in shape to those of the previous period. Swords and sheaths are very similar to those of the Gauls, and the tradition of bending the weapons for ritual decommissioning is quite typical of the Celtic tradition.

Compared with funerary contexts, evidence for settlements in northern Picenum is rarer and scantier (Luni 1999, 165), although important finds are coming in from recent excavations, which are creating a clearer picture, especially for the area of Matelica. In the earliest phases the settlements are not very numerous, but quite large in plan. Some examples have been found at Ancona-Colle Cappuccini (Lollini 1956), Osimo (Naso 2000, 54–55), Pollenza (Lollini 1979, 209), Colli del Tronto (Lucentini 1991, 17–18) and Cartofaro (Silvestrini Cazzella 1981). In some of these villages there is continuity from the end of the Bronze Age/beginning of the Iron Age, as at Casale Superiore di Colli del Tronto, Pollenza and at Colle Cappuccini at Ancona. With the eighth and seventh centuries BC the villages seem to be more numerous,

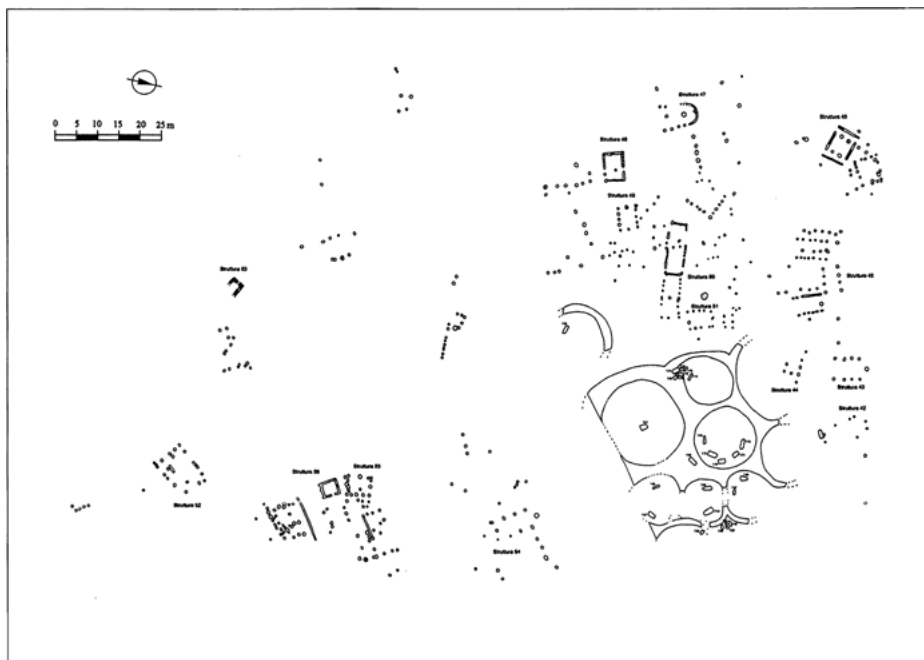


Fig. 10. Plan of the settlement at Cavalieri of Matelica, dating to the seventh-beginning of the fifth centuries BC (after Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, fig. 25).

especially along the coast and the river valleys. Among these settlements must be mentioned Matelica (Biocco and Silvestrini 2008) and Montedoro (Baldelli 1991; Gobbi 2002).

Among the structures found at these settlements, there is evidence for plastered wooden huts, which are not very well preserved except for their post holes. They are rectangular in shape with one of the short sides presenting an apsidal arrangement, and with the entrance on the opposite side (e.g. at Matelica-Crocifisso: Biocco and Gobbi 2003, 152–158). The huts were quite large, even up to 20 m long, suggesting the settlements were organized by clans. Later the huts become smaller and rectangular or elliptical in plan. It is interesting to note the presence in some sites of functional structures, with six or eight post-holes, used as storerooms or animal shelters, as attested at Matelica-Crocifisso and Cavalieri (Biocco and Silvestrini 2008).

For the following phases, already from the sixth century BC, the wooden huts are slowly replaced by more elaborate structures, including shingles and tiles for the roofs, as at Moscosi di Cingoli (Silvestrini 1999, 166–167; De Marinis and Silvestrini 2003, 85–102). Walls are often in small pebble stones and sometimes tiles, used for the foundations with a wooden upper part, as at Pesaro (Luni 1999, 167–169) or in pisé. Just occasionally the beaten floor is preserved and is made of beaten gravel (Matelica), earth (Pesaro) or clay (Ancona-Colle dei Cappuccini), made harder by firing. The existence of kilns (both as pits and structures) is attested at Moscosi (Sabbatini

and Silvestrini 2003), Montedoro di Scapezzano (Gobbi 2002) and Matelica (Silvestrini 2008).

IV Conclusions (Oliva Menozzi)

Already in the fourth century BC strong relationships are attested between Picentes and Tyrrhenian regions, including Etruscan areas as well as Latium and Rome; these contacts were either mediated by the Sabini and the Umbri, as well as depending upon direct economic and cultural contacts. In this sense, the main tracks for the transmission of goods, relationships and ideas between the mid-Adriatic and Tyrrhenian contexts were the mountain passes and river valleys, east-west oriented and allowing for regular contact. Some of these become the axes of a regularized road-network, becoming in Roman times the *viae publicae romanae Caecilia, Salaria* and *Flaminia*.

It was in the Picene VI (between the fourth century and 268 BC) that Rome's interest in the area became stronger, especially after the alliance between Rome and the Picentes (299 BC). The Battle of Sentinum (295) followed, and then the conquest of the Sabini, Piceni and Praetuttii by the end of 290 under the generalship of Curius Dentatus. Consequently, there were the foundations of various Latin colonies: Hatria (289), Castrum Novum (283), Ariminum (268) and Firmum (264). These settlements were already acting as main centres for the neighbouring territories, offering also the great opportunity of seaport. Moreover, in a period of great conflict with the Samnites, the Picene territories represented a great opportunity for reaching the Adriatic coasts while avoiding the Samnites.

During this period some of the colonies – Hatria, Firmum and Ariminum – had autonomous mints which issued cast bronze coinage based on the so called “Adriatic Italic system” (Panvini Rosati 1970, 77–92; 1974, 83–93; 2000, 79–92). These issues, which are homogeneous in weight system, inscriptions and iconography, might have been intended for the payment of the Italic troops allied to Rome during the First Punic War, with specific amounts provided by the colonies, as in the case of Hatria, Ariminum and Firmum, or by the allies, as in the case of the Vestini. These coins should have been issued after the foundation of Firmum (264) and before the end of the Punic War (241); some scholars suggest the years around 261 (cf. La Regina 2011, in part. 231–232), when the Italic allies began to participate in this war with larger contingents of ships and troops.

From 230 BC, given the problems Rome had with the Illyrians and the beginning of the so-called First Illyrian War, Picene territories became crucial for Roman presence on the Adriatic sea, especially southern Picenum. On the other hand, northern Picenum was playing a fundamental role for the relationship with the Celts.

This is therefore the period of the first colonial land distributions and of the consequential organization of the *agri coloniali*. The territory was totally re-organised, and within a few years *praefecturae* were established, new administrative territorial

districts. The creation of *praefecturae* created a new, important role for certain pre-existing settlements, such as the *conciliabulum* of Interamnia Praetuttiorum. Latin colonies and pre-existing administrative settlements, including the Greek colony of Ancon, administered both territorial districts, as well as the exploitation of the local resources, interacting intensively with numerous minor settlements. These smaller settlements were located along the main roads, at the crossroads of the road network, and were probably semi-independent centres, often with the status of *vicus*. An example is the *vicus* which has been excavated at Basciano, in the area of S. Rustico (Pellegrino and Messineo 1991, 269–286), which is located in a boundary area between the *Ager Praetuttianus* and the *Ager Hatrianus* along the natural road, already used in the Archaic period, which, following the Vomano river valley and passing through the Sabine and Faliscan areas, arrived directly in southern Etruria and northern Latium. By 117 BC this trail became a regular Roman road, and in this area crossed another natural track, following the river Mavone, which was used as local *tratturo* and was monumentalised in Roman time. The excavation of the *vicus* brought to light the remains of a large temple with a rich votive deposit, both dating to the second century BC, and several buildings of difficult interpretation. The structures were organised on the basis of parallel axes, crossing orthogonal smaller roads and forming regular quarters, and constituting one of the most organised settlements in the area.

Between the end of the third and the second centuries BC the hierarchic organization of the region was based on this interaction among the settlements, but in rare cases, some of the middle-size centres have improved their role in the territory, becoming more important than nearby colonies. This was the case of Latin colony of Castrum Novum and the nearby *conciliabulum* of Interamnia Praetuttiorum. In the third century the Latin colony of Castrum Novum dominated the territory and administered an harbour on the Adriatic; with the transformation of Interamnia into the main administrative centre of a *praefectura* with its own *ager*, Castrum Novum became a secondary centre and in short time was seen as merely a seaport close to Interamnia.

Between the second and the first century BC also other settlements used as *fora* (market centres) and *conciliabula* became very important for their positions along the main roads, as in the case of Forum Sempronii (mod. Fossombrone), which played the role of a market and crossing point along the Via Flaminia. With the Social War and the attendant “municipalization” of Italy, most colonies and main centres became *municipia*, while the *vici* maintained a connective role with the territory and with its economic exploitation, mainly based on small farms. Land redistributions after municipalization spelled a reorganisation of the territory, and the presence of Roman soldiers are widely attested on numerous funerary monuments with doric friezes and reliefs with weapons, some of them reused, for instance, in the cathedral of Teramo.

Under Augustus Picenum became the Regio V, and its northern boundaries changed again, on the basis of the new reorganisation also of territories which

were in the hands of the Celts. As attested also in other areas of the mid-Adriatic context, new public buildings were planned in this period, such as theatres, augustae and basilicas, which were completed by the end of the Julio-Claudian period.

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I Introduction

The last two decades of archaeological discoveries and historical rethinking have without doubt exponentially increased our knowledge of ancient Umbria, and it is necessary to consult the bibliography to reconstruct the acquisition of this wealth of experience and archaeological documentation, which it is not possible to cover fully in a summary like this. Some introductory remarks are essential. Knowledge of ancient Umbria has not been helped by the fact that the modern region is divided into three Augustan regions (V, VI and VII – Sabina, Picenum, Umbria and Etruria), or by the fact that a part of what should be considered ancient Umbria is also included in the modern regions of the Marche and Emilia-Romagna. Thus the circumstances that often confused the territory of the Umbri with that of the Etruscans in literary sources have been made even more complex and complicated, generating overlaps, lack of clarity and ambiguity in our picture of this Italic people.

Analysis has also not been facilitated by the fact that the protohistoric settlements in today's Umbria are buried under first Roman then Medieval layers of the modern historic centres. Only when a specific protection body was established in the region (the Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Umbria, 1964) was greater interest aroused; but even this was essentially a strengthening of the application of protective and emergency measures. Apart from a few general texts, serious, programmatic scientific research into the protohistory of this people was virtually non-existent in the last four decades of the twentieth century. Finally, with the arrival of the twenty-first century, new excavations and studies, based firstly on historical sources but above all on archaeological documentation, have reignited interest and begun to trace the various aspects of a very ancient but in large part forgotten people in a more substantial and comprehensible way. Nevertheless, the still-evident scarcity and the fragmentation of the archaeological documentation do not in any case help in entirely clarifying the formation and development of the economic, cultural and social identity of the Umbrian tribes compared with the more developed Tyrrhenian and Adriatic areas, in particular regarding the most ancient period, that covering the late Bronze and early Iron Age (1300 to 1000 BC).

All photos in this article were taken by V. Pescari of the Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria. The author and editors would like to thank the Soprintendenza for the use of them.

Dorica Manconi: Via Brunamonti 15, 06122 Perugia, Italy; Email: dorica.manconi@tin.it.

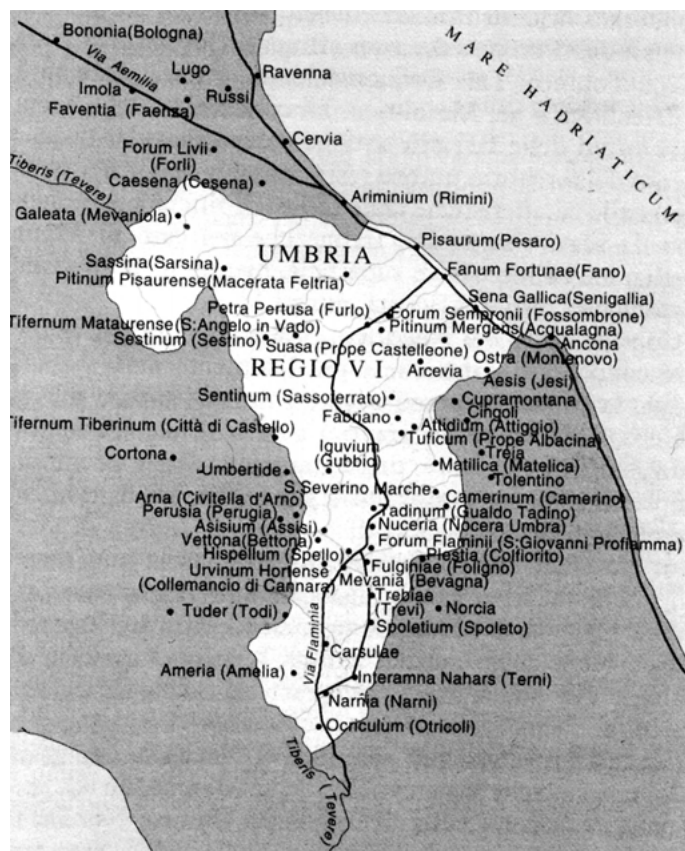


Fig. 1. Map of ancient Umbria (Regio VI).

II The borders of the Umbri

Evidence for the *ethnos* is present in inscriptions coming from Etruria (the former on a Corinthian krater from Cerveteri, dating to the first twenty-five years of the sixth century, the latter on an Attic *kylix* from Gravisca, dating to the last twenty-five years of the sixth century). The only Italic evidence is from the fifth century, this time in south Picenum, on a bronze bracelet dedicated in a shrine in the Pescara valley and which mentions “in the territory of the Umbri” or “in the plain of the Umbri:” **ombriien akren** (Sisani 2009, 19). In reality there was a large protohistoric Umbria extending far beyond the boundaries of what would become Regio VI (Umbria) in the Augustan era (Fig. 1).

Herodotus (4.49.2) is the first written source to note the great extent of the territory and its origins (late fifth century). Both Herodotus (1.94.6) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.20.4) agree in attributing to Etruria substantial expansion

into Umbrian territory, Perugia and Cortona being among the cities with Umbrian origins. Finally, as Pliny (*HN* 3.112) reminds us, the Etruscans conquered fully 300 *oppida* of the Umbri, very probably those “just beyond the Tiber” (Stopponi 2008, 35). Up to a certain period Umbrian territory covered central and northern Italy, almost as far as the Alpine region, as the northern boundary in physical terms coincided with the Po river, according to Livy (5.35.2) and Stephanus of Byzantium (492 M.), while to the south, according to some sources, mostly Greek, the Umbri occupied the coastal area between Ancona and the more southern lands (e.g. Ps. Scyl. *Per.* 16M).

Pliny (*HN* 3.112) tells us that the Umbri were the most ancient people in Italy (*gens antiquissima Italiae*) and that the term *Ombrii* had been coined by the Greeks because they had survived the rains after the land had been deluged by water. Strabo (*Geog.* 5.1.10) makes an explicit reference to confrontation and rivalry between Etruscans and Umbri, two peoples separated only by the river Tiber, saying that there was evidence of peoples of Umbrian stock also at Rimini and Ravenna (5.2.10), later considered part of the Augustan *regio VIII*. Moreover, indirect confirmation of antagonism towards both the Etruscans and the Iapyges (that is, the Apulians) is to be found in reference to the expulsion of representatives of these two peoples from the Iguvine community before the rite of the lustration of the army (*Tabulae Iguvinae* Ib 16–17). Finally, Pliny (*HN* 3.115) mentions an *Umbrorum Butrium* in the vicinity of the Spina which Justinus (*Epit.* 20.1.11) records as *in Umbris*.

The deeds and fates of the Etruscans and Umbri thus often come together in ancient historiography, and so Etruscan centres are attributed to the Umbri and vice-versa. This fact undoubtedly derives from the overlap and vagueness of the borders between the two ethnic groups, and even more from the disputes and the state of war that often existed between them, which was perhaps in part attributable to a need for colonization (Torelli 2010, 220). In the period classified chronologically as between the late Bronze and early Iron age, from time to time we see the presence of Umbri and Etruscans in the area of the Po river valley at least up to the sixth century, coinciding with the appearance of the Gauls in these areas. With the beginning of the Iron Age, the historical settlements of the Umbri are continuously occupied almost without interruption until the Roman period or beyond (among which are modern Terni, Colfiorito, Spoleto, Todi, Gubbio, Spello, Amelia, Matelica and Pitino).

III The Orientalizing period

From the seventh to the sixth century, in comparison with the models of the nearby Etruscan world under the impetus of an orientalizing *facies*, there is the concrete appearance of an independent cultural identity of the Umbrian *ethnos*, with a distinction between social classes and the genesis and establishment of an aristocratic caste and princes, exactly as happens within the other Italic peoples along the Apennine chain. In particular, this was stimulated and facilitated by the creation of a ruling class and an aristocracy that were implicitly opposed to that of the Etruscan

world, which nevertheless became the reference point in terms of culture and alphabet.

In addition to the sites mentioned, Terni, Colfiorito, Spoleto and Gubbio (Fig. 2), we can add Matelica, Fabriano and Pitino (Fig. 3) on the Adriatic side of ancient Umbria. At the same time, in the examples of Orvieto and Perugia, major Etruscan centres, there are sources and archaeological documentation which confirm the existence of Umbrian nuclei inside both cities. At Volsinii the sixth-century tombs contain numerous aristocratic Umbrian names (Torelli 2010, 224), demonstrating substantial and peaceful coexistence between the two ethnic groups, Etruscan and Umbrian, which was certainly a consequence of intermarriage. The presence in the tombs of weapons of war (Matelica, Fabriano, Spoleto, Colfiorito) and of the two-wheeled chariot (Pitino, Colfiorito, Gubbio) often classifies this aristocracy as a warrior class. Regarding the structure of the aristocracy and as formal confirmation of the awareness of ethnic belonging, it is helpful to remember that, in the third quarter of the seventh century, a graffito inscription on an impasto biconic urn “probably from the Umbrian bank of the Tiber,” now in Uppsala, has been attributed to the paleo-Umbrian language (most recently Agostiniani, Calderini and Massarelli 2011, 9–11).

The archaeological documentation from the seventh and sixth centuries, compared with the previous periods, shows an intensification of local specificity and division into geographical compartments. This is certainly due to their different productive capacities which are linked to the geomorphological characteristics of terrains concentrated along the valleys or in mountainous areas along the Apennine range. In any case a common culture, almost a central Italic *koinè*, can be recognized, in which there are common forms and affinities in pottery, tomb typologies and funerary rituals. Not a few of these affinities can be likened to the common Sabine Falisci-Capenati matrix seen in many manifestations belonging to the Orientalizing period (Stopponi 2004). This explains common configurations of objects such as bronze products like shields and female belts (Terni, Colfiorito, Fabriano), but also impasto vases decorated by engraving or relief engraving (Terni, Colfiorito, Spoleto).

Towards the end of this period meeting places for the individual communities, normally located along important travelling routes, are constituted by shrines, open-air religious sites. They are often very simple and characterized by bronze *ex voto* depicting armed warriors, or people making offerings (both male and female), or more or less schematized animals and other votive offerings (Fig. 4). Only a few of these small offerings can be classed as real sculpture.

IV The Archaic period

In the course of the fifth century some of those belonging to the higher classes show characteristics of a true aristocracy, that is those who have the ability to accumulate



Fig. 3. Topographical map of Umbria-Marche



Fig. 4. Assisi, Museo Civico: from Monte Subasio, small bronzes.

Medieval, and finally modern eras, is extremely complex to document and analyse in western Umbria.

Many of the hills on which these towns would later be built – Narni, Amelia, Otricoli, Todi, Spoleto, Spello, Assisi, Nocera Umbra, Gubbio, Camerino, Pesaro, Sassina, Galeata – were occupied by stable settlements that would gradually transform into true urban centres. On the other hand, many settlements on the plains – Maratta Bassa at Terni, the Colfiorito plateau, Assisi, the plain of Gualdo Tadino – were abandoned due to difficulties linked to climate and the insecurity of their positions; these were replaced by fortified settlements on higher ground (“castellieri”), which were founded under the guidance of a hegemonic centre or shrine (e.g. Sant’Erasmus di Cesi) in a territorial system which followed the diversified but well-planned logic of the *pagus-vicus* system (Fest. 247L; Bonomi Ponzi 1997). These settlements, most common along the Apennine range, are characterized by fairly constant and distinc-

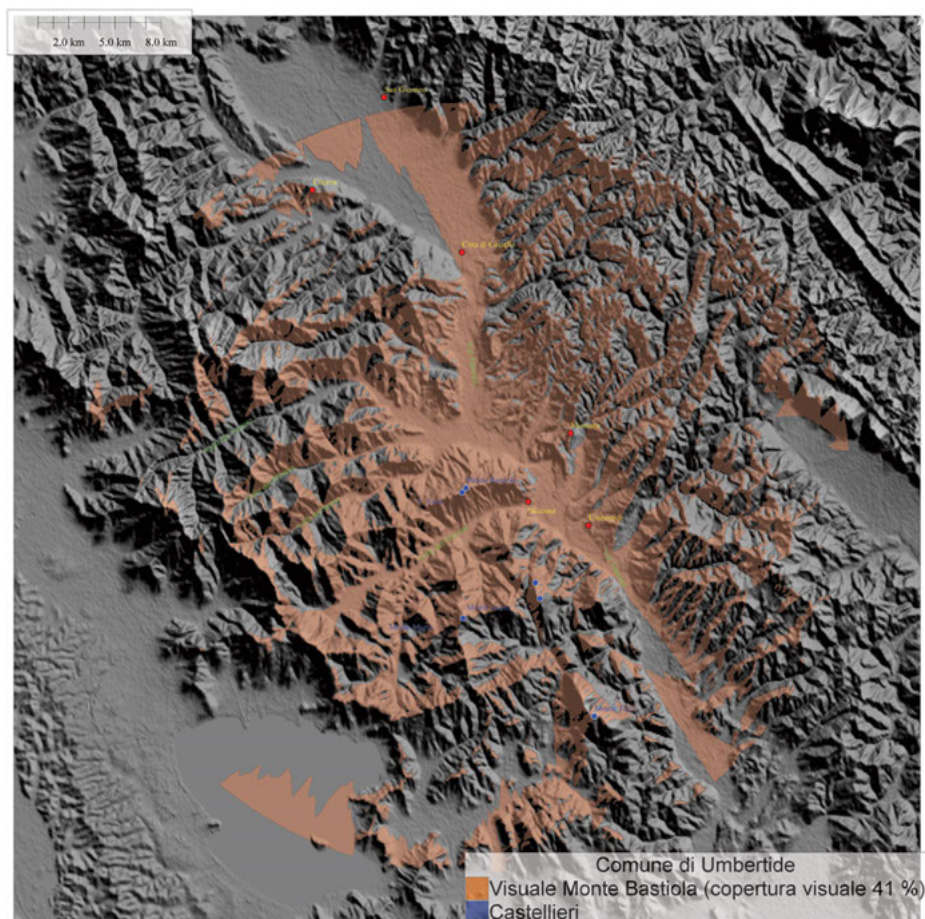


Fig. 5. Proposed territory of many “castellieri” near Umbertide

tive elements such as dry-laid stone walls and ditches in a circular, sub-circular or elliptic shape. Sometimes they are arranged on artificial terraces (Colfiorito, Monte Orve). In addition to a natural form of defence, these offer easy control over the vast surrounding territory and the approach routes (Fig. 5). The system has been studied and documented in the whole Apennine area, from the Monti Martani to the areas inhabited by the various Umbrian peoples: the Fulginati, Plestini, Tuderti, Camerti, Tadinati, Eugubini, Sestinati, Nucerini, Spoletini, Amerini, Spellati, Mevanati and Ocriculani.

With the fifth and fourth centuries, due above all to relations with the Etruscan world, some Umbrian shrines show traces of planning that could already be defined as urban. Especially notable are those characterized by special offerings, such as the Mars of Todi statue (Fig. 6) in the shrine of Montesanto, depicting a warrior in the act of offering a libation, or the presence of written texts such as the Iguvine Tablets



Fig. 6. Roma, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, from Todi, Monte Santo: bronze statue of the so-called “Mars of Todi.”

(Fig. 7). The characteristics of a properly planned development also become more consistent at Spoleto, Gualdo Tadino, Pesaro, Verucchio, Bevagna and Spello. In the cases of particularly significant excavations (Gualdo Tadino, Pesaro and Verucchio), it has been possible to establish that the dwellings had dry-laid stone foundations and wooden supports, with flat and curved roof tiles.

With the fourth century the impulse towards urbanisation becomes even more apparent, certainly due to quicker communication with the Etruscan and Latin *poleis*.



Fig. 7. Gubbio, Museo Civico: the Iguvine Tablets (Va).

This is no doubt due to the political and military entry of the Romans into the Umbrian area, in both the Adriatic coastal and the more flourishing internal zones. It is not just coincidence that it is in this period the *oppida* organize themselves like real towns, with stone-built city walls and gates (Otricoli, Amelia: Fig. 8, Spoleto and Bet-



Fig. 8. Amelia: polygonal walls.

tona) with their main religious sites inside them. There are also still, however, shrines in areas with dwelling arrangements of the *pagus-vicus* type, on mountain peaks (Foligno/Monte Pale, Terni/Monte Torre Maggiore, Calvi/Monte San Pancrazio), at points that people had to pass by (Avigliano Umbro/Grotta Bella, Colfiorito), in border areas (Amelia/Santa Maria in Canale), and in areas of transhumance (Monte Subasio, Fossato di Vico). Ceramic production also makes a qualitative leap, but local impasto pottery and imported ceramics (red-figure Faliscan and black-glazed pottery) still exist side by side in grave assemblages.

V The settlements and cemeteries

The position of settlements along the Apennine range between Tuscany/Romagna and Umbria/Marche appears to be strongly tied up with the nature and the geomorphology of the area. On the eastern side, the Apennine chain is separated from the Adriatic (Fig. 3) by a series of low, parallel, longitudinal hills alternating with valleys where rivers and streams flow; at the mouths of these were positioned a series of landing sites, often developed into real, protected ports in the following period, as in the case of Rimini, Pesaro and Ancona. On the western side of the Apennines, the situation is completely different. Large alluvial valleys extend to the sides of

the larger and smaller rivers such as the Tiber and the Chiascio, the Clitunno, the Tessino, the Topino, the Naia and the Nera, forming the Umbrian, Tiber, Spoleto, Terni, Gubbio and Gualdo Tadino valleys alternating with the massifs of Mt. Subasio, the Martani mountains and the Apennine chain (Fig. 2). This is a vast, varied area, rich in woods and forests and with substantial water resources, which offers the possibility of developing different productive activities, both in agriculture and in stock-farming, and of different types of settlements and exploitation of the soil.

The beginning of the Iron Age, as mentioned earlier, coincides with the stabilization and organization of the various ethnic language groups on the sites and lands which would later become known in historical times. In Umbria these sites coincide with the Apennine area and, at the same time, with the hills and rises which surround the valleys. The scarcity of knowledge from data coming out of the settlements is compensated and enriched by those which emerge from the cemeteries and shrines. Most representative for the first phase of the Iron Age are the cases of the areas of Colfiorito, Terni, Spoleto, Gubbio, Gualdo Tadino, Todi, Amelia and Spello.

At **Colfiorito** (Bonomi Ponzi 2010, 2014), ancient Plestia, a necessary point in the journey from west to east along the Apennine ridge, stable settlements with traces of huts already start to appear in the ninth century and continue until the seventh century, accompanied by cemeteries that last at least until the third century. Three distinct inhabited areas have been identified and only partially explored (located in La Capanaccia, Tavernelle di Serravalle del Chienti, and in the area of the Roman town), situated at a distance of 500 m from each other along the shore of the ancient Ples-tian lake. In the area that has been examined, postholes have been found which could support wooden beams of circular or rectangular shape. Latticework plastered with clay and beaten floors connected the beams, as demonstrated by the residues found in the excavations along with the remains of fireplaces. The recovery in the drainage ditches of a substantial amount of pottery in many shapes made from brown and black impasto pottery, along with spindle whorls and loom weights, documents these settlements up to the final phase. A ditch surrounded each of these populated areas, which all in turn had a spring. The type and settlement model of these villages around the lake recall examples already known in Umbria from the previous periods going back to the Middle-Late Bronze Age. Leftovers from meals provide evidence that there was significant hunting activity in addition to agriculture and the raising of pigs, sheep and cattle. It is believed that the area was abandoned due to changing climatic conditions.

Remains of similar buildings constructed on wooden planks supported by posts have been found at Riosecco near Città di Castello, Foligno, in via Trasimeno. Much more numerous and better documented examples have been found in the Cavalieri locality of Matelica and in Fabriano. Other examples also exist at Assisi, Spello, Spoleto and Bevagna, with less evident and less significant documentation, and for a chronologically later period.

The most important settlement from the Archaic Period in the area appears to be at Monte Orve, being of a proto-urban type with a complex layout, a settlement de-

veloped on artificial terraces constructed with dry-laid walls, surrounded by a rough polygonal boundary wall. The dwellings must have had flat and curved tile roofs.

The *pagus-vicus* type of territorial organization alters completely with the arrival of the Roman influence in the area. The village of Plestia develops around the shrine, which becomes its central point, and most of the settlements are lower down, as evidenced by the numerous rustic villas excavated in the vicinities of Annifo, Piani di Ricciano and Franca.

The cemetery linked to the villages comprised fully 250 burials from the ninth to the end of the third century (Bonomi Ponzi 1997; *Fulginates e Plestini* 1999). In the female tombs of the early Iron Age we see a greater richness in the ornamental grave goods. The materials show affinities with those of the contemporary cultures in Latium, Terni and Picenum. The grave goods from the Orientalizing phase are richer compared with those of the previous phase, due to the presence of elements imported from the Greek, Etruscan and trans-Adriatic areas. The vase-type grave goods are placed at the feet of the deceased, near the head, or next to the upper part of the body. The impasto vases are often decorated with plastic motifs, impressions or stampings. The production of metals is analogous to that of the Picene, Faliscan and Etruscan areas in general. In female tombs we see bronze discs, pendants and hair spirals, in addition to the characteristic elements, spindle whorls and needles. The male tombs, of the upper class, are characterized by the presence of one or more weapons (lances and swords, or iron knives). The tombs that have elite grave goods can be dated to the sixth and fifth centuries. The Archaic phase of the cemetery shows an increase in the population and greater wealth in grave goods. The tombs contain a series of objects such as weapons, tools for banquets, tableware linked to the use of wine, and large storage *dolia* to contain foodstuffs. There is also ceramic and bronze tableware originating from Etruria and Greece, which would seem to indicate an aristocracy that has taken control of the ways and means of agricultural production, transhumance and trade. In later tombs, those dating to the Romanizing phase, impasto disappears from grave goods and black glaze becomes more common; iron weapons are absent from male grave goods, while the bronze strigil appears. A general impoverishment of the grave goods is detectable.

A necropolis from the Archaic Period (sixth century) has recently come to light at Colfiorito during the work to build a new section of the “Val di Chienti” main road (at the new interchange which will connect the town with the SS 77). 75 graves have been discovered, of which 13 are individual burials monumentalized with circles of stones, over an area of 800 square meters. Among those worthy of note is a multiple burial (Tomb 47, a man, a woman and two children) at the centre of the circle, in which, in addition to iron weapons, there were iron rims belonging to the wheels of a *currus* (a two-wheeled chariot) and of a twin-axle cart, together with horse bits and other metal elements relating to a draft pole (Fig. 9) (Manca 2014).

A very important shrine also dates to the Archaic Period (sixth century), dedicated to the goddess Cupra, discovered on the shores of the Plestian lake. It is in a key position in a vast network of connections between the western and eastern Apen-



Fig. 9. Colfiorito di Foligno, Tomb 47: a cart.

nines, with links to the Sabines and the Piceni, and with the features of an “emporium” shrine. It existed until the first century BC, and was only monumentalized in the latter stages of its existence. The votive deposit contained a wealth of schematic bronze statuettes of the Italic type, red figure and black glaze vases, and some bronze sheets bearing a dedication to the goddess Cupra in Umbrian script. Cupra, considered to be the mother of the Plestini, had functions analogous to the Roman Bona Dea, and the alphabet used in the inscription is traceable to northern Etruria.

The area around **Terni**, ancient Interamna Nahars, at the confluence of the Nera and Tiber rivers (and the tributaries of the latter), is one of our primary sources of information about ancient Umbria. Archaeological data from here suggest an area of vast, local settlement, and the centre of Terni itself has yielded archaeological finds with proto-urban qualities that go back to the beginnings of the Iron Age (Angelelli and Bonomi Ponzi 2006; Bonomi Ponzi 2010, 2014). More knowledge is provided by the settlement of Maratta Bassa some distance from the historic centre of Terni. This is a broad extension in the shelter of a shoreline dune situated on a slope in sight of a lagoon-area towards the Nera. Several structures have been identified, attested by postholes and the remains of dry-laid stone walls. Residues of bricks from the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods (sixth century), in which the layers of abandonment of the settlement can be dated, lead one to believe that the structures were roofed with flat and curved tiles. Perhaps significantly, a Latin inscription (*CIL* XI, 4170) gives 672 BC as the date of foundation of the city.

Undoubtedly the most interesting data derive from the grave goods found at the cemetery at Acciaierie and S. Pietro in Campo, containing some 2,000 tombs dating from the tenth to the fourth centuries (Leonelli 2003). Discovered at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and with elements emerging from the excavations carried out in the last quarter of the twentieth, they show a phase of cremation-burial linked to the proto-Villanovan period followed by a phase of inhumation in the eighth century. The tombs that emerge belong to warrior-chiefs, with rich grave goods that recall southern Etruria. They are bounded by a circle of stones planted vertically in the ground, and/or covered by a tumulus of stones over the grave, following practices common throughout the whole Apennine area (Gubbio, Spoleto, Matelica, Spello and Colfiorito, but also Tivoli, Fossa, Scurcola Marsicana, Celano and Bazzano). The types of brown impasto pottery, sometimes decorated in a plastic manner as is the case with the metal materials, take inspiration from the contemporary Latial or central Italian facies, but often show typically local production.

Spoleto (Roman Spoletium) is situated in a very defensible position, this time at the entrance to a great Umbrian valley. Here, on the summit of Colle S. Elia, the first groups of dwellings were already being established in the early Bronze Age, and continued through the late Bronze and early Iron Ages until the Roman conquest. In the late Bronze age and for the whole Iron Age there are distinct, differentiated dwelling units, also found at the churches of SS. Simone e Giuda, and SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the area of the Duomo, Piazza Fontana, the eastern slope of Colle S. Elia and at S. Nicolò (Manconi 2010, Manconi 2014a, Costamagna 2015). In the latter locality traces of huts from the end of the Iron Age have been identified from the postholes. Only in the fourth or at the beginning of the third century does the process of aggregation seem definitively consolidated in the area of Spoleto, and the advent of the Latin colony marks the change to a different type of organization of the town and territory (Costamagna, Manconi and Donnini, forthcoming).

We know little about the development of the first dwellings in the Iron Age (eighth to sixth centuries), hidden as they are by successive large structures from Roman, Medieval and modern times, except for the fragments of materials in the localities listed above. It is clear that the choice of the site was carefully considered: the dwellings are concentrated on the most convenient side of the hill, more in tune with the needs of the period. This high ground is well-suited to natural defence, with spring resources on the slopes, in a position protected by the nearby hill of Monteluco, and also well-suited to controlling the main thoroughfares in all directions. Last but not least, they had the resources of one of the broadest and most fertile valleys in central Italy. The series of settlements concentrated in the Spoleto area controlled the neighbouring territory through a series of fortified settlements ("castellieri") positioned at strategic points on the passes of La Somma, Forca di Cerro, Bazzano and Via della Spina.

Grave goods from Iron Age cemeteries come from localities far apart from each other (at the church of S. Pietro, the Fosso Cinquaglia along the road to Acquasparta,



Fig. 10. Spoleto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Piazza d'Armi: a small bronze table.

at Cortaccione, and at Campello sul Clitunno), and provide convincing evidence of the fragmentation of distinct settlement units. These document an extended, well-off community spread over the territory whose materials (large impasto pots with ribbings) show similarities with those found in Matelica and Pitino di San Severino.

The recent, extraordinary recovery of remarkable grave goods from the cemetery in the locality of the Piazza d'Armi clarifies still further the importance of the princes of Spoleto in the Orientalizing period with the presence of bronzes and very rich funerary material in the tombs. The exceptional nature of the materials that came to light in 1982 (Fig. 10), 2004–2005 and between 2008 and 2011 shows the existence of an elite, with family groups of princely character. The burials are from between the end of the eighth and the middle of the sixth century and they demonstrate that the occupants controlled a vast network of influence and commercial and cultural relationships in this part of southern Umbria (Manconi 2014a; Bruni, Costamagna and Giorgi 2014; Manca and Weidig 2014, Weidig, forthcoming a and b). A total of 50 inhumation tombs have been excavated. The area was between the ancient Via Tuderte, which connected Spoleto with Todi via the Martani Mountains, and the route which would later become the branch of the Via Flaminia that connected Rome with Fano and Rimini through Umbria. The two high ranking male tombs have exceptionally rich grave goods: impasto vases decorated with fantastic animals, birds, horses and warriors, enriched by the presence of four symbols of power, refined sceptres in iron and bronze with symbolic zoomorphic representations. The

finds highlight the strong cultural influence of the whole Etruscan sector adjacent to southern Umbria, from Latium to the Falisci-Capenati territory, Sabina and Abruzzo; they also show obvious affinities with the princely tombs of Matelica and Pitino S. Severino in the Marche.

Finally, a shrine dating to the fifth century can be identified on the summit of Colle S. Elia in Spoleto itself. This has been documented by finds of schematic bronze statuettes representing people making offerings, warriors and a miniature lance (Manconi 2014a).

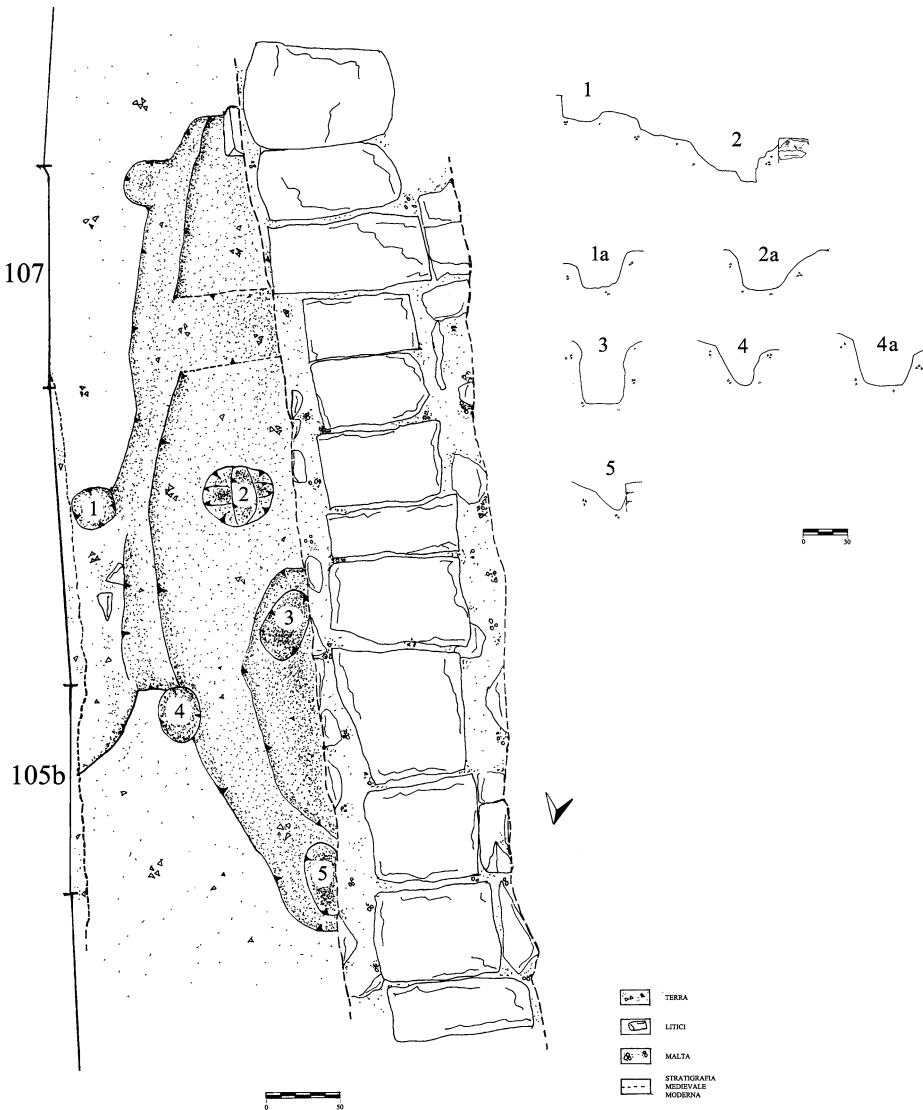


Fig. 11. Gubbio, via dei Consoli: plan of the remains of a hut.

At **Gubbio** (ancient Iguvium), at the site of Vescovado, the earliest phase dates from the middle-late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age, at which point it immediately starts to decline (Bruni 2008). The remains of a hut from the late Bronze Age have been identified at the beginning of Via dei Consoli (Fig. 11) (Cenciaglioli 2014), on the plateau where the Palazzo dei Consoli would be built; in the same street a corresponding Villanovan necropolis with numerous biconical urns has been found on the slopes of the hill (Fig. 12). Slightly later, in the early Iron Age or just afterwards, the settlements move onto the right bank of the river Camignano, at the base of the slopes of Monte Ingino, where late Bronze Age settlements had already existed in the “ex Fiat” area (Germini 2011). It is on the western side of the hill, to the right of the Camignano (Via degli Ortacci, Piazza Bosone, Via Bruno Buozzi) that most of the materials, consisting essentially of impasto pottery, have been identified, and these confirm dwellings that were there continuously from the Iron Age until the fourth century. The corresponding religious sites are located on the summits of Mounts Ingino and Ansciano, and are characterized by the existence of votive deposits with small bronze statues. The settlement just prior to the Roman conquest, “Gubbio Umbra,” is concentrated in a well-defined area, topographically bounded by the cemeteries (S. Benedetto, Via Eraclito etc.), between the river Camignano, the continuation of Via dei Consoli, Viale Parruccini and the wall so called “del vallo,” extending over about 34 hectares and surrounded by a huge area of land to be used for agriculture and stock-farming.

The contemporaneous inhumation cemeteries, often divided family by family within stone circles (S. Biagio) and then simply in graves, delimit and surround the Archaic settlement of Gubbio between the seventh and fourth centuries (Via Eraclito, S. Benedetto, Vittorina) and continue into the Republican era (Manconi 2008 and 2014a). The most noteworthy cemetery in the seventh century is in fact the one in S. Biagio, where weapons are found next to some bodies, while in the fifth century the richest is in Vittorina, with Attic kraters as the only grave goods (Fig. 13). At the end of the fourth to the start of the third centuries the cemetery at S. Biagio is again well documented, with single graves and grave goods featuring Malacena-type black-glazed kraters (Fig. 14).

Particularly interesting is the settlement identified on the rise in **Colle Mori (Gualdo Tadino)**, where, in the western zone of the hill, a settlement covering a few hectares is situated on artificial terraces positioned along the contour levels and constructed with walls of dry-laid limestone slabs. On the terraces were both public and private buildings with rectangular structures, generally comprising three rooms, and also on more than one floor. Every building had a room used as a storeroom or larder and a fireplace. The upper floors were wooden, and the roofs were covered with flat and curved tiles. This type of dwelling is not peculiar to Umbria; rather it is widespread in central Italy and in Etruria. The ceramic material, which covers cooking and food conservation needs, indicates a timespan from the second half of the sixth until the third centuries. Then the site was abandoned.



Fig. 12. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Gubbio, Via dei Consoli: biconical vase from the Villanovan necropolis.

Umbrian Tadinum, clearly identified by an inscription which refers to the public area of the town, was defended by a series of small fortified settlements which controlled the access routes from the neighbouring territories of Perugia and Gubbio in addition to the Apennine routes towards the Adriatic. Examples of houses with two or three rooms similar to those of Gualdo Tadino have been found in Pesaro. The shrine on the acropolis, in the highest area of the hill, comprising a rectangular *sacellum* with perimeter walls, is built with dry-laid limestone slabs with cavities for mounting wooden posts, and is surrounded by a rectangular *temenos* of squared limestone blocks. A high position was chosen for the shrine, occupied previously by a late Bronze Age settlement, as happens in other Umbrian sacred areas: Monte Orve at Colfiorito, Monte Primo at Pioraco, Monte Ansciano at Gubbio, and Monte Acuto at Umbertide (Bonomi Ponzi 2010, 2014).

The cemeteries connected with the Umbrian town, excavated by Stefani in the first half of the twentieth century, can be dated to between the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, and have been identified along the main communication routes with the ancient centre. Normally there are inhumation graves, often with weapons. One constant in a group of male tombs found at the Malpasso locality is the presence of a panoply of armour arranged at the feet and sides of the body. There are also imported Attic and Etruscan ceramics. Female grave goods are generally much less rich than the male ones, while children's tombs are completely absent (Testa 2002, 59–60). The



Fig. 13. Gubbio, Antiquarium, from the cemetery at Vittorina: Attic red-figure crater.

second group of tombs from the Archaic and Roman period has been excavated at the Cartiere locality (129 tombs) (for the tombs at Malpasso and Cartiere at Villa Giulia: Micozzi 2014, 327–356). It has been noted that the body was often buried in a wooden coffin, with specific rituals for the positioning of the grave goods as well. Weapons are rare and those that are present were not functional. In this case there are also children's tombs. The last necropolis, datable to between the Orientalizing and early Mediaeval periods, has been identified at S. Facondino, in the valley below Colle Mori. The tombs were arranged in two main groupings, one of which was organized around an elite tomb from the first half of the seventh century and with a protective tumulus of stones. Under the tumulus were found two distinct graves, one for the body and the other for the grave goods. Here, as well, there were traces of a wooden coffin (Testa 2002, 62).

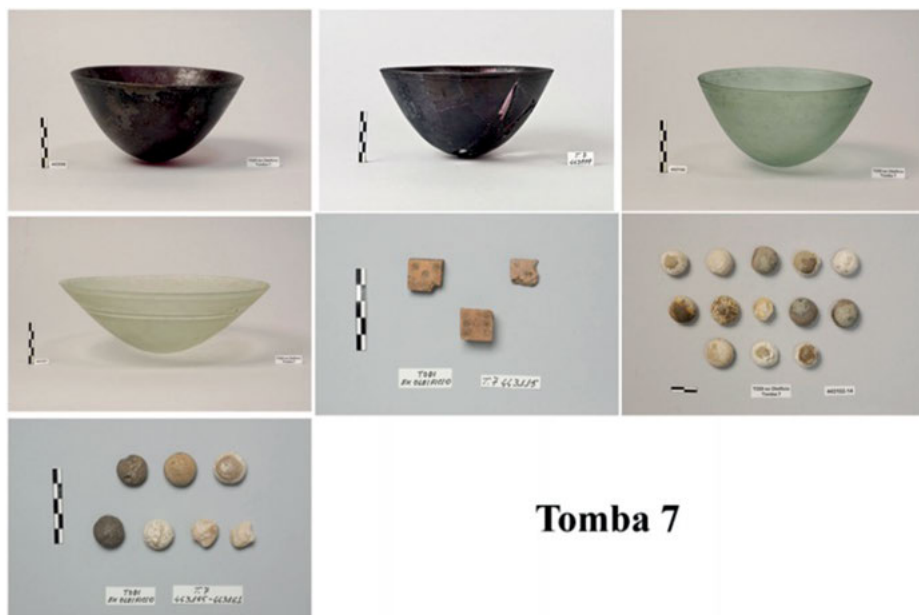
Todi, ancient Tuder, defined as *polin ombriken* by Plutarch (*Crass.* 6), is a town located at a crucial, high point at the border with Etruria, in a good defensive position, at the crossing point between the fertile Tiber valley and the Forello gorge, be-



Fig. 14. Gubbio, Antiquarium, from the cemetery at San Biagio: a “Malacena” type crater.

tween the Monti Martani chain and the slopes of Monte Peglia. The primitive settlement, dating back as far as the Middle Bronze Age, is situated on the Rocca/Via del Forno in a position that offered control over the Tiber valley below, and went on to the sixth century (Giontella 1996, 489–492). Not having sufficient documentation on the Etruscan town, evidently built on the hill later occupied by the Roman one, we can only presume, from the discovery of architectural terracottas dating from the fourth to the second centuries, that there were shrines/temples inspired by the Etruscan tradition and located at various points within the town, at the Rocca, S. Maria in Camucia, Porta Catena and the Cathedral (Berichillo 2009, 30–32; Giorgi and Manconi 2009, 120–122). The planning of the first urban development and its transformations can only be inferred from the presence of pottery fragments.

The materials in the grave goods from the rich cemeteries (eighth through second centuries), found in the nineteenth century and still more recently on the southern side of the hill (Manconi 2015; Fig. 15), give us detailed information on types of production, trade, wealth, Etruscan influences and changes in society (Tamburini and Torelli 1982, 49–58; Torelli 2010, 228). The graves follow the models of the surrounding Umbrian area, but the symbols of social class from the Archaic period are those of the Etruscan world, exemplified by the bronze laminate chariot coming from a rich set of grave goods in the necropolis (the so-called “laminates Ferroni” now in the National Archaeological Museum of Florence). The bronzes have representations of Teuthys and Achilles, which recalls the great Perugian models, especially of the male



Tomba 7

Fig. 15. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Todi, necropolis at via Orvietana: grave goods of Grave 7.

chariot of the princely tomb at Castel S. Mariano, and has been attributed to a workshop in Volsinii (mod. Orvieto). Again in the fifth century evidence of appreciation of Etruscan cultural models is renewed with the Mars of Todi (Fig. 6), produced by workshops in Volsinii for a notable in the town of Celtic origin. The Attic pottery in the splendid tombs at Todi also all comes through Volsinii and originate from the great port of Vulci.

The town's fourth- to third-century tombs no longer contain weapons as earlier, except in some rare cases, while the quality and variety of the imported pottery and bronzes and the richness of gold jewellery in the female tombs give evidence of the town's fundamental economic dynamism. At the same time the *aes rude* makes its appearance among the grave goods, anticipating the existence of a currency-based economy. We do not know very much about the minor shrines (Berichillo 2009, 25), the typically Umbrian ones characterized by small bronzes of warriors or the people making the offerings, or votive offerings themselves, while the already-mentioned "Mars of Todi" statue, datable to the late fifth century (Roncalli 1973 with earlier bibliography; most recently Berichillo 2009, 25) comes from the major shrine on the hilltop at Montesanto.

Nearby **Amelia** (ancient Ameria) also shows links between the shrine of the cemetery in the Pantanelli locality and the Volsinian one at Cannicella in their common choice of the goddess Vei/Demeter with her chthonic attributes. Moreover, the adoption of chamber tomb models links it to Etruscan Cerveteri (Stopponi 2004).

Spello (ancient Hispellum) shows the first signs of a stable settlement in the eighth century in the area of the church of S. Andrea, later occupied by the Roman forum as happens at Bevagna, Assisi and Arna. In this area, slightly above the natural limestone rock, sherds of unthrown impasto, thrown impasto-like bucchero, and grey bucchero pottery have been found, in open and closed shapes, datable to between the eighth and fourth centuries. In the early urbanization phase dry-laid construction is documented in this area. The cemeteries are at the edges of the hill, along the valley at the slopes of Mt. Subasio, in the Prato and Portonaccio-Via Baldini localities. Here burials within rings of stones continuing to the end of the fourth century have been found, with grave goods that recall Etruscan ones and simpler graves with more valuable ceramic and metal materials (Manconi 2014a, 133–135). A sacred area of the pre-Roman period, and later of the Republican period, has been documented at Villa Fidelia, where an imposing shrine would be monumentalized in the Augustan period (Figs. 16–18) (Manconi, Camerieri and Cruciani 1996, 381–392; Camerieri and Manconi 2012; Occhilupo 2012–2013, 267).

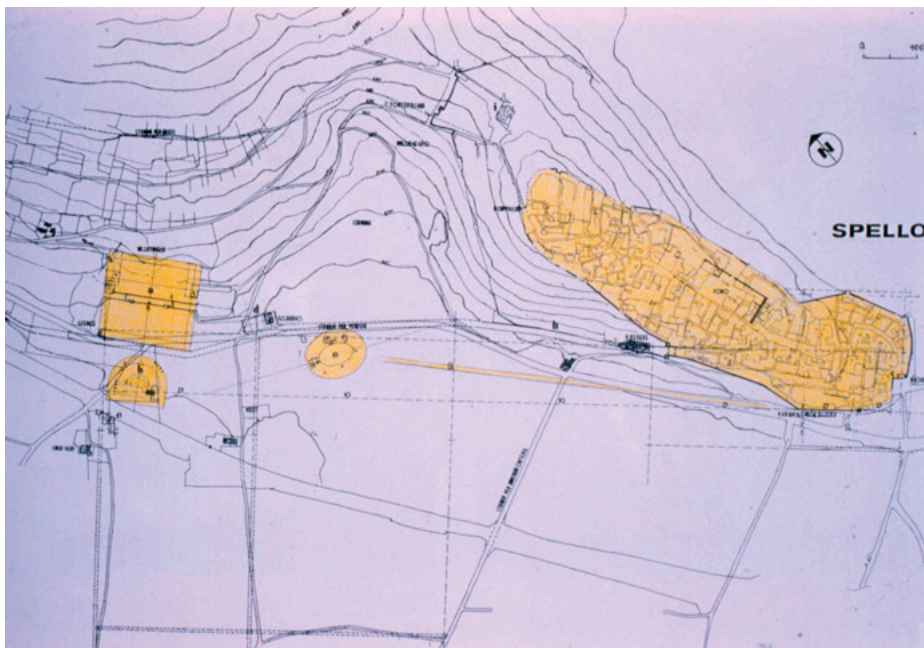


Fig. 16. Spello: map of the city and shrine at Villa Fidelia.



Fig. 17. Spello, at Villa Fidelia: area of the shrine.



Fig. 18. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Spello, at Villa Fidelia Spello: a small altar with inscription in Umbrian.

VI The language and writing

In Umbria, as we have seen, we certainly get the impression of a rather tardy ethnic self-consciousness, determined by the various intrusions and cultural mixtures with the neighbouring peoples – Sabines, Etruscans and Piceni in particular – which have profoundly limited the ancient image of this *ethnos*, enclosed in clear-cut borders only later in the first century, when Cicero (*Div.* 1.92) for the first time would use the noun “Umbria” to define this region (Agostiniani, Calderini and Massarelli 2011, 3).

A fundamental element in knowing the cultural identity of this people is its language and writing. In the context of ancient Italy, scholars have placed Umbrian in the group of Sabellic languages, of which it is the most innovative variety having affinities with Latin and Faliscan (Calderini in Agostiniani, Calderini and Massarelli 2011, 6; see also Zair in the present volume). The collection of inscriptions in the Umbrian language, slightly more than thirty in total, includes public inscriptions, sacred dedications, boundary terms, possession and funerary inscriptions, artist signatures and coin legends. The most important documentation is the Iguvine Tablets (Fig. 7) (Prosdocimi 1984), seven bronze tablets inscribed in Umbro-Etruscan and Latin alphabets, a unique body of evidence within the Italic panorama. Found in Gubbio about midway through the fifteenth century in the area of the Roman theatre, they are one of the most extraordinary documents relating to pre-Roman civilization and the Italic world. They are tablets cast in bronze using the lost-wax technique. They also document ancient texts preserved and used by the Atiedian Brotherhood, which coordinated the public ceremonies in the town.

Urbanization brought the adoption of writing as an instrument of political self-representation, like coinage, with two centres of production and inspiration. Deep changes in the economic and social structure characterized the slow, complex process of urbanization. Through analysis of the grave goods from the cemeteries, Todi in this specific context figures among the earliest (Maggiani and Nardo 2014). A full three alphabetic models are found there, which reveal the influence of southern Etruscan alphabets. In particular, the origin of the inscription of the Mars of Todi, the oldest among them (end of fifth to the beginning of fourth century), has been recognized as nearby Volsinii. Slightly later the process of urbanization comes to Gubbio, where the Tablets (engraved between the third and second centuries) show a town that was already composed and organized between the fourth and third centuries, here again with the appearance of a local mint. The influence in Gubbio, where three types of alphabet can be distinguished, this time comes from the northern Etruscan environment, very probably Arezzo.

Other writing phenomena are recorded for Gualdo Tadino, Colfiorito, Foligno, Spello (Fig. 18), Assisi, Amelia, Bevagna (Fig. 19), Sestino, Cingoli, Nocera and Città di Castello, but no *abecedaria* have been documented. The nuclei of the development of Umbrian writing go back to Todi and Gubbio, with Todi having priority



Fig. 19. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Bevagna, Madonna del Core: sundial (late second century BC)

due to the innovation of the *princeps* Umbrian alphabet. Maggiani and Nardo (2014), again, have identified two other alphabetical models, also deriving from Todi and Gubbio, starting from the second half of the third century. All the other alphabetical models documented in Umbria are indebted to these two centres. Thus there are two districts, one northern and one southern, which represent the fundamental points for the development of models of the writing tradition in the territory of Umbria: Gubbio and Todi, towns that demonstrate active cultural and economic dynamism between the fourth and second centuries, and are the only ones to mint coins.

During the course of Romanization, Latin writing gradually comes in alongside the Etruscan alphabet used by the Umbri. In the end the Umbrian language, as with all the other pre-Roman languages, dies out and is replaced by Latin.

VII The Roman Conquest

Various reasons spurred Rome to seek new lands to conquer in Umbria. Certainly, the need to cross Umbrian territory to be able to reach Etruria on the part of Fabius Rullianus during the course of the Sutrium campaign (Livy 9.35–37,12; 39) in 310 BC served to make the accessibility and agricultural fertility of the many large valleys in the area better known to the Romans. The proximity of the region to Rome very quickly converted the idea into a concrete necessity, which became even more important when the possibility of access to the Picenum area and the potential use of the Adriatic Sea was added to the equation. This could also explain the treaty between the Romans and the Umbri at Camerinum in 310 BC.

Consequently convenient roads were laid out, among others the Via Amerina. This was one of the corridors along which in 308 Fabius Rullianus certainly pushed into the central part of the area, reaching Perugia and soon afterwards Bevagna. With unqualified success, he managed to subdue the region and all the Umbrian peoples. Immediately after that a treaty (*foedus*) of friendship was made with Ocriculum. In a few decades the region was caught in the vice of conquest: in 299 Rome founded the Latin colony of Narnia (Livy 10.1.4–6: *adversus Umbros missa*), carried out the Sentinum campaign (296–295 BC) (Livy 10.18–31), founded the Latin colony of Ariminum (268 BC), and triumphed over the Sarsinati (266 BC; Livy, *Per.* 15). Finally, it founded the Latin colony of Spoletium in 241 BC (Livy, *Per.* 20), a military stronghold at the entrance of a large valley that opened the way to seize possession of the vast agricultural lands of Umbria, along an access road that would in 220 BC trace the route of a new, fast road towards the Adriatic: the Via Flaminia.

The Umbri, with men already fighting in the Roman army from 279 BC at Ausculum (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.1.5), consolidated their adherence to Rome at the time of Hannibal's invasion (Polyb. 3.86.1–11) and suffered the consequences. In the course of the third century, and at least until the beginning of the second century, various parts of Umbria were subject to extensive land-redistribution (*ager viritanus*) which affected not only the whole *ager Gallicus*, but also the southern sector of the region in addition to vast areas surrounding the via Flaminia. At the same time the *praefecturae* of Interamna, Plestia, Fulginiae and Urvinum Hortense were created.

After the Via Flaminia was built in 220 BC (Livy, *Per.* 20), monumentalized building phases are documented for the large part of Umbrian towns, most of which had city walls and water systems built (Spoleto, Trevi, Foligno, Spello, Assisi, *Urvinum Hortense*, Bettona, Bevagna, Città di Castello, Todi, Gubbio, Gualdo Tadino, Terni, Amelia, *Carsulae*, Otricoli, Sestino and Sarsina, and on the Adriatic Fano and Pesaro). In addition to the construction of the Via Flaminia and its offshoots, we should not forget the building of other roads which, following ancient pre-historic routes, connected the region to those nearby: the Amerina, the Plestina and the Nursina. The superimposition of Mediaeval and then modern centres on the ancient ones only allows us to guess at the construction of public buildings and temples. Monu-

mentalization of temples occurs at the same time as or shortly after colonization both inside (Cannara/Collembacio) and in areas outside towns (Gubbio/Montealeto: Scallaggi, Manconi and Tufani 1984–1985, 207–225; Gubbio/Nogna: Fiorini and Di Miceli 2014, 197–215; Spello/Villa Fidelia: Manconi and Camerieri 1996, 381–392; Camerieri and Manconi 2012; Occhilupo 2012–2013, 267). The latter demonstrate the continuity of cults of local importance, at boundaries or on important transhumance routes. Some are also examples of early self-Romanization (Coarelli 1991).

As a construction material tufa and sandstone were preferred in the Republican period, travertine, limestone and brick in the Imperial age. The only brick city walls of the Republican period were at Bevagna. With the development of the towns it is easy to understand the increase in the number and importance of ports in the region, some on rivers, at Torgiano, Bevagna and Otricoli, and others on the coast, at Senigallia, Fano and Pesaro, with the consequent development of trade in ceramics, foodstuffs, bricks, etc. Production in the territory was determined by geography, with economic activity based essentially on the exploitation of resources created not only through agriculture, transhumant sheep-farming and stock-farming, but also by the numerous forests and their timber (Manconi 2014b, 129–139). Villas, already common in the Republican period, multiply both in the valleys and along the hilly slopes overlooking them.

Importantly, there is a memory of the primitive tribal fragmentation expressed by Pliny (*HN* 3.112–114) in a list of distinct Umbrian groupings: *Amerini*, *Aesinates*, *Mevanates*, *Matilicates*, *Plestini*, and *Sentinates*. To this we can add other ethnic onomastics given by Italic epigraphy: *ikuvins* (“from Iguvium”), *tutere* (“from Tuder”), *tarina* (“from Tarsinum/Tadinum”), *nuvkri* (“from Noukria/Nuceria”), *amer* (“at Ameria”), and *vukes sestines* (“from the Vicus of the Sestines/Sentinates”). From Etruscan epigraphy: *ucrislanes* (“from Ocriculum”); from Faliscan: *felicinate* (“from Fulginiae”); and in a South Picene text: *spolitiú* (“from Spolegium”) (Agostiniani, Calderini and Massarelli 2011, 7). The Umbrian peoples still preserved their own specific, individual identities, divided and fragmented, into historic times, in the distinctive urban programming and planning of numerous small and medium-sized towns in the Republican age, which would then give rise to the individual Roman *municipia* of *regio VI*. Following the conquest, already from the end of the third century, there is a consistent process of linguistic acculturation, with the adoption of Latin as the alphabet and main language of the region (Fig. 20). We should remember the existence, already mentioned, of a couple of coin mints (Gubbio, Todi: Catalli 1989, 140–152) and the hoarding, again in Republican times, of groups of coins (Spoleto at La Bruna, at Bevagna and Foligno).

When in 90 BC citizenship was conferred (through the *lex Iulia de civitate*), all the principal Umbrian settlements would transform into *municipia* with the exception of the *praefectura* of Plestia. Caesar took possession of the region in 49 BC and took conscripts from the various towns. After his death the Umbrian towns also took part in the repeated Civil Wars. The territorial and certainly also the social order was heavily disturbed by new colonization with the distribution of land grants

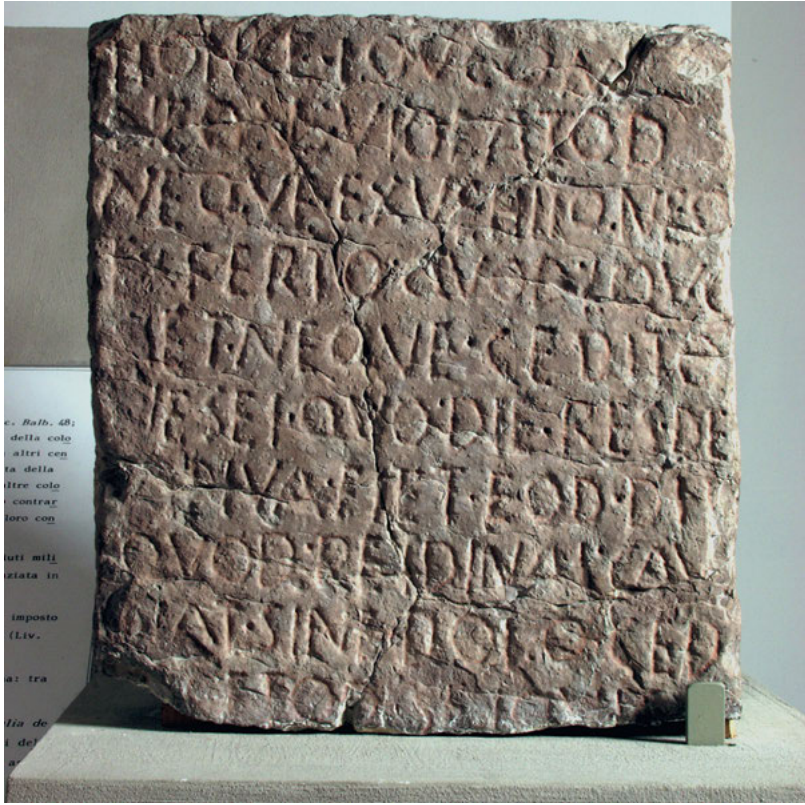


Fig. 20. Spoleto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Castel Ritaldi: inscription on the *cippus* of the *lucus* (Photo by V. Pescari. The author thanks the Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria-Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e del Turismo for the use of the photo.)

in the Triumviral period (at Todi, Pesaro, Fano, and Spello), especially by the continuous influx of new people who would benefit from land re-assignment to the detriment of the local communities. In any case, in the first century BC the process of unification of Umbria under Roman citizenship can be said to have been definitively concluded with the setting up of administratively independent municipal systems.

In the years between the Social War and the Augustan period there was a notable reorganization of the towns and their territories, the latter also based on land division (Camerieri and Manconi 2010) well documented in the *Liber coloniarum*, in great part due to the Augustan reorganization and division of Italy into regions. Between the Second Triumvirate and the Augustan period the planning projects for the urbanization of more than forty towns were renovated or laid down. We see reconstruction or construction *ex novo* of the *viae publicae*, bridges, aqueducts and the *domus*, often adorned with mosaics of a high level. The important building works often, and in different ways, involve municipal euergetism.

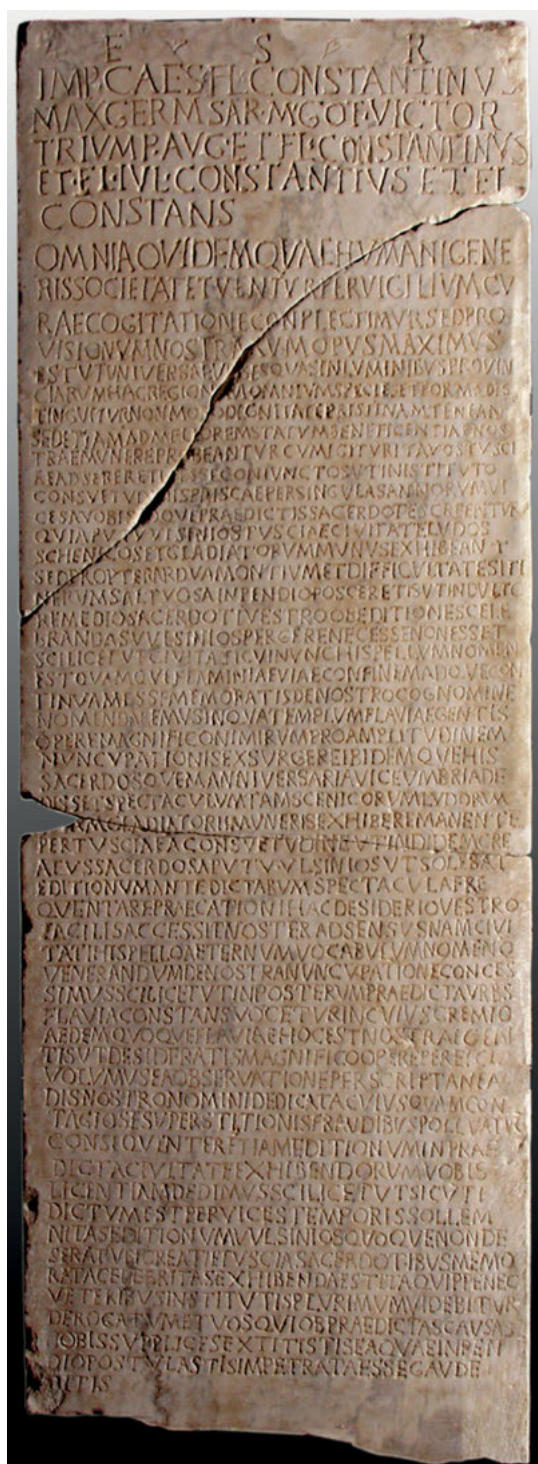


Fig. 21. Spello, Palazzo Comunale: Rescript of Constantine.

Thus, complete Romanization comes about with Augustus. After the *bellum Perusinum* the towns which had taken different sides were treated in different ways, among them Spello, which had sided with Octavian and saw its territory extended into the area of the sources of the Clitunno river and towards Arna. In subsequent centuries Umbria is only rarely mentioned in the sources, but in the fourth century AD the Rescript of Constantine (Fig. 21) enlightens us as to the religious importance of Spello in late ancient times (Zuddas 2012, 62–68).

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I Introduction – the Etruscans in the Italian archipelago

Despite the comments of some Greek and Latin authors implying their foreign, Near Eastern origin, the Etruscans really must be perceived in the context of their complete integration into the Italian archipelago, probably since the Neolithic period. They intermarried and shared religious cults – and cult places – with their Italic neighbors (particularly the Faliscans, but also Latins, Umbrians and Campanians), traded over long distances and overseas with native Sicily and Nuragic Sardinia, and had intensive associations with other groups such as the Punic colonists of the islands, and the hybrid Nuragic-Punic artisans who subsequently immigrated to coastal Etruria (Lo Schiavo and Milletti 2013; D’Oriano and Sanciu 2013; Babbi 2002; Bartoloni, et al. 2000). (For background on the Sardinian Nuragic native culture, see Dyson and Rowland 2007; Rowland 2001; Webster 1996; Atzeni, et al. 1985. For Sicilian background, see Leighton 1999.)

Linguistic evidence shows long-term interactions with Italic speakers who clearly acquired their alphabets, numerals and habits of literacy from Etruria (Agostiniani 2013; Maras 2013), while Etruscans adopted Italic terms such as *nefts* (cf. *nepos* = “grandson”) during a long, protohistoric period of intermarriage. The art and technology, including metallurgy, engineering and architecture, of the Faliscan, Latin, Campanian and northern Adriatic regions, attest to extensive adoption of Etruscan developments since the early first millennium BC. Italiote Greeks and a steady stream of individuals from old Greece such as Demaratus or Pulles interacted with the society of the Etruscan cities as well, beginning as trading partners in the eighth–seventh centuries. Through the first millennium Greeks were cultivated for their aesthetic and religious expertise. Even Celtic immigrants, known in Etruria since the seventh–sixth centuries BC, seem to have been integrated into Etruscan society, at least at Volsinii, and apart from the Gallic invasions of the early fourth century (Cherici 2013b), trade and political interaction continued to mutual benefit. We have yet to recognize fully the extent to which Italic society was informed by the character of Etruscan culture; in the eventual conflicts with Rome, Etruscans and certain Italic peoples often formed political and military liaisons.

II Through a Classical lens – darkly

Virtually no Etruscan literature survives, so we are relegated to utilizing the meager and biased Greek and Latin sources. The chauvinistic view of most ancient authors, however, poses obstacles to defining Etruscan character and culture. For Greeks they were rich barbarians with a louche lifestyle and quirky aesthetic sense; for Romans, they were too often political and military adversaries in competition for the wealth of Italy. Still, Roman authors by the first century BC credited Etruscans with expertise in religious and technical matters and, during the late Republic and Principate, many Latin families had Etruscan in-laws as we see in epitaphs. Even the Caesars had Etruscans in the family such as Urgulanilla, the first wife of the emperor Claudius, and one of the Ogulnii distinguished in Roman Republican history (Suet. *Claud.* 26–27).

III Earliest evidence of the Etruscan identity

By the end of the eighth century, Etruscan cities were scattered across the regions bordered by the Arno and Tiber on the Tyrrhenian Sea, extending inland to the Apennines, and also along the Upper Adriatic including Rimini and Bologna. A further Etruscan enclave is attested by inscriptions and archaeological finds in Campania around the Bay of Naples, and into Capua and Pontecagnano. Beneath the floors of Pompeian homes destroyed in AD 79 are found sixth-century bucchero pottery and later Etruscan objects (Cuzzo 2013; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 175 no. 61).

The earliest proven evidence for Etruscan culture can only begin with the introduction by the late eighth century (Colonna 1995; De Simone 1981) of the alphabet which enables us to detect their unique language, which is neither Indo-European nor Semitic (Bonfante and Bonfante 2002). Certainly their presence in the Italian peninsula goes back many centuries before that time since material culture and settlements show an uninterrupted evolution from at least the Final Bronze Age and, some would say, from the Neolithic. Distinct in their costuming (Bonfante 2003) and special customs as well as language, and enriched by control over vast resources of metal ores (Giardino 2011, 2013), timber, livestock and agricultural products, their appearance, speech and presence triggered envious prejudice in Greek commentators, who viewed them as commercial rivals to their own cities.

IV Origins theories: Lydian migration vs autochthony

Herodotus (1.94), writing in the fifth century, told a story of the emigration of Lydians from Asia Minor during a time of famine, when they colonized central Tyrrhenian

Italy (Sammartano 2012). In spite of gross discrepancies with the archaeological record, he is often still cited today in popular works, and by some researchers not familiar with Classics or archaeology. The tale, recalled as late as a speech by the emperor Claudius (AD 48: Lyons Bronze Tablet and Tac. *Ann.* 11.23–24), has been shown to have originated as Greek political propaganda (Briquel 1991, 1993, 2013), but has taken on a life of its own, due to the fantasies of eighteenth-century antiquarians, nineteenth-century theories of racial hierarchy (Bruni 2012, Haack 2012), and most recently as an accompaniment to some published accounts of comparisons of modern and ancient DNA (for critical surveys, see Perkins 2009; Becker 2016). Thus far, the studies of human and bovine DNA have not been met with consensus, and much remains to be clarified. For the Herodotean scheme to fit archaeological facts, however, such an immigration would have had to occur in the Neolithic period or soon after, a situation which is not supported by the archaeological record. Moreover, the Lydian kingdom described by Herodotus is well dated to the seventh–sixth centuries, by which time Etruscan culture and inscriptions were already widespread, with no change in foodways, material culture, or settlements to indicate colonization or foreign invasion.

Other theories have been adduced from modern analyses of the Egyptian historical phenomenon of the invasion of the “Peoples of the Sea” during the first quarter of the twelfth century. These are based on comparison of tribal names that sound like Italic ethnics (Teresh, Shardanu, Shekelesh), but are equally problematic (Cultraro 2012; Vagnetti 2000). By the Late Bronze Age, there had already been frequent interaction of natives with Aegean, Cypriot, and Levantine visitors in the Italian archipelago, and even with Atlantic Iberia (Huelva: Lo Schiavo 2013).

Other evidence proposed for an Etruscan migration to/colonization of Italy has been seen in finds made on Lemnos in the upper Aegean, where a man’s funerary stele (c. 600 BC) was incised with an inscription in a language similar to Etruscan (Agostiniani 2012); a small, short-lived settlement on the island also held a few brief inscriptions on pottery vessels in similar script and language. These are of the late seventh–sixth centuries however, clearly postdating the early culture of Etruria and its inscriptions, and have otherwise been interpreted as evidence of Etruscans or their kin emigrating *to*, rather than *from*, the eastern Mediterranean, possibly in the practice of piracy (Gras 1976; 1985, 615–651; Briquel 2000).

The luxurious furnishings, garments, and jewelry of Etruria, as well as some facets of Etruscan cults, are often compared to the riches of Archaic coastal Asia Minor, including Lydia and Ionia; Lydia even has sixth-century chamber tombs painted in similar style to the great tombs of Tarquinia. But this is all well explained by exchange of valuable goods and the occasional emigration of Greek- or Levantine-trained artists (a prime factor during the Persian conquest of the Near East, for instance, as freeborn artists fled collapsed regimes in search of patrons: Briquel 2013; Lycian comparanda: Mellink 1998). The entire issue becomes clear in the light of the migration-story’s subtext: Etruscans are viewed by their Latin neighbors as “others” – having come from abroad they should return whence they came, leav-

ing their lands and goods to the Italic-speakers! (Latins *et al.* are seen in this context as natives, although in actuality their ancestors probably entered the peninsula later than the Etruscans' forebears, after the major metalliferous regions had been claimed.)

In Classical Antiquity, a competing theory was well presented by Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ant. Rom.* 1.26–30; Briquel 2013, 37–42), who followed rules of logical enquiry to conclude that there was no evidence of the unique Etruscan language in their alleged homeland of Lydia, nor did their name for themselves, *Rasenna/Rasna*, resemble the names given them by Greeks or Latin-speakers (Tyrrhenians/*Tyrsenoi*, *Etrusci*, *Tusci*), which may be pejorative or localized terms, like calling Greeks *Graeci* rather than *Hellēnes*. The material culture that developed into Etruscan civilization, at least as early as the Final Bronze Age, actually bears many affinities to the metalurgy and ceramic traditions of Europe on the far side of the Alps. In fact, the question of foreign origins is in itself suspect: we do not seriously discuss Latin migration origins. As Massimo Pallottino, the oracle of Etruscan studies, indicated long ago in redressing the flawed theories of the 1920s–1930s, the origins of Etruria probably lie in the Eneolithic Rinaldone culture of the third millennium, and its civilization developed rapidly during the first millennium by embracing the varied foreign influences that came its way (Bagnasco Gianni 2013b).

V Toward a chronological survey of Etruscan culture: “Villanovan” Iron Age/Early Etruscan culture

Etruscan identity is already apparent in the foodstuffs, pottery, metalwork, housing, burial customs, and social organization evident in the material culture termed “Villanovan” after the site of Villanova di Castenaso outside Bologna. The preceding phase, recognized as “Protovillanovan” once it became fully identified, marks the beginning of a distinct cultural horizon representing the Tyrrhenian Final Bronze Age (c. 1200–1000 BC), while “Villanovan” represents the early Iron Age of the first millennium (c. 1000 to late eighth century, see Bartoloni and Delpino 2004). There is a similar choice of settlement sites, usually an easily defended plateau with adjacent farm-fields (for grain, timber, livestock), with cemeteries on hillsides or roadsides just beyond the habitation area. Within hut villages there may have been a hierarchy of structural types and shapes analogous to modern cultures such as in Africa (Colantoni 2012). Only one major city, Populonia in northern Etruria on the Gulf of Baratti, emerged on the coast; large communities show a hierarchy of smaller, dependent settlements including one or more port towns on the sea (Leighton 2013).

With the dawn of the Protovillanovan phase, change is evident but only in certain aspects of the culture, rather as if a religious reform movement had begun, im-



Fig. 1. Villanovan biconical urn and bowl-lid, MS 1598 A-B, from a tomb at Bisenzio (Etruria), ninth century BC. From the Final Bronze Age until the early eighth century, burial with cremated remains placed in a biconical urn was standard practice throughout Etruria. Most were covered with a bowl, although some warriors were buried with symbolic helmets or other specialty lids. Photo courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum, image no. 152673.

ported from central Europe where the “Urnfield culture” (Ger. *Urnfelder*) prevailed: it is best seen in funerary customs with adults now cremated and buried in well-shaped pits (*tombe a pozzo*) in biconical urns with minimal offerings from the funeral banquet (Bartoloni 2002, 2013). Fine metalwork in bronze in distinctive shapes (derived in part from Bronze Age Italian ceramics) is a hallmark of the era. Examples of Villanovan arms, armor (shields, helmets), horse tack, and fibulae (both male and female types) have also been identified among the votive offerings at the great international sanctuaries of the eastern Mediterranean such as Olympia, Delphi and the Samian Heraion. Some might be booty from as-yet unknown Iron Age raids, but probably many were dedicated by Etruscan travelers, both male and female, to

judge from the fibulae which equate to ethnic costume, although the woven garments they once fastened are now long-gone. Villanovan bronze bossed-rim bowls are found throughout the Italian archipelago and a few crested helmets are known from European sites, just as a few European-type helmets have been found in Italy (von Hase 1997; von Eles 2002; Bottini, et al. 1988).

By the mid-eighth century, some burials were distinguished with more generous offerings, probably indicating a social hierarchy with a ruling class still living in thatched huts but now commanding the activity of their fellow farmers. Such men are equipped with the arms and/or armor of warriors, while the women's status was symbolized by textile-making equipment and tokens of the matron of a household such as banquet ware, wine, and valuable jewelry. Much of this phase shows strong similarities with Italic cultures (especially the Faliscans of Narce and Falerii: De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2013), but regional differences in costume, pottery forms and metalwork are increasing (Babbi and Peltz 2013; Tabolli 2014; von Eles 2002). Villanovan culture extended south to sites such as Pontecagnano near Salerno (Cuozzo 2013) and is recognized at Bologna and in an Adriatic variant at Verucchio (near Rimini) where spectacular preservation of waterlogged tombs has produced exquisitely carved wooden furnishings and finely woven and dyed woolen garments as well as amber ornaments representing Baltic trade routes (Sassatelli and Govi 2013; von Eles 1995, 2002).

Essentially, during the Villanovan phase, the scene was set for all the major crafts of Etruscan culture, and for the growth of major cities including Volterra, Populonia, Vetulonia, Chiusi, Cortona, Perugia, Volsinii (Orvieto), Sovana, Vulci, Tarquinia, Caere (Cerveteri), Veii and Felsina (Bologna). Rome, Florence, Siena, and other cities that would become famous medieval republics came into being at this time, although their dramatic history and continued habitation has precluded systematic archaeological identification of their early extent and character. Until about 650 BC these were enclaves of hut villages with burial grounds on nearby slopes or along roads. Evidence of infrastructure as early as the large Protovillanovan town at Sorgenti della Nova (territory of Vulci, population estimated around 1500) reflects some form of central government, presumably a clan chief or king, to coordinate and compel public works such as maintenance of roads, bridges, water supply, and even communal livestock pens and bake-ovens (Negroni Catacchio 1995, 1982; Turfa 2012, 208–217). Such evidence for urbanization in fact pre-dates the advent, ca. 775 BC, of Greek colonies such as Pithekoussai (Ridgway 1992), or the Phoenician or Punic interaction that preceded them. The use of stone masonry blocks and the switch to rectilinear houses, as at the site of San Giovenale, probably implies long-term familiarity with such foreign or mixed settlements (Barker and Rasmussen 1998, Ch. 5). By ca. 650 BC, Etruscan commoners were beginning to live in rectilinear houses with terracotta-tiled and -ornamented roofs; at Acquarossa (abandoned before its Etruscan name was preserved), whole neighborhoods were converted to such housing with one lingering slum still under thatch (a fire hazard, see Brandt, et al. 2001; Winter 2009).

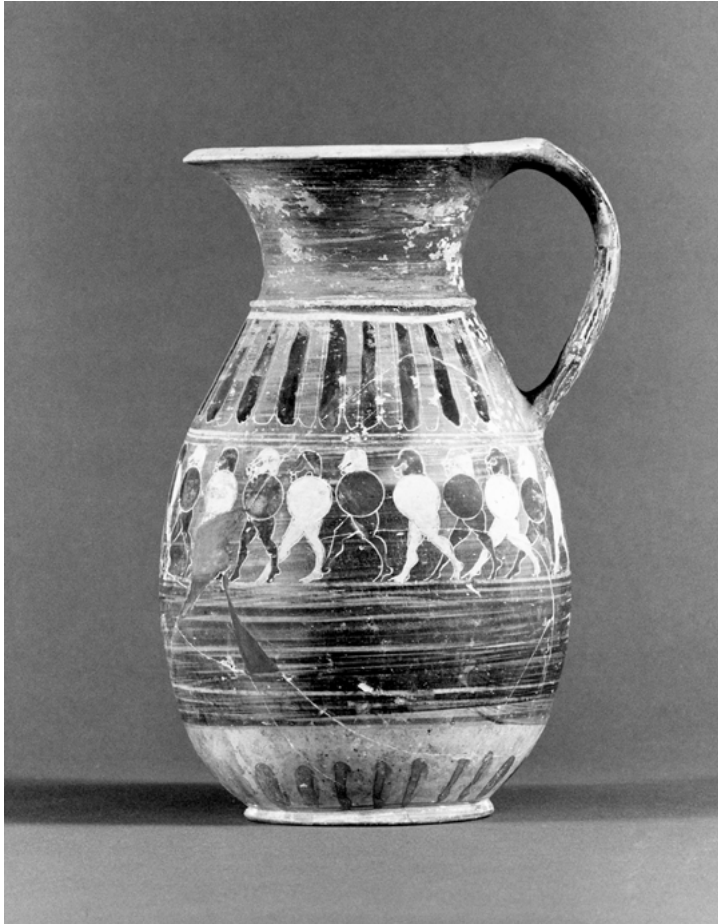


Fig. 2. Etrusco-Corinthian “Warrior Olpe”, MS 714, from Vulci Tomb B, c. 600 BC. The Iron Age warrior elite gave way to city militias in the rapidly urbanizing cities of Etruria during the seventh century BC. Vases in the style of imported Corinthian wares were especially sought at Vulci. Photo courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum, image no. 242568.

Evidence for Iron Age and early Archaic domestic activities, diet and health, and for technological and artistic development in smaller communities, has been furnished from recent excavations at Riserva del Ferrone (necropolis: Bartoli, et al. 1997), Gran Carro on Lake Bolsena (preserved organic materials: Tamburini 1995), Castenaso and Budrio (near Bologna: Forte and von Eles 1994), and Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito (village near Mantua founded in sixth century: Menotti 2005).

Cultic ritual activities are assumed to have occasioned some deposits of metal objects near settlement boundaries since their location precludes identification as founder's hoards (which are well known for Iron Age central Italy and Bologna). Miniaturization (vases, metal weapons, armor) in funerary and votive offerings is also interpreted as evidence of cultic ceremony.

At the site of Tarquinia-Pian di Civita, excavators have described rare evidence of Iron Age religious cult in the ninth-century burial of an epileptic child whose make-shift tomb was turned into a cult site that continued into the sixth century with liquid offerings channeled into it. Also in the presumed sanctuary, an unusual burial occurred of a wounded warrior sacrificed around the middle of the eighth century curiously parallel with the presumed era of Romulus and Remus at Rome (Bagnasco Gianni 2013a, 594–599; Turfa 2012, 231–234).

Intensive early interaction and dynastic intermarriage with Italic neighbors (Faliscans, Latins, Campanians) may explain finds of “princely” burials of special individuals of different origin from the community in which they were buried and also the exceeding similarity to Etruscan originals of funerary customs and artifacts in the Italic sites (De Santis 1995, 2005; Bietti Sestieri 1992, 1995, 2005, 2010). De Santis (1995) has suggested that the personage buried with Etruscan warrior’s finery in Osteria dell’Osa Tomb 600 (Gabii) of the late eighth century was an Etruscan *princeps* deliberately adopted into the community to lead it (cf. Bietti Sestieri 1995, 1997, 2005).

The transition from Villanovan to Orientalizing is evident in the rich grave goods of the late eighth century Tomba del Guerriero excavated at Tarquinia in 1869–1870 (Babbi and Peltz 2013). The cremation burial with bronze urn included a warrior’s thrusting spear, iron sword, armor, shield and baldric, paired horse bits, bronze “pilgrim flask” (canteen), gold ornaments including a pectoral and elaborate male “drago” type fibula, and ceramic vessels of local types in dark impasto, and others of Greek derivation, such as a duck askos painted in Geometric style. Metal-studded wooden vessels and textiles hint at the organic materials normally lost to the archaeological record. Representing Near Eastern contacts are the designs in repoussé on the pectoral, and various fragmentary vessels in metal and glass. A slightly later tomb, the so-called Bocchoris Tomb at Tarquinia, held a princess’s valuables, including vases imitating Levantine, Greek and Sardinian types, Egyptian (Phoenician) faience amulets and a coronation vase commemorating the Late Period pharaoh Bocchoris dating the tomb to the last decade of the eighth century (Leighton 2004, 59–68). It seems to have been deemed necessary to display the far-reaching associations of the deceased.

VI Transition from Iron Age to Orientalizing and the cultivation of foreign contacts

Since the ninth century, Phoenician colonization in Sardinia facilitated trade in the central Tyrrhenian, culminating in the exceptional condominium-style colony at Pithekoussai in the Bay of Naples. Characterized by mixed ethnicity and intermarriage, such a community has been seen as a paradigm for the transfer of the newly adapted Greek alphabet to central Italy. Settlers, including metal-smiths and

pottery, were buried according to the rituals of their homelands, attested by offerings (vases, unguents, scarabs, fibulae) in distinctive cultural styles. Along with occasional inscriptions of funerary or votive nature, these practices identify the presence and intermarriage of Euboean and Corinthian Greeks, North Syrian, Phoenician, and Cilician persons from the eastern Mediterranean, and Daunian, Campanian and Etruscan individuals (Ridgway 1992). This is the beginning of heightened importation of Greek goods into Etruria in general and, from the late eighth century on, Veii, like other cities, shows the residency, permanent or itinerant, of foreign potters (especially of Late Geometric cups), and other artisans. (For the Orientalizing phenomenon, see Sannibale 2013; for foreign artisans, see Camporeale 2013).

The city of Veii, famed for its destruction by Rome in 396 BC, may serve as a paradigm of Villanovan through Archaic civilization in southern Etruria. Extensive necropoleis surrounding the city plateau indicate the merging of several thriving hut enclaves of the ninth-eighth centuries. Recent excavations on Piazza d'Armi, an acropolis spur of the plateau, have uncovered an Iron Age walled settlement with zoning (aristocratic houses on the north and workshops on the south), a paved road, a ruler's palace, and a special hero burial with house-like funerary chapel set in the center of the city plateau (Bartoloni 2013, 2011). As at extramural necropolis sites, there is reason to reconstruct a cult of the ancestors with miniaturized offerings of vases or accoutrements (Camporeale 2009). There are also traces of what must have been the forerunner of Roman ritual: the ritual plowing of the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary marking the foundation of a city (Bartoloni 2007, 26; 2009). We lack the Etruscan term, and must use the Latin, which surely describes a commonly recognized ritual, well attested for the Roman state, and credited (Varro, *Ling.* 5.143) to the Etruscans (van der Meer 2011, 82–104).

With the introduction of roof-tiles in the seventh century, a monumental building on the Piazza d'Armi plateau, attested thus far only by fragments of its terracotta roofing, was decorated with statues of important personage(s), including a ruler or god perhaps, standing on the ridge of the gabled building with his hand on the head of a flop-eared hound, probably inspired by Near Eastern symbolic art (Bartoloni in Bartoloni 2011, 8–10). The mid-seventh century architectural revolution that introduced terracotta tiled roof systems is often linked to Pliny's description (*HN* 35.43.152) of the immigration of the royal Corinthian fugitive Demaratus whose entourage included Greek artists. Demaratus settled in Tarquinia where he had commercial associations; he supposedly married a native princess and the result was a son "Tarquinius," soon to be styled "Priscus" ("old-fashioned") (Ridgway and Ridgway 1990). Their hybrid son, in spite of his privileged background, had to emigrate, moving to Rome with his wife Tanaquil, to found a new, Etruscan dynasty that only ended with the dissolution of the monarchy in the revolution of 510/09 BC. The open society of Etruria had welcomed Gauls (as documented in the tombs of Volsinii/Orvieto), but now more men like "Tarquin" were making their fortunes as condottieri – mercenaries or warlords, some of noble birth.

VII Nobility in death

The “Era of the Princely Tombs” (last quarter of eighth through seventh centuries) is attested at many sites in Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Italy, where a small elite, presumed to be in control of farmland, military defense and city/town government, were buried with conspicuous wealth and ceremony in masonry tombs, often beneath tumuli (Leighton 2013, 138–140). The best preserved tombs – the Regolini-Galassi (Cerveteri), and Bernardini and Barberini Tombs (Praeneste/Palestrina) – held gold and silver vessels and jewelry, wheeled vehicles, ivory-inlaid furniture, and rare imported goods such as Phoenician silver bowls as well as Nuragic-inspired beaked vases, Phoenician faience and ivory, and Baltic amber. Some tombs were erected for women, presumably the rulers or heiresses of kingdoms: at Caere, the Regolini Galassi tomb, now in the Vatican Museum, held a bronze bowl inscribed for “Larthia wife [or daughter] of Velthur” and at Latin Praeneste the Bernardini Tomb belonged to “Vetusia,” presumably an Etruscan princess who had married into the ruling Latin family (Bartoloni, et al. 2000; Buranelli and Sannibale 2005). Many more cities retain only fragmentary evidence of such tombs since they were plundered in antiquity (e.g. Esposito 1999). In the absence of excavated settlements, the tombs represent a hereditary aristocracy that would be remodeled during the sixth century into oligarchic or even republican forms of government, although some of the rich families would still be in power and have been shown through inscriptions of the fourth–third centuries and later to have intermarried with the nobility of other cities.

Veii has furnished some of the earliest examples of Etruscan monumental painting in the Tomb of the Ducks (ca. 680–670 BC) and the Tomb of the Roaring Lions (ca. 690 BC), a recent discovery which also preserved offerings similar to those of the famous “princely tombs” of Etruria, Latium and Campania. The tradition continued until at least 600 BC when the Tomba Campana was decorated with fantastic creatures and human scenes in Orientalizing style.

VIII Poggio Civitate (Murlo), a northern/interior settlement

Sites in northern and interior Etruria are often better known because they were less disturbed than the continuously occupied Tyrrhenian cities. These include the late seventh–sixth century monumental complex at Poggio Civitate (Murlo, near Siena), which saw a huge (60 x 60 m) courtyard building of ca. 575 BC replace a fine structure of the late seventh century (De Puma and Small 1994). The engineering of the building in mudbrick with tiled roof populated by nearly lifesize statues of humans or deities and fantastic beasts as well as its rich contents (fine vases, ivories, jewelry, a chariot or cart) with banquet ware for dozens of participants reflect a palatial lifestyle (Turfa and Steinmayer 2002), as do frieze plaques depicting a horse

race, banquet, seated gods and a procession (aristocratic wedding?). Among the finds are some ivory *tesserae hospitales*, essentially identification cards inscribed in Etruscan for travellers, no doubt merchants, like others found in a Punic tomb on the Carthaginian Byrsa and in the votive deposit of Sant’Omobono, Rome (naming “Puina of Carthage” and a man from Punic Sardinian Sulcis: Wallace 2008, 188–191; Maggiani 2006; Turfa 2013b). At Murlo, at least one of the tickets may bear a woman’s name (Wallace 2008, 189 no. 80). Evidently the natural resources, such as iron, of northern and interior Etruria were brokered through such communities.

IX Social and political developments

By the sixth century many Etruscan cities were fortified with stone walls and gates. Their urban plans and lifestyle eventually would be disseminated through Europe (Leighton 2013, 140–141). Although the city of Volsinii/Orvieto was practically razed after its Roman takeover and relocation, it preserves hidden documentation of a considerable feat of town planning and hydraulic infrastructure reflected in the underground features of wells, cisterns, and sophisticated drainage systems (Bizzarri 2013). Cities also controlled warfare, amenities such as water supply, drainage, road networks, and commerce both domestic and foreign. Evidence includes inscribed bronze weights indicating city marketplace standards and helmets probably issued to militias, such as the cache found on the Vetulonia acropolis, labeled with the presumed family name “Haspna” (Becker 2013). A parallel to such militias may be reflected in the fifth-century situation at Rome of the Fabii who petitioned and were awarded the right to wage a private (disastrous) war on Etruscans (Livy 2.48–50). The term for “city” was probably *spur* or *spura* in Etruscan.

Most cities made the transition in the sixth century to a republican form of government, exchanging “kings” for a chief official from the upper class titled *zilath* and equated by Romans with the office of *praetor* (Becker 2013, 354 ff.; Torelli 2000). Such magistrates were symbolized by *lictors* bearing the *fascies* (they appear in fourth-century and Hellenistic art). Rome acknowledged its borrowing of such symbols of power as well as the purple robe of a *triumphator* (and the triumph) and the ivory *sella curulis* (folding stool) of a senator or councilman (Tassi Scandone 2001; Jannot 1993; Schäfer 1989; Turfa 2012, 213). This implies the borrowing of the modes of statecraft along with the symbols.

X Commerce, industry and invention

Given the Etruscan reputation (among their enemies) for piracy, we may wonder if the equivalent of letters of marque for privateering exploits may have been issued to Etruscan seafarers, for the seventh and sixth centuries were the heyday of Etruscan merchant and naval ventures (cf. Gras 1976; Giuffrida 1978). Images of Etruscan

merchantmen with deep hulls and huge squaresails facing off against marauders in Greek-style warships with waterline rams begin to appear on Etruscan vases of the mid-seventh century. The Etruscan vessels depicted were probably designed as long-distance freighters, perhaps inspired by the merchantmen used in Phoenician Cyprus. Some had foresails for extra speed or maneuvering, as well as modified prows to counteract attacks by waterline rams (Turfa and Steinmayer 1999, 2001; Turfa 2001). Etruscan ship design continued to develop, to judge from the depiction of a large sailing vessel in the fifth-century Tarquinian Tomb of the Ship. The design, with deep hull and huge foresail, would be adapted for later Roman grain-carriers in the Bread-and-Circuses route. From ca. 600 BC into the fifth century a growing number of wrecks found in the central Mediterranean may have been Etruscan or Etruscan-inspired, including those of Campese Bay-Isola del Giglio, Cap d'Antibes, Pointe du Dattier and Grand Ribaud F, and some found in the harbor of Marseille (Bruni 2013; Gori and Bettini 2006). Some show "sewn" construction with rope ligatures rather than Greek-style mortise and tenon joined planking. While the Greeks used "sewn" technique also, there is a good chance that some of these wrecks are Etruscan – certainly the commercial cargoes are mirrored in terrestrial contexts. All the Archaic craft were small with variegated cargoes including wine and/or foodstuffs in amphorae, decorative tableware, and other goods. In fact, Etruscan wine seems to have stimulated the eventual French industry, according to excavated evidence at the Archaic settlement of Lattes (McGovern 2012; McGovern, et al. 2013).

A town with strong commercial ties to Caere and the Mediterranean sailing circuits has been excavated at La Castellina del Marangone, in the territory of Caere/Cerveteri, furnishing evidence of production of goods for export and of rare imported goods trickling down to commoners (Gran Aymerich and Domínguez-Arranz 2011). The site was inhabited from the fourteenth century until its Roman takeover. The late sixth century saw organized conflict of some Etruscan cities allied with Carthage against Greek colonists in the Tyrrhenian (ca. 535 BC), ending in the expulsion of a Phokaian colony from Alalia (Aleria) on Corsica which then became Etruscan. The alliance illustrates the mutual-aid treaties shared by the two groups and praised by Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.5.10–11). Herodotus (1.166–167.2) recalled the plague that gripped Caere after its atrocities with the Greek prisoners taken in that battle. The Caeretans consulted not their own nearby cult, but the oracle of Apollo at Delphi and followed its advice on expiation.

Much wealth came from mining and metallurgy, initially bronze and soon iron which was sought assiduously by Greeks and others from the iron-poor Aegean and Near East. Hematite ore from Elba has been identified in an industrial context of the eighth-century colony of Pithekoussai – apparently foreigners could trade for iron ore but were not welcome to settle and refine it on Etruscan territory (Ridgway 1992, 99–100). A community of miners has been studied in the excavation site at Lago dell'Accesa in the territory of Vetulonia (near Massa Marittima). It flourished briefly in the seventh–sixth centuries, and was deliberately abandoned, probably due to pollution. Today, remediation efforts are in effect to deal with heavy metals

and sulfur compounds liberated by ancient mining and smelting techniques in this area (Harrison, et al. 2009). The tumulus tombs and small, rectilinear tiled houses at Accesa held some imported furnishings such as Attic vases (prized and mended when broken) and attest to a high standard of living for the miners and their families, with larger houses of multiple rooms presumably for foremen. Women at Accesa used warp-weighted looms, a feature that was probably common to most households across the peninsula. The textiles were of wool homespun, often woven in simple plaids, with linen produced in certain zones such as Tarquinia and used for sailcloth as well as clothing (Gleba 2008, 2013).

XI Settlements in greater Etruria

Homes of the Archaic period were studied at Acquarossa (near Viterbo) where the changeover occurred from thatched huts to the characteristic rectilinear, gabled and tiled *Breithaus* (building type with the entrance on the “wide” side of the structure) and a rudimentary courtyard. A back room might hold a small storage cantina dug into the surrounding clay or bedrock (Östenberg 1975). These houses, begun in the mid-seventh century and abandoned near the end of the sixth, presage the canonical Roman atrium-type house (its name derived from Etruscan *athre*, “house, building”). The full-blown plan with large courtyard, narrow entryway and private back rooms is seen in houses built shortly before 500 BC at Marzabotto, south of Bologna. The community seems to have been established like a mercantile colony to process foodstuffs and produce metal goods and pottery to be sold on the far side of the Alps. The large houses had well engineered water supply and drainage channels as well as a central *impluvium* to collect rainwater from the courtyard roof (Sassatelli and Govi 2013). Marzabotto was taken by force when Gauls invaded at the dawn of the fourth century and, after a brief occupation, was abandoned while the occupied city of Etruscan Felsina turned into Celtic Bononia (Bologna). In the course of the fifth to third centuries, Adriatic ports and towns such as Adria, Spina and Mantua would grow, in part to serve trade with Greece. More humbly, a single-family farmhouse of the late Archaic period, remodeled and used into the early fourth century, was excavated at Podere Tartuchino in the region of Vulci (Barker and Rasmussen 1999, 167–172).

XII Ports and sanctuaries

The major Tyrrhenian cities maintained port towns including Pyrgi, Punicum and Alisium for Caere, Graviscae for Tarquinia, and Regae/Regisvillae for Vulci, among others. Graviscae held a sanctuary apparently founded early in the sixth century by Greek merchants who left dedications (vases, figurines, metal goods) in a series of cult rooms. Names of Italic, Greek and other foreign visitors such as Ombrikos, Sos-

tratos and Lydian Paktyes, reflect the diversity and exotic nature of Archaic ports. The shrine gradually became Etruscanized, with dedications inscribed in native script for the goddesses Hera/Uni, Turan/Aphrodite and Demeter/Vei (Bagnasco Gianni 2013a, 605–609). Even after the cult rooms were ruined, worshippers in the third–second centuries left offerings of anatomical votive models for healing and fertility.

The port of Pyrgi, too, saw an early sanctuary on the shore, dedicated to Uni-As-tarte (Ino/Leukothea/Eilithyia to Greeks) and with some oracular aspects possibly linked to Šuri (Apollo). A peripteral temple of c. 500 BC was joined by a large, Tuscan-style temple in the mid-fifth century. Both had extravagant terracotta roof decoration, including acroterial statues and antefixes depicting celestial and other gods (Baglione 2013; Ridgway 1990). When the site was dismantled during its Roman colonization, a set of three gold plaques was taken from some structure and ceremonially buried. Inscribed c. 500 BC, two of the plaques commemorate a debt owed to Carthaginian Astarte-Etruscan Uni by the ruler of Caere, Thefarie Velianas (Tiberius Velianus), the third reiterates a vow of Velianas, in an era when kings had been thought to be obsolete. Clearly, ties between Etruria and the Punic world were as close as implied by Aristotle. Perhaps the Carthaginian marines intervened on behalf of Velianas in some coup, but no further evidence is available.

XIII Etruscan Archaic art

As with the techniques and equipment of warfare (Cowan 2013; George 2013), Etruria's exceptional success in agriculture and agronomy, in technology and artistic development, was stimulated by a willingness to embrace and adapt a wide array of foreign influences and imports.

While some Etruscan products, like metals, may no longer be recognizable, others remain distinctive, such as the black, reduction-fired “bucchero” pottery made from ca. 650 BC into the early fifth century with abundant regional variations (De Puma 2013a). Examples of bucchero *kantharoi* have been found in sites across the Mediterranean, occasioned by trade and possibly other situations. As commercial goods, along with bronze vessels and utensils, they would have accompanied shipments of ore, wine, foodstuffs and more (Gran Aymerich 2013a, 2013b). Etruscan painted vases developed to meet market demands at home where imported Corinthian, and then Attic vases (Black and Red Figure) were prized (Ambrosini 2013). Etruscan artisans, in many cases following traditions begun by immigrant foreign artisans in the Orientalizing period, were producing exquisite works in many media such as gold granulation technique jewelry (Gaultier 2013), engraved gemstones (Hansson 2013), metal vessels (praised by Greeks) and engraved or cast hand-mirrors with elaborate scenes (De Puma 2013b). The importance of organic materials such as textiles cannot be overestimated (Gleba 2013).



Fig. 3. Bucchero kantharos, MS 1284, from Vulci Tomb B, mid-sixth century BC. The quintessential Etruscan drinking cup, found in commercial, domestic, funerary and votive contexts across the Mediterranean. Photo courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum, image no. 152670.

Sculpture in bronze was made for votive dedication (Scarpellini 2013) and in large scale for public monuments (Chimaera of Arezzo, Arringatore of Perugia etc.: Haynes 1985). The Capitoline Wolf has been understood as Etruscan, well integrated into the styles and techniques already proven for Etruscan work, although some ongoing studies have asserted medieval associations (Carruba 2006; Bartoloni 2010; Warden 2011). The Archaic period saw the flourishing of funerary sculpture and monuments such as the Tomb of the Statues at Cerveteri, where the massive enthroned ancestor figures show evident North Syrian or Levantine influence in design and stone cutting (Colonna and von Hase 1984). Sculpture in volcanic *nenfro*, Chiusine limestone, and Volterrana alabaster would continue through the Hellenistic period, especially for funerary purposes.

Sculpture in terracotta – known for works such as the sixth century sarcophagi of the married couples from Cerveteri – and for votive statues, figurines, and anatomical models of the fifth through first centuries, was an Etruscan specialty (also Nagy 2013a). Terracotta architectural sculpture also developed from roofing systems of the Archaic period (Winter 2013) into Hellenistic works such as the winged horses of Tarquinia's Ara della Regina temple. Like Vitruvius, Romans perceived the Etruscan or Tuscan temple as a staple of the culture, bequeathed to the cults of Rome. It was

characterized by a high podium, broad, deep porch, wide roof overhang (eaves) rendered in mudbrick and wood revetted with terracotta, the whole decorated with dramatic moldings and bright paint (Edlund-Berry 2013b; Warden 2012; de Grummond and Edlund-Berry 2011). After the original Capitoline Temple commissioned by the Tarquin dynasty of Rome, the best known of such structures is the Portonaccio Temple at Veii, placed barely outside the city wall, with a pool perhaps for purification rituals. The temple carried on its ridgepole statues of Apollo, Herakles and the Kerynaian Hind, Leto, Turms (Hermes) and other figures. Here, as in the so-called minor arts, Etruscan artists generally rendered scenes from Greek literature and myth (Simon 2013). The loss of Etruscan literature makes it more difficult to detect native gods and themes (for which see de Grummond 2006 and Krauskopf 2013).

The Veian Portonaccio Temple has often been linked (without epigraphic evidence) to the Roman narrative of the hiring of an Etruscan artist, Vulca of Veii, to create the colossal terracotta statue of Jupiter in a quadriga that was erected on the roof of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The Temple of Juno Regina, cited in the 396 BC sack of the city by Furius Camillus, now has been associated by archaeologists with the Comunità hill, rather than Piazza d'Armi, according to votives and architectural terracottas of late sixth century date. A late fifth century terracotta votive group from the Campetti shrine nearby depicts Aeneas carrying his father Anchises, who holds the family's carefully wrapped *lares*, similar to the small figurines later offered at Veii by Roman colonists (Bartoloni 2011).

Another quintessential Etruscan art form is monumental painting, preserved because of its use in funerary monuments. A school of painters developed at Tarquinia in the sixth-fifth centuries, stimulated by the arrival of some Ionian artists presumably fleeing Persian rule. Offshoots appeared at Chiusi and Sarteano in the course of the fifth-fourth centuries. Archaic tombs were seen as expressions of the prestige and power of ruling families, with each city distinguished by its own regional style both in ritual such as cremation vs. inhumation and in artistic media often determined by variations in topography and access to materials (Steingraber 2013). At Cerveteri, the Banditaccia necropolis, on the road between the city and Pyrgi, had orderly streets connecting round tumuli raised over underground chamber tombs cut into the tufa bedrock with stairs and altars on the top for regular rituals. Later generations often inserted their own tombs beneath the ancestral tumuli. Interiors sometimes approximated or imitated the fine paneled rooms of an urban palazzo, culminating in the fourth-century Tomb of the Reliefs, furnished (in plaster relief) with an array of household objects and pets (Blanck and Proietti 1986; for daily life, see Macnamara 1973 and Heurgon 1964).

At Populonia or Vetulonia, tombs had to be built on the ground before being covered with mounds, and held masonry couches or beds. Some necropoleis ceased use in later generations, possibly indicating that families died out or lost social standing. At Populonia, one necropolis was soon covered with the refuse of industrial iron production. The slags have been "mined" and re-smelted in the modern period. At Cerveteri, space soon grew scarce, and later sixth-century (through fourth-century)

tombs were inserted wherever possible. Some parts of the necropolis resemble urban rectangular row-homes set side by side. Orvieto (Volsinii) had two major necropoleis on opposite sides of its cliff-top plateau: the Crocifisso del Tufo and Cannicella. Hill-sides were quarried into terraces and the stone blocks used to build rows of rectilinear tombs. In the Cannicella, a small sanctuary with a spring held a shrine with an unusual nude statue of a goddess that had been much repaired, possibly after use in ceremonial pageants. Many necropoleis seem to have included sanctuary space as well as altars.

At Tarquinia, small, rectangular rock-cut chambers held inhumations of married couples on bench-like biers. A small portion of these were painted with brightly colored scenes of funeral games and banquets (Thuillier 2013 for theater as well as sport). Over the course of the fourth century, themes changed and the funeral or civic procession was favored, with family members banqueting among their ancestors and the gods of the Underworld (Aita and Phersipnai). Some of these (Tomba dell'Orco, Tomba degli Scudi) were dedicated by the great clans of Etruscan history and show simple portraits of the family (Holliday 1990). At Vulci, the Tomba François (ca. 350 BC) depicts the founder, Vel Saties, as a *triumphator* in a purple cloak, taking omens. It includes other scenes such as Achilles' sacrifice of Trojan prisoners and an historically labeled scene of a sixth-century raid by early Romans and Etruscans, killing one Gnaeve Tarchunies Rumach – “Gnaeus Tarquinius of Rome” – who is conspicuously absent from Roman histories (Buranelli 1987). Again, the character of Etruscan cities must be extrapolated from funerary and sanctuary sites and from rare opportunities for small soundings within the city grid as at Cerveteri and Orvieto.

XIV Late Etruria and Rome

Rome expelled its last king, the heir of the Etruscan dynasty, in 510/09 BC, and soon began to turn the tables, seizing opportunities when Etruscan cities were weakened to attack or force an accommodation. The naval battle of Cumae in 474 BC ended any chance of Etruscan domination in the first major defeat of an Etruscan fleet (presumably formed from a coalition of cities), spearheaded by Greeks from Syracuse who took the opportunity to dedicate captured helmets from the Etruscan marines on an inscribed trophy at Olympia. Tarquinia and probably other cities participated in the ill-fated Athenian Expedition against Syracuse in 415–413 BC, and much of Etruria next had to withstand the Gallic invasions of the early years of the fourth century. A Bologna gravestone commemorates one of the city's Etruscan defenders. Many Etruscan men must have been lost. And it can be no accident that Rome chose this time to besiege Veii, entering the city when a traitor indicated the use of the *cuniculi* tunnels, and taking it in 396, enslaving the citizens and driving back to Rome cartloads of booty, including statuary. In 384/3 BC, Dionysios I of Syracuse led a pirate raid on the Tyrrhenian coast, allegedly to end Etruscan piracy but actually plun-



Fig. 4. Negau helmet, bronze, MS 1609, c. 500–480 BC. The armories of Vulci (and later Arezzo) produced valuable and efficient armor, decorated with the same animal attachments as household goods such as tripods. The Negau-type helmet, named for a major find-spot, was distributed throughout Italy and also to the Celtic populations across the Alps. Photo courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum, image no. 151540.

dering vulnerable and rich seashore sanctuaries such as Pyrgi. Rome's conflicts with Tarquinia and Caere (358–351 BC) resulted in treaties and gradual loss of autonomy to Rome, and other cities saw the handwriting on the wall. In 323 BC, as Alexander lay dying at Babylon, a delegation from Italy was waiting to invite him to come and attack Rome next, but it was not to be (Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.15.4). In 295 BC Rome defeated a coalition of Etruscan and Italic cities and Gauls, although by 225 BC, the Italians had united literally to drive the last of the Gauls into the sea at Telamon, near Cosa where in 273 BC Rome had planted a colony, the first in a program of subduing Etruria (Polyb. 2.25, 2.28–31).

In the course of the third to first centuries BC Rome controlled or acquired most of Etruria through the colonization program, manipulation of religious cults, extensive road-building, strategic treaties and granting of civic rights. Etruscan towns saw construction of the emblems of Roman civic structure such as villas, public baths, and amphitheaters. With the demise of the original power structure came social unrest and even slave revolts, as at Volsinii/Orvieto and Arezzo, already longstanding concerns for the Roman system (Livy 10.3.2; Turfa 2012, 227; Benelli 2013, 448–450).

In 264/3 BC, the great city of Volsinii fell when Rome was invited to intervene in a rebellion of freed slaves and the surviving citizens were removed to the town of Bol-

sena (Goudineau 1968+). In 241 Falerii, city of Etruria's Faliscan allies, fell and was depopulated. During the Hannibalic invasion Etruria was a fifth column. Perhaps its leaders recalled the sixth-century treaties of alliance with Carthage, but in the cities at least some factions were fed up with Rome. It appears that Rome did not trust its Etruscan "allies" enough to require troops to fight Hannibal, but instead assessed cities payments of war materials according to each city's special products. The battle at Lake Trasimene took place on Etruscan soil, and the Tarquinian epitaph of Lars Felsnas who died, aged 106, proclaims his having campaigned with Hannibal (*tleche hanipaluscle*, *ET* Ta 1.107).

During the years 191–183 BC, late Republican Rome consolidated its grasp on the peninsula with renewed implantation of military colonies in Etruscan farmland. In the same era, some canny Etruscan families recognized the Roman future and seem to have become part of the senatorial class or otherwise joined the Roman system (Hall 1996; Farney 2007, 125–178). Sulla's takeover in 83–82 BC occasioned reprisals against Etruscan communities that had opposed him, as implied in the finds of three (fragmentary) stone *cippi* marking the boundary of rural territory assigned to Etruscan ethnics settled, perhaps as exiles, at Bir Mcherga (Tunisia) in the former territory of conquered Carthage. It has been suggested that the exiles were from Chiusi, which had shown resistance to the Roman dictator (*ET* Af 8.1–8; Benelli 2007; Heurgon 1969). In contrast, the first century BC saw a renewed respect for Etruscan culture among the politicians and intelligentsia of Rome, with the translation into Latin of numerous religious and technical documents, such as those of the *Etrusca disciplina*, the Etruscan religious texts, rendered into Latin by scholars like Publius Nigidius Figulus, an admired friend of Cicero. Figulus, probably from a Perusine Etruscan family, fell afoul of Caesar and died in exile, but some of his works, such as the *Brontoscopic Calendar*, survived until the era of Justinian, when they were again rendered into the common language, this time Byzantine Greek (Turfa 2012). Other works about the Etruscans have been lost, such as the books on the Etruscan language written by the emperor Claudius, no doubt aided in his research by his noble-born Etruscan wife. To judge from the surviving works, Rome became more interested in Etruscan civilization once that people had been subdued. But by the time Augustus created Etruria as *Regio VII* of the Roman state, Etruscan autonomy was a thing of the past. Notables like Maecenas proudly claimed descent from Etruscan kings, and names like Caecina, Sejanus and Otho (the emperor from the Salvii family) would have recalled Etruscan origins, but only as historical curiosities.

XV The ruling families monumentalized

A number of historical issues and challenges are evident for the chronology of later Etruria (fourth through first centuries): some are moot, others require explanation. Past scholarship pointed to the supposed lack of a "Classical Period" in Etruria comparable to that of Athens, but this was not really the case. The major cities have most-

ly remained continuously inhabited since Etruscan times and Roman and later occupation has tended to cover or remove strata deposited in the fifth–fourth centuries; the wars and forced migrations of the Hellenistic period (331–30 BC) have also tended to obliterate evidence. In many sanctuaries, however, appropriate votive deposits and fragmentary architectural terracottas, now decorated in floral ornament rather than narrative scenes, have been identified. The most important examples of classical art will have been melted down long ago: commemorative bronze statues, of which the “Orator” (“Arringatore”) statue honoring Avle Metelis of Perugia is a rare survivor. Other monuments may have been even more extravagant. The pose of the “Chimaera of Arezzo” implies the existence of a narrative group of statues, likely including Pegasus and Perseus. Its dedication to Jupiter (*tinscvil*, “gift to Tinia”) indicates its original dedication in a sanctuary.

One further point of interpretation: while Etruscan artists avidly imitated or were inspired by Greek art, in the fifth–fourth centuries mainly the art of Athens, much of their production was for the private sector and is not directly comparable to the great artists’ monuments. Still, a fine corpus of mobiliary art (bronzes, engraved mirrors, vases, small votive figures) and some funerary sculpture and painting does survive. Etruscan culture differed from Greek especially in attitudes to women, nudity, and expression of emotion and violence (cf. Bonfante 2000), nor did the Greek aesthetic of correct proportions of figures take precedence over the narrative or emphasis of Etruscan art. In fact, Greek artists were still being integrated into Etruscan industries, as the fifth-century Red Figure vase in superposed color signed by “Arnthē Praxias” attests (Martelli 1987, no. 139). This artist with Greek professional name and adopted Etruscan first name depicted the scene of a visibly disgruntled baby Achilles being turned over to the centaur Chiron by his single-parent father, Peleus, with characteristic Etruscan humor melded with Greek classicism.

Although Greek masters may have pioneered new techniques, often the earliest surviving versions are to be found in Etruscan art. Thus the fourth-century François Tomb of Vulci features one of the first *extant* full-length painted portraits in Western art, while early foreshortening technique appears in the fifth century Tomba del Triclinio (“Tomb of the Banquet”). The recently discovered Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga at Sarteano introduces new motifs. While men banquet, a demonic charioteer with red hair and tusks races beside a black cloud that stares at him with a menacing red eye. The chariot team is made up of four different leonine and reptilian monsters (Minetti 2004; cf. Nagy 2013b). The pair of sarcophagi commissioned by the Tetnie family of Vulci (c. 350 BC) show husband and wife embracing in the marriage bed, one in alabaster in Hellenized style, the second in somewhat impressionist style in the coarser nenfro, in a seemingly modernized version of the Archaic banqueting couples.

Thanks to several excavated or recently re-established tomb contexts, it is becoming possible to reconstruct the life of Hellenistic Etruria, which was swept with regular infusions of the art of the Hellenistic east and adapted it to the social conventions of Etruscan and Italic Italy (Jolivet 2013). Family tombs such as the Tombs of



Fig. 5. Anatomical votives from central Italy: male head MS 5756, female half-head MS 5757, head from figure of a swaddled infant MS 5752, three foot models L-64-551, L-64-478, L-64-553, all terracotta; bronze plaque of eyes and nose MS 1630, a northern Etruscan/Italic type. third-second centuries BC. Photo courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum, image no. 151793.

the Curunas of Tuscania, the Velimna/Volumnii of Perugia, the Tomba Bruschi of Tarquinia, the Inghirami Tomb of Volterra, the Hescanas and Golini Tombs of Orvieto (Nielsen 2013), support a picture of Etruscan families gradually adapting to the new Roman forms of government, in many cases furnishing senators to Rome. Many turned back to the countryside, consolidating their holdings with country villas and small family burial grounds thereon (cf. Torelli 2000, 202–205). At Musarna in the region of Tarquinia an aristocratic country estate has been excavated along with a public bath building, as well as tombs of the Alethna family that contained third- and second-century *nenfro* portrait sarcophagi (Andreau, et al. 2002+; Emiliozzi 1993). As at Rome, a patchwork of customs must have corresponded to family and ideological traditions, as nearby Montebello has furnished cremation burials in collared urns reminiscent of the old, Iron Age biconical urns (Becker, et al. 2009, 89–96). A villa with formal Roman plan at Settefinestre in the territory of Vulci, built by Lucius Sestius in the first century BC, stands in stark contrast to the old ways. It represents the new system of chattel slavery and harsh exploitation of farmland (Carandini and Rossella Filippi 1985).

It was an unsettled time, with many cities suffering and many small hilltop sites (*castella*) in the countryside maintaining fortifications against invasion or civil unrest. Rural life was probably just as disrupted as urban society (Becker 2002, 2008; Cambio and Di Paola 2013). The relocation of the survivors of Volsinii (Orvieto) to a poorly defensible, albeit beautiful, site on the shore of Lake Bolsena comes just



Fig. 6. Sarcophagus of man of the Alethna family, MS 3488, from a tomb at Civita Musarna (region of Tarquinia), third century BC. (Chest and lid are from two different sarcophagi from the same family tomb complex). Photo courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum, image no. 151655.

before the time of the Roman *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (186 BC), and finds at the site may illustrate underlying Etruscan resistance, despite the persecution of large numbers of the cult's adherents by the Roman state (Takács 2000). A *domus*-type house with basement chambers concealed a buried terracotta Bacchic throne (Jolivet 2013, 163; Goudineau 1968).

At dozens of sanctuary sites, the phenomenon of offering anatomical models began in earnest around 300 BC. The terracotta votives, some given publicly by freedmen or freedwomen, mark a new trend toward recognition of the needs of common people (not the poor, but those able to purchase such gifts). They also indicate a new interest in the body, medicine and learning in general (Recke 2013; Turfa and Becker 2013) and this phenomenon is likewise popular among the sanctuaries of Latium and Campania, particularly (but not exclusively) for goddesses such as Vei, Uni, Turan, and others.

The development of portraiture, which had been inherent in the dressing of simple urns of the Villanovan period with clothing, necklaces or helmets, burgeoned in painted funerary representations and also in sculpture of which mainly sarcophagi and urns survive in stone and terracotta (Carpino 2013). The terracotta sarcophagus of Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa of Chiusi, now in the British Museum, afforded an opportunity to compare the portrait with the skeleton of Seianti herself. Like many other feminine images, it may have improved upon the original (Swaddling and Prag 2002). Male portraits, however, tend to emphasize the sitter's experience with



Fig. 7. Hellenistic urn, MS 2458, portrait of Arnth Remzna, son of Arnth, of Chiusi, late third century BC. Remzna is depicted as a divination priest with ring, tunic, fringed mantle and special *apex*-hat (the tall top of the hat, rendered in a separate piece of alabaster, is now missing; note the strap beneath his chin). Photo courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum, image no. 195078.

furrowed brows, wrinkles or jowls and heavy bellies. The early examples are careful portraits while later versions become slack allowing the false interpretation of Catullus's *obesus Etruscus* as if it were an unhealthy commonplace (Turfa 2014). Retention of identity and social status on the journey to the Underworld was of paramount importance. On his sarcophagus, the effigy of Tarquinian Lars Puleas shows a scroll with his resumé, including his authorship of treatises on haruspicy (divination by sheep liver, for which Etruria was famous), his offices in religious colleges and his ancestry, from his grandmother back to a famous Greek prophet, Pulles (styled *Creices*, “the Greek” – another instance of foreign wisdom embraced in Etruscan aristocratic culture). Some epitaphs enumerate women’s children and/or grandchildren while men’s public offices and religious affiliations were recalled. Age at death

was often recorded, especially at Tarquinia and Volterra from the fourth to first centuries. The affluent often reached their 60s or 70s, occasionally 80s (cf. Kron 2013), while small children, especially girls, were particularly commemorated.

XVI Etruscan society

In Etruscan communities, in good years life was comfortable and envied by the neighbors. The goods and ornamentation of Etruscan tombs (especially Tomb of the Reliefs, Cerveteri) seem to depict households with abundant belongings and the beginnings of interior décor and storage, a standard of living that would characterize the houses of Pompeii and Rome in a later century. Excavations of domestic contexts also indicate the affluence and seeming modernity maintained in Late Etruscan life, even while communities girded for conflict, stockpiling provisions in fortified settlements (cf. the fortress of Rofalco in Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli 2010; Sabbatini 2014; Blanck and Proietti 1986). Cities would benefit from Etruscan engineering in roads, bridges, and water supply and drainage systems, like the famous *cuniculi* of the Veii area, or the aqueduct of Ponte Rotto at Vulci (cf. Bergamini 1991). Agriculture too was enhanced, as implied in references to the lost works of such as the Saserna, *père et fils*, who were extensively quoted by Roman authors on topics like crop rotation of pulses and cereals (Speranza 1974, 1.33–45; Turfa 2012, 144; for landscape and livestock, see Wiman 2013 and Frizell 2010). The loss of Etruscan literature hampers us, but tangential evidence attests longstanding interest in learning and science, both practical and abstract (Cherici 2013a).

Literacy in Etruria seems to have been relatively high from the beginning, to judge from the number of inscribed labels found. Women were at least as literate as men, according to the gifts made to or from them (Agostiniani 2013; Maras 2013). In fact, the position of women was one of the definitive marks of Etruscan civilization. As early as the seventh century, women seem to have engaged in business, including commercial production (of vases) and ownership of slaves, to judge from a Caeretan White on Red painted vase signed *kvsnaile* – “slave of Kusna” (Benelli 2013; Turfa 2012, 220–229; Colonna 1993). The ownership of property is further seen in a number of tombs naming women as the founders/head of family or heiress (at Orvieto), or depicting them as the focal point of an event (Chiusi, Tomb of the Monkey). The custom continued into the late era, although the etiquette of women depicted on banquet couches beside their husbands in Tarquinian tombs of the sixth–fifth centuries seems to have changed to the hellenized custom (Chiusi, Tarquinia, fifth-fourth century) of the wife seated on a chair beside her husband’s couch (Bonfante 2013). Cosmetic dentistry, thus far associated only with women, seems to have been practiced from the seventh century (at Etruscanized Latin Satricum) into the Hellenistic period, with goldsmiths fashioning the first true dental bridges as replacements for lost front teeth (Turfa and Becker 2013, 870–873).

In Etruria, inscriptions betray the presence of slavery from the seventh century on, with an influx of foreign names appearing in epitaphs in tandem with Rome's conquests during the third to first centuries. Etruscan practice seems to have differed from Rome's chattel slavery with *latifundia* worked by gangs of unfortunates, and Greek authors (Posidonius in Diod.Sic. 5.40.3) noted that the lifestyle (houses, dress) of Etruscan urban slaves, presumably those with industrial or business skills, was better than that of many a free man (Benelli 2013).

The fame of Etruscan ritual, divination, and sacred architecture was acknowledged by Roman authors, particularly in the first century BC when the cities of Etruria had ceased to be autonomous. The Etruscan sacred scriptures were believed to have been dictated by the childlike supernatural prophet Tages in the era of the foundation of cities (ninth century?). Romans like Nigidius Figulus produced Latin translations of Etruscan sacred texts (Turfa 2012), and other Etruscan traditions were "recovered" such as the *Ordo LX Haruspicum*. The surviving textual evidence (in contrast to earlier votive deposits and funerary cult) is only as early as the late Archaic period (early fifth-century Capua "Tile," a liturgical calendar probably copied from an older text), while the famous text of the Zagreb *Liber Linteus* ("Linen Book") is post-fourth century (van der Meer 2007; Turfa 2006, 2012, 2013a). From divination texts, Roman scribes preserved a few Etruscan glosses, especially the names for birds, beasts and plants, including such curiosities as *capys*, "hawk," also applied to men with the claw foot deformity (today it afflicts those who wear ill-fitting shoes and we may wonder about the famous Etruscan predilection for shoes and boots.)

As recorded in the Roman religious tradition, Etruscan doctrine included study of the boundaries of space and time (the doctrine of *saecula*, linked to recording of exact age at death in epitaphs), and rituals of divination by haruspicy (examining sheep livers: Turfa and Gettys 2009). Greek and Punic gods were venerated as well as native divinities, and cults were organized with priests and priestesses, sacred places with or without a formal temple, altars and sacrifice both bloody and bloodless (Rafanelli 2013; Edlund-Berry 2013a; Warden 2009). Early systems seem to have adapted some elements of Egyptian funerary cult (Sannibale 2006, 2008) or Mesopotamian divination literature (Turfa 2012). Numerous sites (such as Lucus Feroniae) were shared with Italic neighbors (Bradley and Glinister 2013), as were some procedures like the *clavus annalis* and *pomerium*-plowing ritual. Inscriptions show the open participation by freedmen (Vel Tipples who dedicated a model knee at Veii) and freedwomen (such as Kanuta of Orvieto who married into the aristocracy). The latter is named on an offering base found at Campo della Fiera, now acknowledged as the site of the *Fanum Voltumnae* of Volsinii, which was continuously visited from the Archaic period into the Middle Ages (Stopponi 2013, 637). The tradition of Etruscan scriptures was used by pagan scholars to counter the rhetoric of early Christianity (Briquel 1997). In AD 410 Etruscan haruspices offered to defend Rome from Alaric by calling down lightning strikes, but were rebuffed. By the time their offer was accepted, it was too late.

We cannot fully gauge the debt of western culture to ancient Etruria, although medieval and Renaissance scholars certainly appreciated it (Rowland 2013; De Angelis 2013). Words such as *lantern* and *persona* have come into English from Etruscan (via Latin). The cities of Europe would not be the same were it not for Etruria's early urbanization and organization. Even their railways would be different, for, via the Roman expansion, the size of Etruscan chariots determined the gauge of early roadways. Hints of Etruscan drama, dance and music, and artistic conventions may be detected in Roman religion and literature, as well as medieval and later art and performance (Harlequin and Columbine of the *commedia dell'arte* descend from Etruscan Phersu and Vanth). Even modern novels are fond of the "mysterious" Etruscans! (Emiliozzi 1997, 2013; Hall 1996; Haack 2013; Edlund-Berry 2009). Etruscan developments embodied in Roman society and technology were so basic to Roman life that they would be passed on to future civilizations without attribution.

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For Etruscan art, in addition to the above, see Brendel 1995; De Puma 2013c; Haynes 1985. Several series are in the process of publishing specific categories of objects: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (CVA) – vases, gathered by location (collections, museums); *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* (CSE) – handmirrors, similar format to CVA; sarcophagi are catalogued by Herbig 1952 and Gentili 1994. Urns, mainly Hellenistic, were early catalogued by Körte (1896–1916) and have recently been published in volumes by the Louvre, Volterra Museo Guarnacci and other museums. For architecture, see the bibliography by Ingrid Edlund-Berry in the Oxford Online Bibliographies. For architectural terracottas, see Winter 2009, 2013 and bibliographies there; and the ongoing series *Deliciae Fictiles*, Proceedings of International Conferences on Architectural Terracottas, 1993–2011 and ongoing (vols. I–IV to date. Oxford: Oxbow Books). A new series, edited by N. T. de Grummond and L. Pieraccini, will publish general introductions to Etruscan cities, beginning with Caere/Cerveteri. For Religion: de Grummond and Simon 2006; Gaultier and Briquel 1997; van der Meer 2011, 1987, 2007; van der Meer 2010; Harvey and Schultz 2006; de Grummond 2006 and 2013. For catalogues of votive deposits, see *Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia*. For an introduction in English to the Etruscan language (with full bibliography of other works), see Bonfante and Bonfante 2002; shorter treatment, Bonfante 1990; Wallace 2008. Etruscan inscriptions are published in the ongoing series *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* (CIE), begun in 1893; the corpus of inscriptions known up to 2014 is in Rix, et al. *Etruskische Texte* (ET), 2nd Ed. See also Zair in the present volume.

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Silvia Paltineri

The Ligurians

I Liguria and the Ligurians according to literary sources

The term “Ligurians” (Greek *Lígyes*; Latin *Ligures*; Etruscan *Lecuste/Lecste*) has been in use since the Archaic Period (de Marinis and Spadea 2007, 17–25) to describe an ancient people located in a large territory along the coastline of the western Mediterranean, up to the Pillars of Hercules. The *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax (fourth century BC) stated that this territory extended from the Rhone to Antion (Antibes/Antipolis), where the land of the Tyrrhenians begins. We turn to later authors for an indication of the extent of this territory inland: Cato states that the Lepontii belonged to the Tauriscian peoples (themselves, as Taurini/Taurisci, generally considered to be Ligurians) whereas Livy stated that the Laevi and the Marici, who founded Pavia, were Ligurians. According to Polybius the mountains area from the Maritime Alps to the Apennines was Ligurian territory (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 9–15, 21–25; Venturino Gambari and Gandolfi 2004, 11–16). Philistus of Syracuse argued that the Sicels, expelled by the Umbrians and the Pelasgians, were descendants of the Ligurians. This context, interestingly, allows us to connect this source with the Hellenistic and Roman accounts of Cynus, the king of the Ligurians who was changed into a swan after Phaethon’s death. The Ligurians were also believed to be the first inhabitants of Corsica. Additionally, the sources for the western labours of Hercules (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 11–13) note the Ligurians as controllers of the passes of the western Alps and the routes from Italy to the Iberian peninsula.

The rugged land, the limited resources and the harsh living conditions led the Ligurians to engage in mercenary activities (Melli 2014, 95). Ligurian mercenaries are mentioned as soldiers in the army of the Carthaginians during the Battle of Himera (480 BC), an alliance that lasted until the Punic Wars. In addition to being merchants and sailors the Ligurians were known as pirates: a negative portrayal which reflects the context of the conflict with Rome (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 17–19).

II The Territory

Although recent years have witnessed an increase in the volume of archaeological evidence, the context of the pre-Roman record in Liguria is still fragmentary and

Silvia Paltineri: Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali: Archeologia, Storia dell’Arte, del Cinema e della Musica – Università degli Studi di Padova, Piazza Capitanato 7, 35139 Padova, Italia; E-mail: silvia.paltineri@unipd.it



Fig. 1. Map of the Ligurian groups (elaborated by Silvia Paltineri)

mixed. In addition, many important sites remain unpublished. Despite these shortcomings it is still possible to trace the general lines of a historical trajectory from the formation phase to the time of Romanization. But, as we shall see, it is clear that Liguria was fully involved in the great transformation of the western Mediterranean.

The geographic area of the Ligurian groups (Fig. 1) extended from southern France with the coastal and mountain areas of Liguria reaching from the Maritime Alps through the Ligurian Apennines to the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines. These boundaries, on the basis of the archaeological record, do not appear to have been fixed, and they varied with time. A distinctly Ligurian territory came only with administrative organization of this area under Augustus: the *Regio IX (Liguria)* was situated between the Varus (mod. Var) river (southeast France), the Macra (mod. Magra) river (now the eastern boundary of the territory) and the Po river (now the northern boundary) (Fig. 2).

The Ligurian-Etruscan border changed several times during the Iron Age. According to the archaeological evidence in northwestern Tuscany, the area between the Arno and the Magra rivers seems to have been culturally aligned with the Etruscans in the early Iron Age (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 219–223), whereas the same area seems to be under Ligurian control in the late Iron Age. This fluctuation of borders is evident in Livy (41.13.4) who states that the territory of Luna (mod. Luni) was under



Fig. 2. The Ligurian territory with the main Roman roads under Augustus (from Wikipedia; free from copyright)

the control of the Etruscans before passing to the Ligurians (Paribeni 1990; de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 369–371; Venturino Gambari and Gandolfi 2004, 191–204).

The border with the Celtic world, on the other hand, began to emerge in the thirteenth century BC and hardened at the end of the Bronze Age (ca. 1180–ninth century BC) (Venturino Gambari and Gandolfi 2004, 11–28; de Marinis and Spadea 2007, 57–64). The territories south of the Po began to become distinguishable from those of the Po, both in ceramics (showing connections with eastern and southern France) and in an aspect of the funerary ritual that persisted in the Iron Age: the adoption of a stone slab to cover the cinerary urn (as at the necropolis of Alba). Even in this case, however, it was a very fluid boundary, especially on the side of the Apennines leading to the Po and Po Valley.

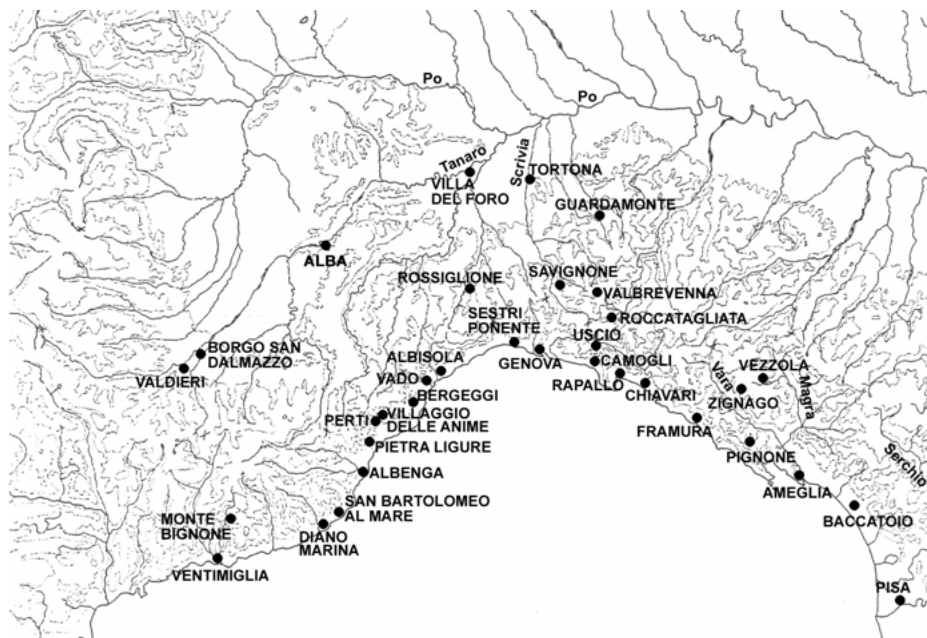


Fig. 3. Map of the Ligurian sites from the Late Bronze Age to the Late Iron Age (elaborated by Silvia Paltineri)

III The archaeological evidence (end of the Bronze Age – end of the seventh century BC)

There are signs of the emergence of a new form of spatial planning in Liguria at the end of the Bronze Age. As the importance of sea trade began to rival the traditional agricultural and pastoral economy, the sea became very important. Next to the hill settlements (Zignago, Pignone, Vezzola, Uscio, Camogli, Sant'Antonino di Perti, Villaggio delle Anime) new coastal sites arose, designed to serve both agricultural activity and maritime trade (Diano Marina, San Bartolomeo al Mare, Vado, Genova, Chiavari) (Fig. 3 and 16). This trend, due to the initiative of local communities, was fully developed by the early Iron Age. At this point some key sites of the Bronze Age are abandoned – sites such as the hill settlement of Uscio (Maggi 1990; de Marinis and Spadea 2007, 109–112) – and newer coastal towns grew. In this way we can understand the development of the center of Chiavari: though the settlement remains unexplored, the cremation necropolis, which has been explored, dates from the late eighth to the beginning of the sixth century BC (Paltineri 2010; Leonardi and Paltineri 2012, 295–296).

The development of coastal communities is part of a new historical context in which the Etruscans played a major role: the Ligurian coast, from the seventh cen-



Fig. 4. Chiavari. View of the necropolis, with box graves in stone and rectangular enclosures (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 212)

tury BC onwards, traded on the routes from the main Tyrrhenian centers to southern France and the Iberian peninsula. It is no coincidence that starting with the end of the seventh century BC other coastal sites grew in eastern Liguria. These included Rapallo (Melli 1996), a dock at the mouth of the Magra river and a number of other small ports (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 129–220). The recent discoveries of two cemeteries in Albisola and Albenga (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 216–217) on the west Ligurian coast not only confirms this trend, but helps us recognize an extension of the sea route to the west of Genoa, which emerged as the main *emporion* at the end of the seventh century BC on the initiative of the Etruscans.

The necropolis of Chiavari (in use from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the sixth century BC) is one the most important complexes of the early Iron Age period in all of northwestern Italy (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 197–216; Paltineri 2010; Leonardi and Paltineri 2012; Paltineri 2015). Its monumental cremation burials, including round and rectangular stone enclosures (Fig. 4), are divided into three areas, east-west oriented, with different tomb groups (Fig. 5). The first area (area A) contains 44 tombs, the second (area B) 45 tombs, and the third area (area C) 37 tombs. Both the round and the rectangular enclosures contained stone box graves in which there were singular or sometimes double burials, and perhaps in very few cases multiple burials. Regarding these cases, and due to the fact that the analysis of the remains is as yet incomplete, the number and the sex of the deceased have been determined on the basis of archaeological indicators alone (that is, razors or

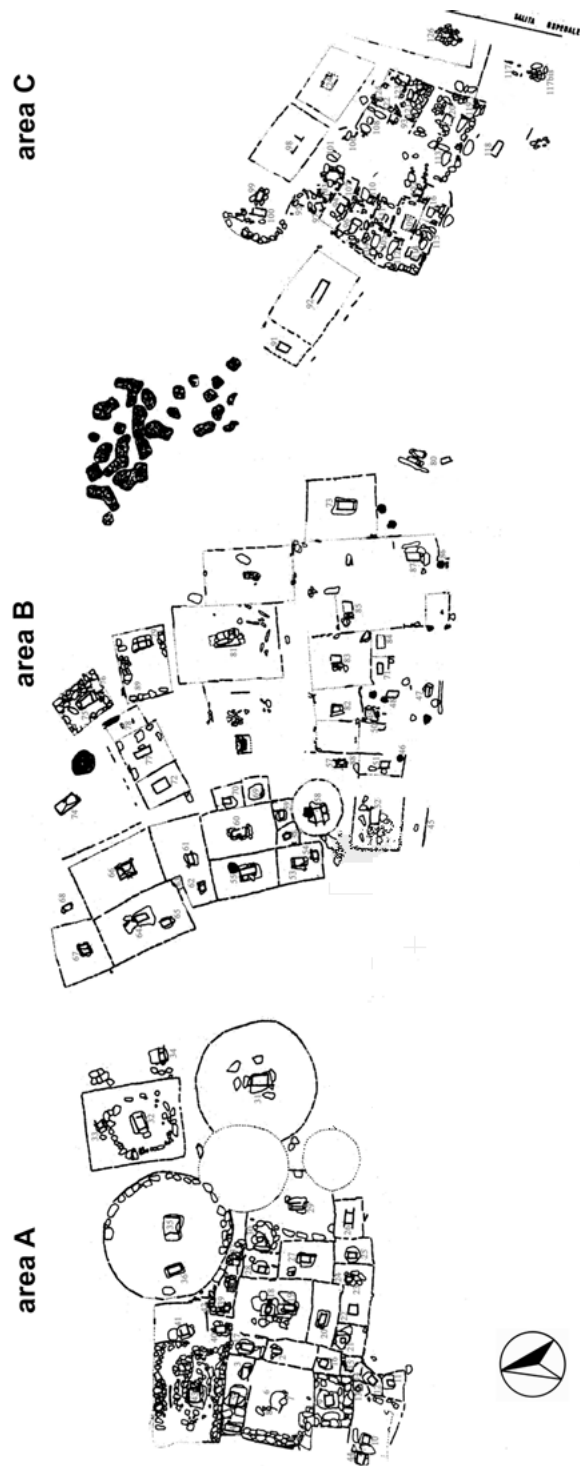


Fig. 5. Chiavari. The three groups of tombs (from Paltineri 2010, pl. IV)



Fig. 7. Drawings of an urn from the necropolis of Baccatoio (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 159)

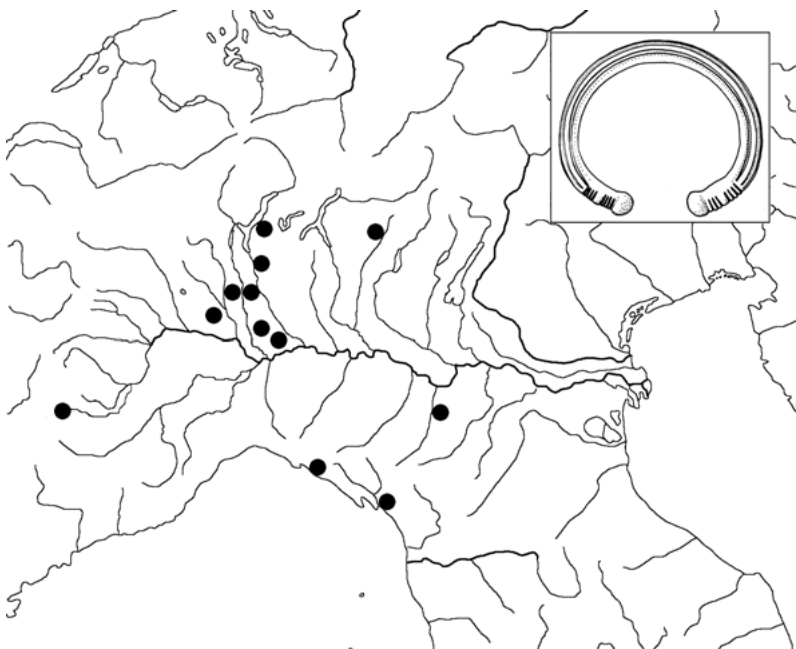


Fig. 8. Distribution map of the “Chiavari type” arm-rings (from Paltineri 2010, 93)

terms of metal goods, examples include pendants, belt clasps and, in two burials “Hallstatt type” disks (three disks with central boss in each burial, one of the shield and two for the armour: Fig. 9). In terms of pottery, many types are very common both in Chiavari and in northwestern Italy.

The community of Chiavari also had relations with Etruria. From the end of the eighth century BC the Ligurian site, along with other settlements in northern Tuscany, made use of a sea route which began in southern Etruria. Examples demonstrat-

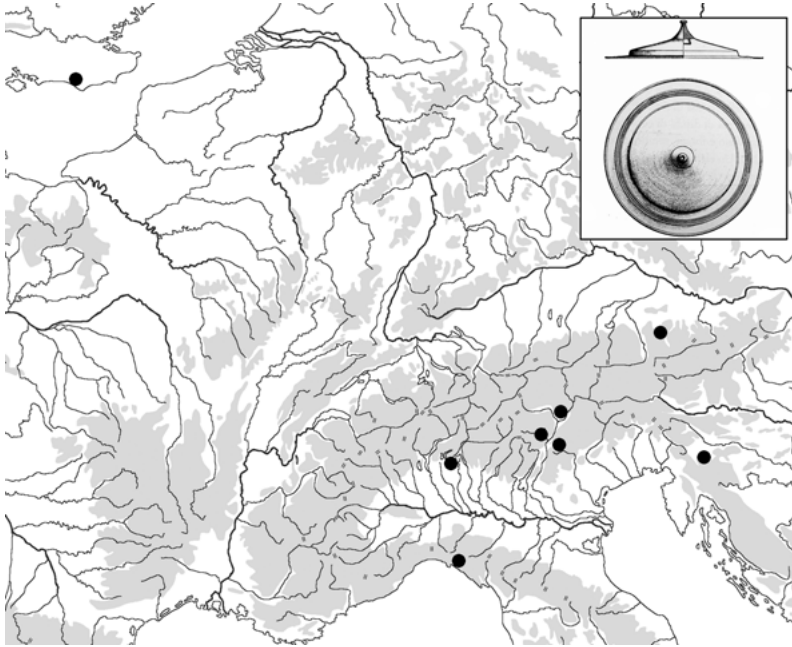


Fig. 9. Distribution map of the “Hallstatt type” disks (from Paltineri 2010, 122)

ing the use of this trade route include the following. The *olla* from Burial 9B, datable to the end of the eighth century BC, is painted with horizontal lines and concentric circles (Fig. 10). It was probably imported from the territory under the control of Vulci. Another import is the proto-Corinthian cup from Burial 60 and datable to the third quarter of the seventh century BC (Fig. 11). Indeed, painted vessels from the southern territory were found in a number of other sites in northern Tuscany. Other shapes can be associated with the same tradition. The small corpus of bucchero *kyathoi* is one example. The *amphora* from Grave 9 A exhibits a very close affinity with material from central Etruria: the decoration with carved pendant ending with a rose can be compared to findings from Volterra and Populonia and it seems to have been imported (Fig. 12). The local imitation of Etruscan artefacts is very interesting, as in the case of the two *ollae* from Grave 10, with plastic decoration on the body and on the lid (Fig. 13), or in the case of the *olla* from Burial 40 A (Fig. 14), which is a local imitation of the Vulci type.

From the middle of the seventh until the end of the seventh century BC the cemetery bears traces of closer relations with Pisa. Pisa, where the proto-urban process had been completed, now enjoyed direct control over many centres in Versilia and in the Serchio valley (Bruni 1998, 153–191). It is indeed possible that this Etruscan city tried to control the coastal trade between northern Tuscany and Liguria. The marker of this cultural (and political) development is the importation of a type of bucchero cup (Fig. 15), probably produced in Pisa, into the Chiavari market. These cups are

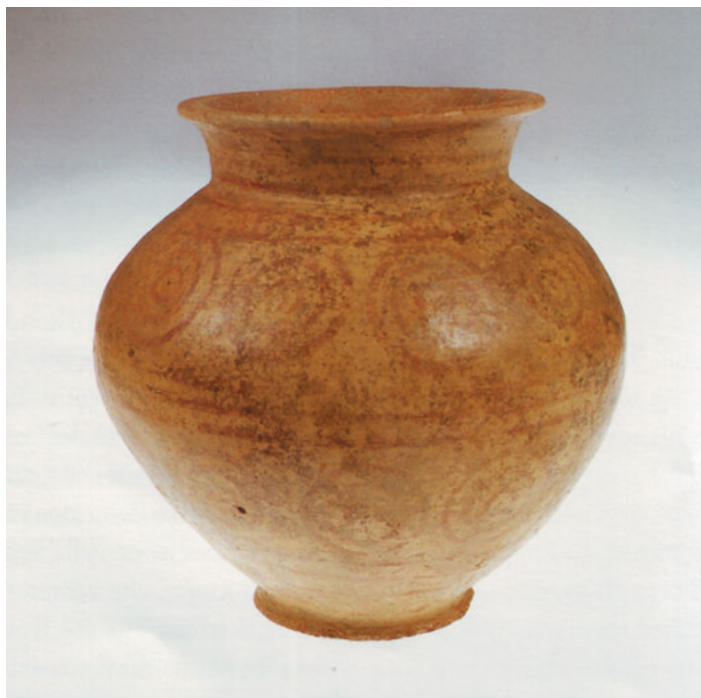


Fig. 10. Chiavari. Olla from Tomb 9B (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 204)

often decorated with three indented lines under the lip and in a few cases we find stamps on the body or on the base.

Until the third quarter of the seventh century BC, we see a plurality of Etruscan influences in Chiavari. At the end of the century the situation is different: the influence of Pisa seems to have significantly altered the balance between northern Tuscany and Liguria. But the development of an urban complex is a process that we can see only in Pisa. In Liguria the community of Chiavari did not develop the social structures that are typical of urban centers. Although the grave goods and their distribution in the cemetery do reveal a complex society and the development of a hierarchical community, there was no urban context (Leonardi and Paltineri 2012, 300–303).

Although we may suppose that Chiavari, before the influence of Genoa, was the first and the most important port of eastern Liguria, it seems that it was not strong enough to counter the fact that the Etruscan people decided to found their *emporion* in Genoa. This is most probably why, from the sixth century BC, we see the growth of Genoa and disappearance of Chiavari.



Fig. 11. Chiavari. Protocorinthian cup from Tomb 60 (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 193)

IV The birth of Genoa and the opening of international trade (end of the seventh – fifth centuries BC)

Massalia was founded at the end of the seventh century BC by the Phocaeans. Etruscan trade was subsequently reorganised around the port of trade of Genoa-Portofranco (Fig. 16), itself a development of Etruscan initiative. Portofranco is located in between sea routes and internal routes leading to the Po valley (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 316–319; Melli 2006; 2007, 28–31; 2014, 71–74). From its foundation Genoa was exposed to diverse cultures. Finds at this site include, in addition to a number of artefacts (especially bucchero) from Pisa, imports from southern Etruria (especially from Caere) and Etruscan and Greek wine amphorae datable to the end of the seventh century BC. These finds indicate an active trade route running along Ligurian territory and connecting Etruria with the south of France.

The Acquasola tumulus (Melli 2007, 31–32; Melli 2014, 71–73) is, in addition to Portofranco, another exceptional context to explore the phases of the development of Genoa (Fig. 17). It is a burial tumulus of 15 m in diameter, paved unfortunately in Roman times, which housed cremation burials within stone box graves (Fig. 18).

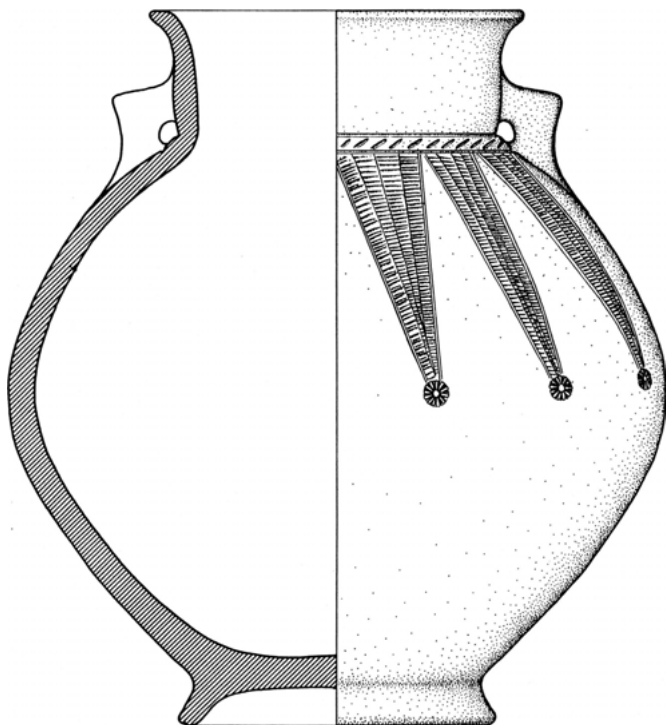


Fig. 12. Chiavari. Amphora from Tomb 9 A (from Paltineri 2010, 191)

The box graves are of a type known in Chiavari and in Albenga. Grave goods that could be recovered are datable from the mid-seventh to the fourth centuries BC and indicate that this monumental structure, created for a person of rank, was used for several generations. The reference model for this kind of structure can be found both in southern France (Melli 2014, 72) and in Etruria. The Acquasola tumulus illuminates the oldest phase of occupation of Genoa. In the sixth century BC the city underwent a (re)founding with the creation of the settlement on the Castello hill, a commanding position over the sea, that could be defined as an *oppidum* (Milanese 1987; Melli 2007, 33–34; 2014, 75–84) (Fig. 16).

The oldest huts were built entirely of perishable materials. At the end of sixth century BC we begin to find stone foundations (Melli 2014, 75), clay floors and constructions made of wooden frames filled with straw. The roofs were probably made from a perishable material such as wood or straw because there are no shingles or tiles dating before the fourth century BC. Next to the houses there were workshops for metalworking. The *oppidum* of Genoa, between the end of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, served as the center of exchange in the middle of Liguria. We find Etruscan artefacts (70–80%), rarer material from the territory of Golasecca, and pottery produced in southern France in imitation of Greek prototypes (Melli 2014, 76).



Fig. 13. Chiavari. Olla from Tomb 10 A (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 196)

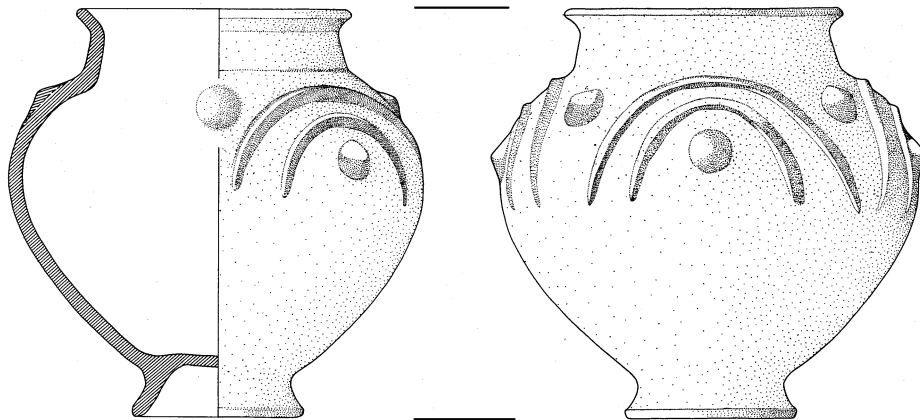


Fig. 14. Chiavari. Olla from Tomb 40 A (from Paltineri 2010, 233)

It is possible to relate the phases of the *oppidum* with a cemetery located on the hill of Sant'Andrea (Fig. 16) which dates from the beginning of the fifth century BC

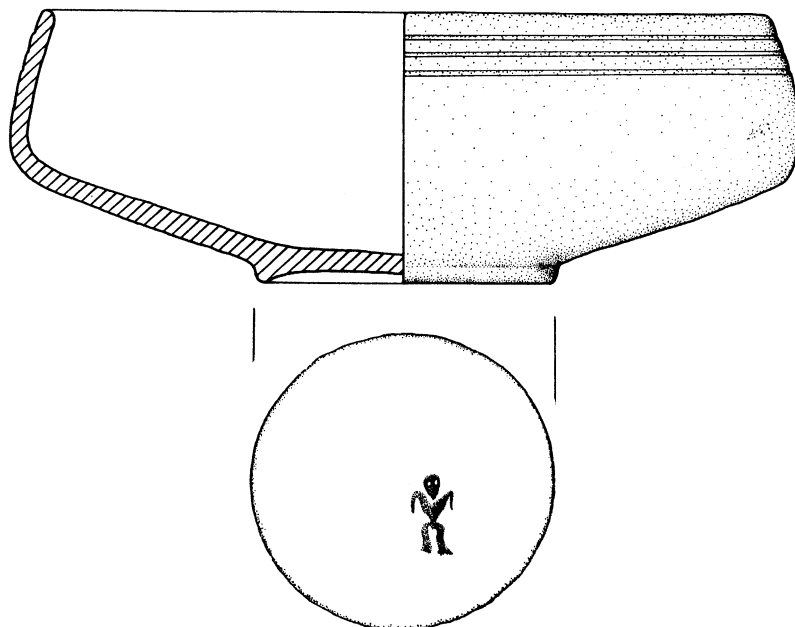


Fig. 15. Chiavari. Bucchero cup from Tomb 3 A (from Paltineri 2010, 182)

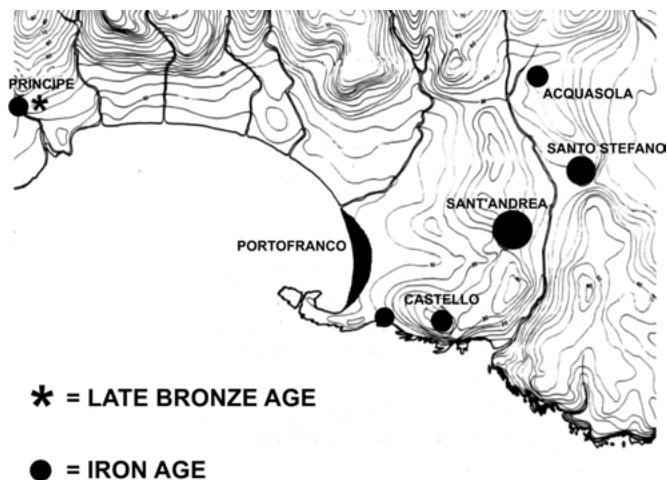


Fig. 16. Archaeological finds in the Gulf of Genoa (elaborated by Silvia Paltineri)

and was in use at least until the fourth century BC (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 309–315; Melli 2014, 85–93). This cemetery, unfortunately still unpublished, has 122 circular well tombs, a type of burial which is unusual in the Ligurian contexts but was well known in Etruria. The grave goods reflect the various cultural components of the settlement. We find objects from different places and in some cases it is very



Fig. 17. Genoa. The Acquasola tumulus (from Melli 2007, 31)



Fig. 18. Genoa. Stone box grave from the Acquasola tumulus (from Melli 2007, 32)

likely that people of foreign origin were buried in Genoa. Among the materials derived from Mediterranean trade are vessels imported from Etruria and Attic black and red-figure vases (de Marinis and Spadea, 2004, 337–357). The presence of Attic craters and southern Etruscan bronzes (stamnoid *ollae*, *olpai*, *Schnabelkanne*, *simpu-*



Fig. 19. Genoa. Grave goods from Tomb 84 (from Melli 2007, 76)

la, etc.) is a sign that the Genoese community adhered to Greek-Etruscan style symposia (Fig. 19).

It was during this international phase that Genoa adopted a writing system. The epigraphic documentation, ranging from the late sixth to the second centuries BC, is a testament to the primacy of the Etruscans and confirms the international nature of the *oppidum* (Melli 2014, 80). The corpus of inscriptions (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 302–307; Melli 2014, 82) from the cemetery of the hill of Sant’Andrea and from the settlement on the Castello hill certifies that the handwriting and language used in Genoa were Etruscan (according to northern Etruscan style of handwriting) though among the personal names listed we also find Greek (*Krulu*) and Celtic names such as *Nemetie*, mentioned in an inscription on a stone of serpentine marble dated to the middle of the fifth century BC (Fig. 20).

The foundation of Genoa was the beginning of a great transformation which generated significant changes both to the territorial structure of Liguria and to the nature of her international relationships. Moreover, this included the development of a stable traffic route connecting the sea with the Po valley. Between the sixth and fifth centuries BC a number of different centers emerged along the Apennine valleys: the tombs of Valbrevenna, Savignone and Roccatagliata, together with the settlements of Villa del Foro, Tortona, Guardamonte and Rossiglione. These developments are an indication of the dynamic role now played by Genoa which, by increasing inward traffic, revitalized the Apennine area (Venturino Gambari, et al. 1996; Gambari 2003; Chiaramonte Trerè 2003; de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 225–233, 278–281; Ven-



Fig. 20. Genoa. Stone serpentine, inscribed with the personal name *Nemetie* (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 298)

turino Gambari and Gandolfi 2004, 29–48). In some cases, for instance, the existence of these trade routes is very well documented; Etruscan pottery that was imported by the river emporium of Villa del Foro came through Genoa and reached the Po valley (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 274–275). Along the same road, but in the opposite direction, pieces typical of the culture of Golasecca were imported, such as the Ticino *fibulae* and the “stralucido” ceramic decorative style. Artefacts from Golasecca are also attested in the *oppidum* of Genoa.

Central Liguria became increasingly important as a result of this new international context. This may explain, in eastern Liguria, the decline of Chiavari and the reuse of the hill settlement of Uscio (Fig. 3). Uscio was located on the top of the Borgo mountain and so had access to the east-west pathways, the inland of Genoa, the eastern Ligurian inland, and western Emilia (de Marinis and Spadea 2007, 111). This settlement was used from the Neolithic Age and abandoned in the early Iron Age, when Chiavari was developing on the coast. It can be argued that, when Chiavari disappeared and the community of the Tigullio gulf returned to the hill in the middle and in the late Iron Age, the settlement of Uscio experienced something of a rebirth.

In western Liguria, the castellaro of Sestri Ponente and the important site of Bergeggi (founded at the end of the sixth century BC and inhabited without interruption



Fig. 21. Map of Lunigiana, with indications of the stele statues of the Iron Age (elaborated by Silvia Paltineri)

until the first century BC) confirm that even here hilltops were favoured for settlements (de Marinis and Spadea 2007, 113–116; Giannattasio and Odetti 2009) (Fig. 3). It should be stressed that throughout the fifth century BC the hill settlements were not excluded from international trade. In eastern Liguria Bergeggi was connected to the Ligurian-Etruscan trade routes and Attic pottery is attested in the Vara valley, Sestri Ponente and Pietra Ligure (Venturino Gambari and Gandolfi 2004, 165–190; Melli 2014, 77–79).

At the time when Genoa was founded, in Lunigiana (eastern Liguria), the presence of Ligurian communities who controlled the paths of the Apennines in the direction of the Po valley is confirmed by the presence of stele statues (Fig. 21). These monuments, unfortunately found reused and therefore without context, use the iconography of warriors. There were originally local stele statues of the Copper Age which were subsequently reused in the Iron Age. Some specimens have weapons dating from the late seventh and the sixth centuries BC such as axes and javelins/lances (Fig. 22), but also an “antenna” sword that can be compared with Hallstatt culture swords (Fig. 23) (de Marinis 1995; de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 219–223, 268–270). Inscriptions, in the Etruscan alphabet, were added (Fig. 24): the text includes local names (Maggiani and Prosdocimi 1976).

The stele of Lerici (Fig. 25) is different from the others. It has an image of the warrior in profile with panoply (helmet, shield, shin guards, sword, javelins) and was probably inspired by funerary stele which were typical in northern Etruria, in territories such as Volterra (Gervasini and Maggiani 1998). Other specimens which are probably more recent, such as Bigliolo and Reusa (Fig. 26), seem to indicate a desire to move away from the flattened form of the stele to the statue in the round. It can

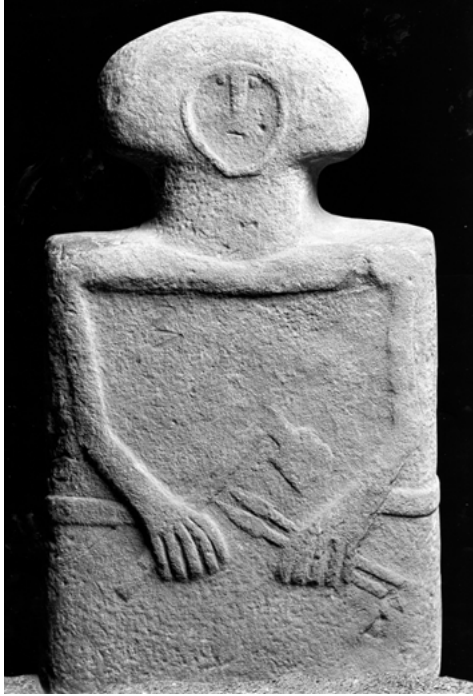


Fig. 22. The stele statue of Filetto, called “Filetto I” (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 269)

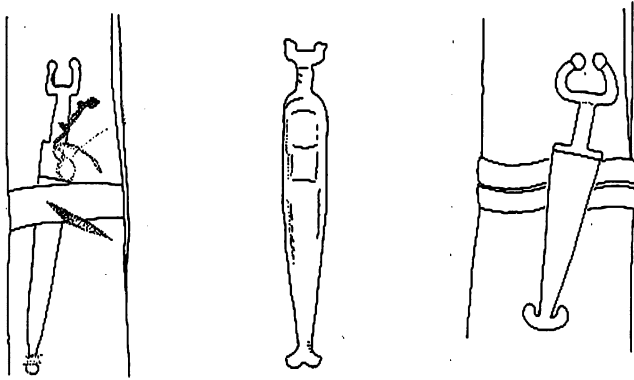


Fig. 23. “Antenna” swords on the stele statues. From left to right: stele statue of “Filetto I”; stele of “Lerici”; stele statue of “Filetto II” (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 208).

further be argued that the examples of sculpture in the round from seventh century Etruria influenced the monuments of Lunigiana (Paltineri 2011, 149–155).



Fig. 24. The stele statue of Zignago (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 594)



Fig. 25. The stele of Lerici (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 268)

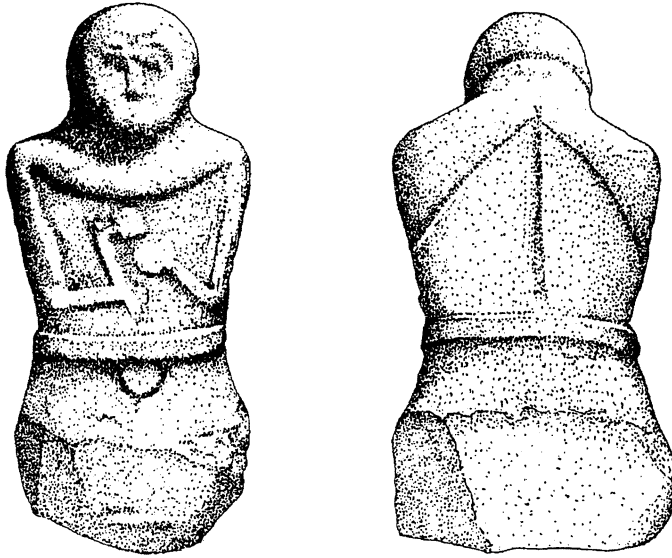


Fig. 26. The (stele) statue of Reusa (from Giannattasio 2007, figure 28B)

V The new international context (second half of the fifth – beginning of the third century BC)

From the second half of the fifth century BC, the political situation in the Tyrrhenian Sea – with the defeat of the Etruscans at Cumae (474 BC) and the rise of Syracuse – led to a progressive weakening of the Etruscan presence in Genoa. These events, however, do not seem to have led to a decline of the Ligurian *oppidum*. Indeed, at this time the level of work at the site is impressive, the area was remodeled with new terracing and, significantly, bordered by a wall (Milanese 1987; Melli 2007, 38–42; 2014, 77) (Fig. 27).

From the late fifth to the early fourth century BC Liguria was gradually absorbed into the orbit of Marseilles, and imports from Etruria into Genoa and the region decreased to such an extent that, from the middle of the fourth century, Etruscan wine imports were permanently replaced by Massaliote. This change coincides with the arrival of the Gauls on the Italian peninsula, a movement which led to the new organization of the Po valley. There seems, however, to have been no traumatic impact in Liguria and especially along the coast. The *oppidum* of Genoa was itself restored in the fourth century with the addition of new terraces to accommodate a growing population (Milanese 1987; Melli 2007, 42; 2014, 84). The port of Genoa likewise remained prosperous and a part of the circuit of ports distributing Attic red-figure vases, black varnished pottery and Etruscan and Faliscan red-figure vases (Venturino Gambari

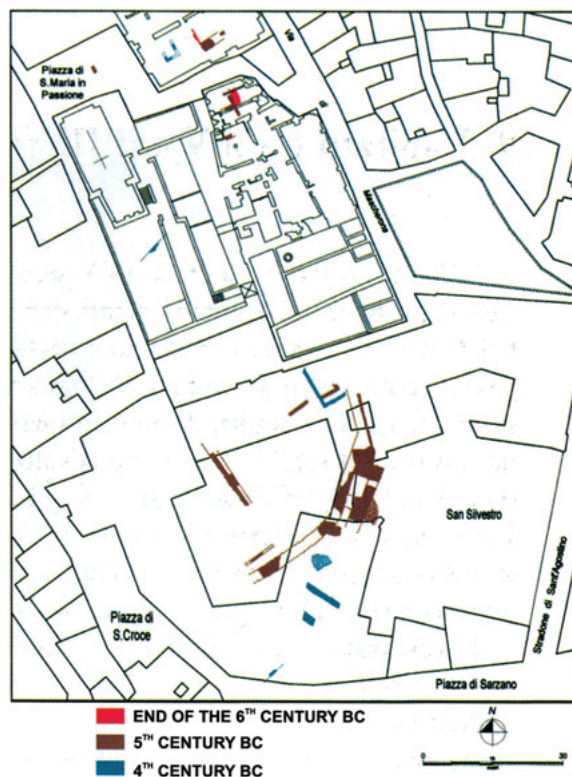


Fig. 27. Genoa. The area of the oppidum with the external city wall (from Melli 2007, 39; elaborated by Silvia Paltineri)

and Gandolfi 2004, 172–181) (Fig. 28). Among the local productions we note the appearance of vessels with nail impressions (the “Rossiglione” type).

The vitality of the Ligurian coast between the fourth and third centuries BC is evidenced by the growth of new trading centers. In eastern Liguria Albingaunum (mod. Albenga) and then Albintimilium (mod. Ventimiglia) were involved in the Massaliote trade and traded widely with the interior of Liguria (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 391–393). In eastern Liguria, the important site of Ameglia (of which only the necropolis is known) was established in the fourth century BC at the mouth of the Magra river. The cemetery of Ameglia, the greatest funerary complex of this chronological phase (Fig. 29), follows the pattern of monumental structure, also with stone box graves and cremation burials, previously used in the cemetery of Chiavari (Fig. 30). It is clear that this community was involved in international trade. Grave goods include fine, imported vessels such as overpainted pottery from southern Etruria, *skyphoi*, *kylikes* and black varnished pottery as well as weapons (helmets, swords, lances) of the Celtic type (Fig. 31) (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 374–378, 382–385, 404–431). Other cemeteries in Versilia, and north-western Tuscany, show signs of Ligurian funerary practices: these include cremation, the use of stone box



Fig. 28. Genoa. Etruscan red-figure crater from the necropolis (From Melli 2014, 92)

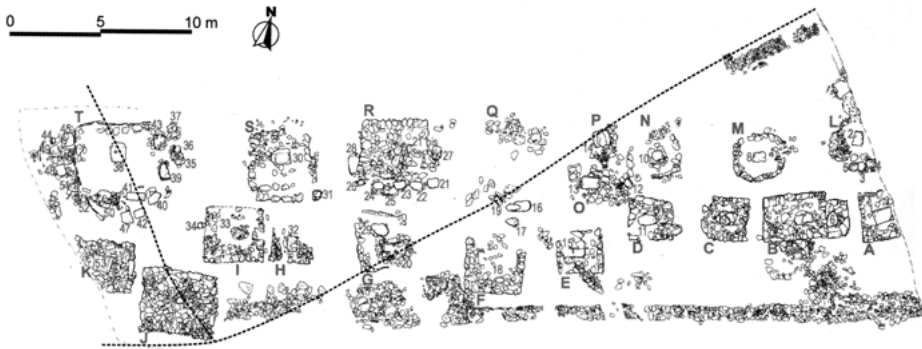


Fig. 29. Ameglia. The necropolis (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 374)

graves and the presence of weapons in the male burials. This evidence confirms that the area between Pisa and Magra river was a porous border between the Etruscans and the Ligurians, and that in this phase it was no longer in the hands of the Etruscans (Paribeni 1990; de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 369–371).



Fig. 30. Ameglia. The stone structures including box graves (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 375)

The framework of the inland, although largely incomplete, is quite different and is characterized by strong localism, especially in western Liguria (de Marinis and Spadea 2007, 141–146). The eastern Ligurian inland seems to be organized into villages and hill sites (Venturino Gambari and Gandolfi 2004, 173–184). These communities continued the tradition of the stone box graves, now spread from Versilia to the Emilia western inland (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 361–367, 402–404; de Marinis and Spadea 2007, 85–108, 159–167). Aspects of material culture in the inland territory were strongly influenced by the Gallic presence in the Po valley, especially weapons (swords, helmets).



Fig. 31. Ameglia. Helmet from Tomb 28 (from de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 419)

VI Romanization (middle of the third – second centuries BC)

The Romans came into contact with Liguria in the middle of the third century BC, at which point Genoa was drawn into the orbit of Roman trade. Thus begins the uneasy process of Romanization (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 449–451; Melli 2014, 99–105). Divisions within the Ligurian tribes and the complex morphology of the land itself, divided between the coast and the mountains (Fig. 1), induced the Romans to adopt a wide range of methods, from the coercive to the assimilative. The Romanization of Liguria involved at some times massacres, punitive actions, systematic deportations and territorial confiscations; at other times the conclusion of treaties of alliance (*foe-*

dera) or the creation of patron-client bonds. Other instruments of conquest were the formation of colonies, the agrimensorial organization of the territory and the creation of roads (Fig. 2).

In the third century BC Genoa, in order to maintain its commercial role, became allied to Rome (a *civitas foederata*). During the Second Punic War Liguria sided with the Carthaginians and Genoa became isolated until, in 205 BC, and as a consequence of its loyalty to Rome, the *oppidum* was destroyed as punishment by Mago, founder of the Savo (mod. Savona) alliance. The city was rebuilt soon after by Spurius Lucretius (203 BC).

The conflict between the Romans and Ligurians, which began in 238 BC, reached a turning point with the founding of the colony of Luna (177 BC) on the eastern coast, which was connected to Luca (mod. Lucca), the Latin colony created in 180–179 BC. The Romanization of the inland area required several military campaigns. Operations against the Ligurian Statielli began in 173 BC from bases in the Ligurian center of Dertona (mod. Tortona), a strategic position with access to the inland Ligurian territories and northwestern Italy. In 148 BC the Via Postumia was created which connected Genoa to Dertona; this road guaranteed complete control of the internal territory.

The new conquerors made use of the socio-political fragmentation of the Ligurians who were divided into several independent tribes (Fig. 1) often in conflict with each other over land. This situation is revealed by an exceptional epigraphic text of 117 BC known as the “Sententia Municiorum” or “Tavola del Polcevera,” that mentions the sentence handed by the Roman senators Q. and M. Minuci Rufi regarding the holding and use of lands that were disputed between the Ligurian tribes of Genuates and Viturii Langenses (de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 476–479; Melli 2014, 199–200).

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I Introduction

The people known to the Romans as the Veneti occupied an area of northeast Italy roughly corresponding to the modern Veneto. Their associated territory was rich and diverse, stretching from the low-lying and fertile areas around the Venetian lagoon and the Po delta to the high Alps (Fig. 1). This varied terrain was matched by a diversity of social and economic development. In the Po plain and the foothills of the Alps settlements such as those at Este, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso and Altino developed into wealthy and complex states during the sixth-fourth centuries BC, while the Alpine areas such as the Cadore valley retained a largely non-urban social structure and an economy based on pastoralism well into the Roman period. The region also lay at the cross-roads of a number of key trade-routes leading across the Alps to central and western Europe, down the Po valley to northern Etruria and across the Adriatic to the Greek world. As a result, the region was not only connected to important economic areas, but also had contact with a wide range of other societies and cultures. All of these factors contributed to its varied and dynamic development, and their influence can be seen in the rich and complex material culture of the Veneti.

Identifying the Veneti is not easy, however. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the culture of this region is rich and varied but all literary evidence (collected in Voltan 1989) comes from Greek and Roman writers, many of them writing long after the high-point of Venetic culture in the sixth-second centuries BC. Greek authors, for instance, ascribed Greek mythological origins to the Veneti such as supposed descent from the Homeric heroes Antenor and Diomedes in order to fit them into a Greek ethnographic framework (Livy 1.1.1–3; Verg. *Aen.* 1.242–252; Strabo *Geog.* 13.3.2). Roman authors describe the Veneti as a people organised on tribal lines long after the region had urbanised (Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.4). Ancient writers, therefore, offer an externally constructed view of the Veneti, which was inevitably coloured by Greek and Roman views and does not necessarily match the archaeological evidence (Williams 2001, 19–35). Reconstructing how the Veneti defined their own cultural and ethnic identity is a much more difficult task, and can only be undertaken by examining the archaeology of the region, and inscriptions in the local language, which are the only written records left by the Veneti themselves. This raises important questions about whether – and if so, how – we can reconcile ancient sources with archaeological and epigraphic evidence which sometimes suggests a very different pattern of development. It also raises the question of whether the Veneti defined

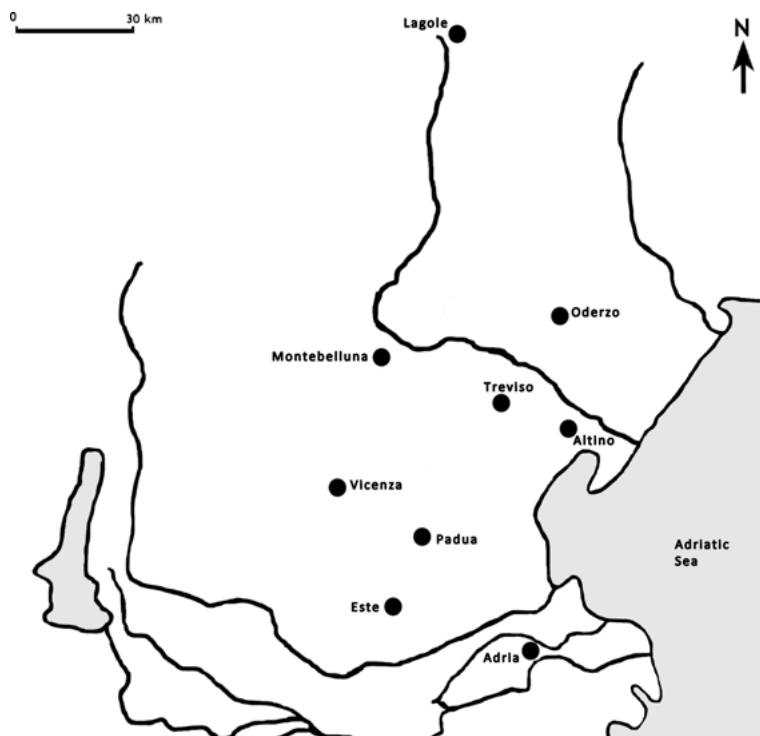


Fig. 1. Key settlements of the Veneti

themselves as having a common ethnicity, or viewed themselves primarily as Paduans, Vicentines, etc. A large inscribed stone, possibly a boundary marker, found near Vicenza includes a word – *venetkens* – which may be the ethnic name “Venetic” in the local language (Marinetti 1999, 400–412), but there is no other direct evidence for a common Venetic identity and the problem is complicated by lack of a clear date for this inscription, which may be as early as the fifth or as late as the third century BC. This is not to deny that such a regional identity probably existed, but it must be weighed against the evidence for the development of strong state identities in the south of the region.

II The Archaic Period (c. 600–350 BC)

Large and complex settlements began to develop in the Veneto at a relatively early date, though there are important variations within the region (Chieco Bianchi 1981, 49–53; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 1992, 45–51; Capuis 1993, 114–121, 163–165; Balista, Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini 2002, 105–126). During the eighth and seventh centuries BC, both the number and size of settlements in the southern Veneto (principally in the Po plain, the Euganean hills and the valleys of the Brenta and Adige) in-

creased and the internal organisation of the larger settlements of the region, notably those at Padua and Este, became more complex. At the same time, new ritual sites were established, more impressive burial customs were adopted and grave goods became richer and more diverse – all changes which indicate both growing social complexity and the emergence of an increasingly wealthy and dominant elite (Capuis 1993, 114–139; Balista and Ruta Serafini 1992; Boaro 2001; Balista, Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini 2002). By the sixth century, the major Venetic settlements show features characteristic of urbanisation, such as the existence of an organised urban layout, a complex and diverse economy, a defined social hierarchy, and probable control over the surrounding territory (Bianchin Citton 2002). However, these developed their own distinctive local identities and there appears to have been a lively degree of competition for regional influence, especially between Este and Padua. These developed into the two largest and most powerful settlements of the southern Veneto but are located only 30 km apart and shared a territorial boundary. Each developed its own distinctive variation of local culture and urban development. Both have a similar basic structure, with clusters of houses dating to the sixth-fourth centuries, ringed by areas of burials and strategically-placed religious sanctuaries which marked the urban area and the boundaries of the territory controlled by these settlements. There are, however, significant variations in the details of their layout and in other aspects of their culture (Chieco Bianchi 1981, 49–53; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 1992; Boaro 2001, 154–164; Figs. 2 and 3).

The trajectory of development in the mountainous northern Veneto was very different. Here most of the population lived in small villages or on isolated farms and urban settlements did not develop until the Roman period. Instead, sanctuaries acted as the main focus of local communities, as they did in many areas of Apennine Italy (Pesaventa Mattioli 2001). These were not associated with centres of population, like the sanctuaries at Este and Padua, but were located in rural areas, often associated with features in the landscape such as prominent mountain tops (Monte Altare) or sacred lakes and springs (Lagole). At Lagole, there are few traces of any structures, but a large deposit of votives was found in a small lake, some of which were inscribed with Venetic dedications to a deity called Trumusiate, or Latin ones to Apollo (Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, 554–563; Fogolari 2001; Marinetti 2001). Most of these were individual offerings, but some were dedicated by the *teuter*, a word which probably refers to the local community. It seems likely that the villages of the area were organised into wider communities, called *teuter*, and that sanctuaries acted as a meeting place for the people of these communities to celebrate rituals and to do business. The lack of urban centres does not necessarily imply a lack of state organisation – the *teuter* inscriptions suggest that the population of the region had developed one – but they were not associated with centres of population. Instead, their collective activities took place at sanctuaries. The underlying reason for this may be that the mountainous areas of the north of the region do not readily support large concentrations of population in any one place, and are better suited to a dispersed settlement pattern in which the inhabitants live on individual farms or in

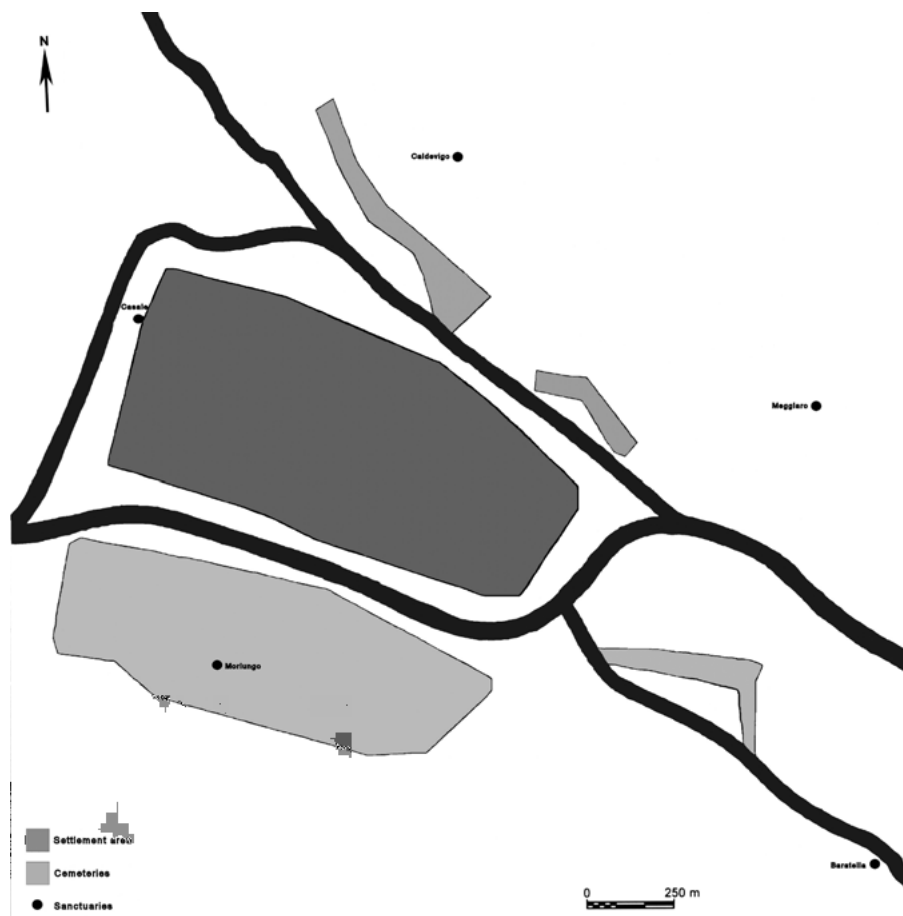


Fig. 2. Este: plan of the Venetic settlement (after Balista, Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini 2002).

small villages, but it may also reflect wider cultural differences between the two parts of the Veneto.

The most clearly attested evidence from many Venetic sites comes from the cemeteries, which provide a wealth of information about social structure and customs as well as material culture. The layout and positioning of cemeteries can tell us a lot about the process of urbanisation and the structures of society, while the contents of the richer tombs gives us an insight into the lives, culture and activities of the elite.

Venetic burials were organised into clusters located on the edges of settlements, either in a single well-defined cemetery area, as at Padua, or a series of burial areas, as at Este (Figs. 2 and 3; Chieco Bianchi 1981, 49–53; Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 1992, 51–52; Michelini and Ruta Serafini 2005). Burials of the sixth-fourth centuries BC were a mixture of cremations placed in *dolia* (large urns or amphorae) and burials in stone-lined trenches. Different types of burial with varying levels of grave

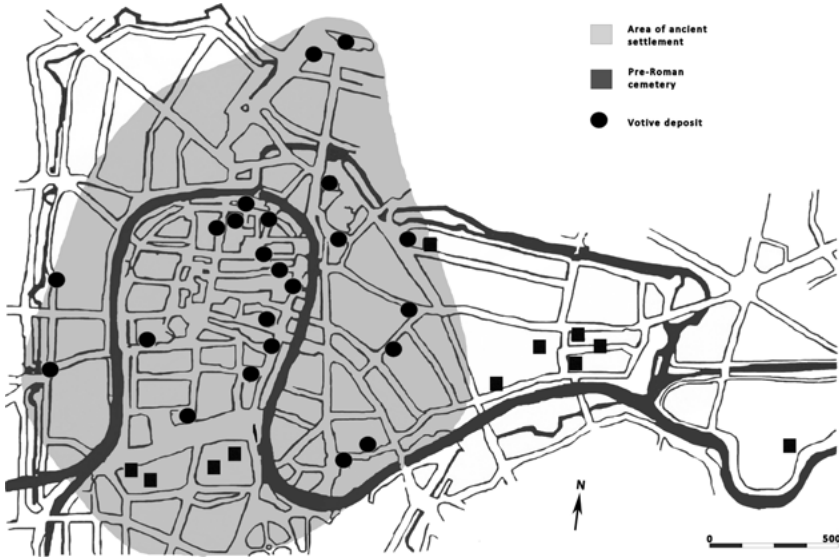


Fig. 3. Padua: plan of the Venetic settlement (after Pascucci 1990)

goods, indicating a range of social status, are often found grouped together in ways that suggest a kinship group, with an elite family buried alongside lower-ranking members of their household. At the Ricovero cemetery at Este, for instance, we find clusters of burials in individual tombs or interred in communal burials under earth tumuli (Balista and Ruta Serafini 1992, 115–120). Each tumulus or tomb group was set within its own area with a boundary demarcated by stone slabs (Balista and Ruta Serafini 1992). Some also had a stone grave marker placed by the entrance to the tomb or enclosure, taking the form of a carved stone stele at Padua, plain stele at Altino, and obelisk-shaped cippus at Este, which were inscribed with the name of the main owner of the tomb (Figs. 4 and 5; Scarfi 1972; Fogolari 1988, 99–105; Prosdocimi 1988, 247–249). Some burials were accompanied by large and expensive sets of grave goods such as bronze vessels and other objects, jewellery, and fine pottery of types frequently geared to drinking and feasting. A few also contained chariots and the horses which pulled them, presumably sacrificed as part of the funerary rituals (Scarfi and Tombolani 1985, 55–63). Men were typically buried with fibulae, knives, pins, arm-rings, and metal or pottery drinking vessels, while female tombs contain bronze and bead jewellery, bronze discs and other ornaments, spindles and weaving equipment, and drinking vessels (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 1992, 71–85). From the fifth century, female tombs also contained a large bronze belt clasp or plate, an item of female dress which is depicted in Venetic art. Some of the richer burials also contain a bronze vessel known as a “situla,” sometimes richly decorated, in which the ossuary was placed. Both the layout and the contents of the tombs suggest a society controlled by a wealthy and dominant elite, and also

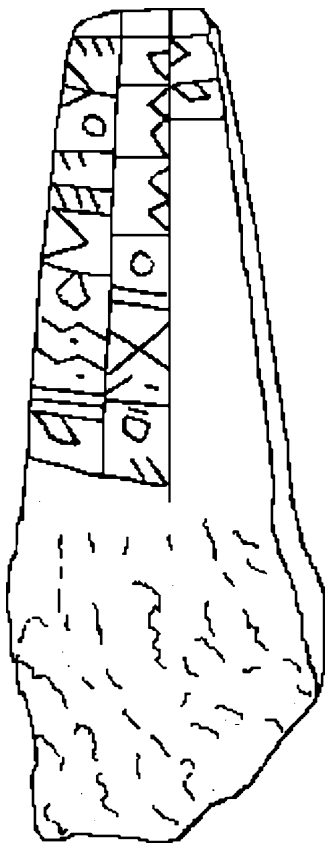


Fig. 4. Inscribed funerary monument from Este (23 × 65 × 23 cm) (after Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967).

one in which women – or at least, those of the ruling aristocracy – enjoyed a higher degree of status than in many other ancient societies (Lomas 2009).

Religious sanctuaries are also central to our understanding of the Veneti because they had an important social and political role in addition to their religious function. Large settlements like Este and Padua had sanctuaries located around the edge of the inhabited area to mark the limits of the urban area, or out in the countryside to mark boundaries of the territory controlled by the community (Figs. 2 and 3). Este, for instance, developed a complex ritual geography with a ring of five sanctuaries on the edge of the city, each dedicated to a different deity and with its own distinctive votives and iconography, suggesting cults which related to different groups in society (Pascucci 1990; Maggiani 2002). Meggiaro produced a majority of warrior figures suggesting a male cult, while another had a high number of votives depicting mature women and another had a predominance of groups of young girls (Fig. 6; Pascucci 1990, 59–92; Zaghetto 2002). In the mountainous areas of the central and northern Veneto, sanctuaries were usually established in rural areas, in locations marked by significant geographical features such as springs (Lagole) or mountain



Fig. 5. Inscribed funerary monument from Padua (66 × 86 × 34 cm) (after Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967).

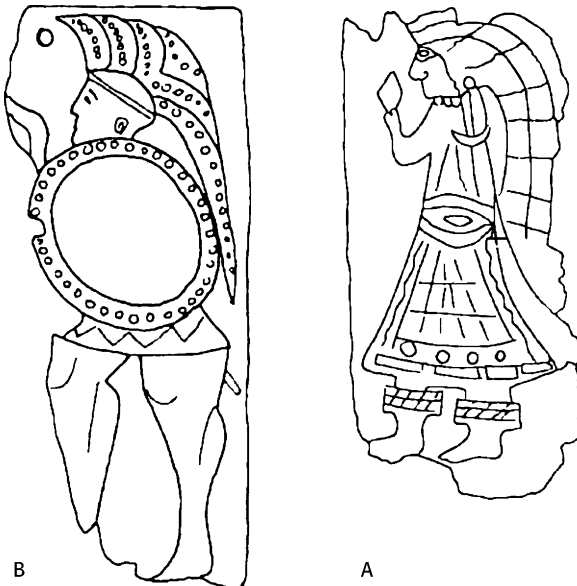


Fig. 6. Este: votive bronze plaques from Caldevigo and Baratella (after Pascucci 1990). A. Female figure (10.6 × 5.2 cm). B. Warrior figure (8.4 × 3.4 cm).

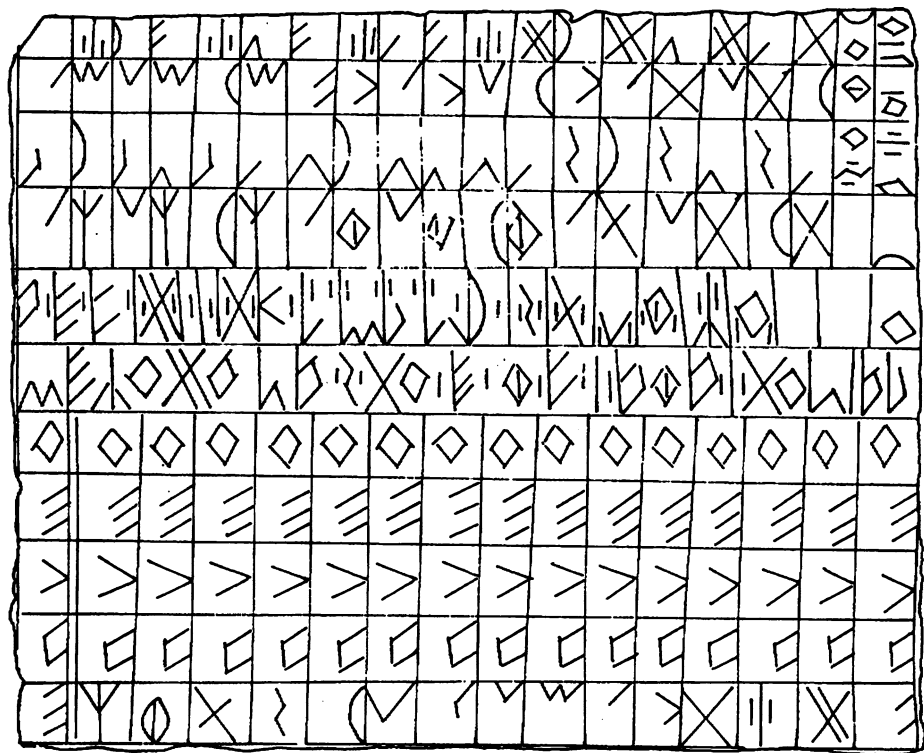


Fig. 7. Votive bronze writing tablet from the sanctuary of Reitia, Baratella, Este (John Wilkins, after Prosdocimi 1983).

tops (Monte Altare), rather than in association with a settlement; but they also seem to have served as meeting places for the people of the surrounding area.

We do not know the identities of all the gods worshipped at these sanctuaries, although inscriptions on votives offer some clues. Those which can be identified include Reitia (Baratella, Este), Hene[---]tos (Meggiaro, Este), Alkomno (Este), Altno (Altino) and Trumusiata (Lagole). Most deities seem to be specific to individual sanctuaries although Reitia may be an exception to this. She was worshipped at Este, at the important sanctuary at Baratella, but possible Reitia dedications are found at several other locations (Pellegrini 1918; Mancini 1995; Rix 1998). Votive offerings and associated iconography were also specific to the individual sanctuary. For instance, votives dedicated to Reitia at Este take the form of figurines, anatomical votives, bronze tablets stamped with female figures, or writing implements (Fig. 7). At San Pietro Montagnon, on the border between Este and Padua, miniature pots were dedicated, whereas at Lagole, in the northern Veneto, the main forms of votive are plain bronze tablets, warrior figurines, or bronze ladles. The high quantity of votive offerings – 14,000 in the case of Baratella – indicates the importance of ritual in the life of the Veneti.

Venetic sanctuaries were open enclosures with few structures apart from a wall or boundary markers to delimit the sacred area and a small altar or enclosure within it (Maggiani 2002; Ruta Serafini and Sainati 2002). At Este, the Meggiaro sanctuary was surrounded by a wall and contained a smaller internal enclosure marking the site of some earlier eighth-seventh century ritual finds. It also contained a square platform which may have been for augurs to take auspices by observing the sky for flights of birds (Ruta Serafini and Sainati 2002) and several pits which contained a large number of votive objects. There is no sign of stone buildings on the site, but many of the votives are punched with holes for hanging and may have been displayed in some form – possibly in structures of perishable materials such as wood – before they were ritually buried. The votive deposits included a substantial number of embossed bronze plaques all depicting young men wearing armour or carrying weapons, which may indicate that the cult was associated with a warrior god or used for initiation or coming-of-age ceremonies for young men (Zaghetto 2002). One of the bronze votives was inscribed in the local script with the names of the dedicators of the object and the name of the god – Hene[–]tos – although this only survives in a fragmentary state (Marinetti 2002).

Perhaps the most important Venetic sanctuary was that of Reitia at Baratella, located on the southeast edge of Este (Ghirardini 1888; Dammer 1990). The earliest cult activity dates to the eighth century, and by the end of the seventh century it was a major ritual centre. Votives of body-parts cut from sheet bronze, and the use of the epithet *Śainate* (thought to mean “health-giving” – Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, 96–100) in some inscriptions from the sanctuary suggest it was a healing cult, but a wide variety of votive types have been found there, including pottery, small bronze figurines and other bronze objects, loom-weights, and plaques depicting richly dressed adult females – possibly an indication that the rites practised there particularly involved adult women (Pascucci 1990; Zaghetto 2002). One notable feature is that an unusually high number of votives carry inscriptions in the language and script of the region, giving the name of the donor and a dedication to Reitia (Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, 94–188; Prosdocimi 1988, 262–282). This still only accounts for a very small proportion overall – some 300 out of c. 14,000 votives – but it is still a much higher concentration of inscribed and personalised objects than has been found elsewhere. The dedication of votive writing implements suggests that the sanctuary may also have had an educational role.

Ritual sites in the Veneto could therefore serve a number of functions, either acting as a centre for dispersed populations, or as part of the processes of defining a city, its boundaries, and its territory. Deities and rites seem to be very localised, although all sanctuaries share some characteristics such as the lack of monumental buildings. In the urbanised southern Veneto the nature of some of the votives allows us to explore the role of particular sanctuaries within the community in more detail, and here we can conjecture that they had a very specific function as a focus for specific age and gender groups, and in integrating these groups into society.

Although it is clear that Venetic society was dominated by a wealthy elite class, we know little about political organisation. Some funerary inscriptions contain the terms *ekupetaris*, the meaning of which is disputed but which may be an indication of political office or social rank. The term is related to the Venetic word *ekvos* (horse) and if *ekupetaris* is a reference to a social status, as seems likely, it may denote an elite class analogous to the Equestrian order in Rome (Brewer 1985; Marinetti 2004).

Lack of investigation of settlement sites means that we know relatively little about private houses and domestic life. And, we know much less about the domestic architecture of the Archaic period. Other evidence, however, shows an elite which enjoyed a lifestyle marked by feasting, games, rituals and processions and also warfare (Perego 2010). The frequent finds of weapons and armour in burials indicate that these were important status symbols, and the prevalence of dinner services and drinking sets in most rich burials all point to a society in which ritual dining was an important social ritual. Carved grave-markers from Padua show the dead as mounted warriors or warriors in chariots, and both Greek and Roman sources and archaeological evidence of burials containing horse skeletons and horse trappings suggest that the horse was an important status symbol (Tirelli 2002; Lomas 2011).

Bronze vessels decorated in the style of situla art, which was current throughout northern Italy and parts of continental Europe in the seventh-sixth centuries, present a consistent picture of an elite involved in activities such as feasting, games, processions, and ceremonial meetings between various groups of nobles. The famous Benvenuti situla, a large bronze vessel dating to c. 600 BC, gives a vivid insight into the world of the Archaic elite. Its various registers of decoration depict processions of armed men and animals, a sequence showing victorious warriors leading a group of prisoners, and an elaborate feast at which groups of nobles drink and toast each other. The social rank of the figures is clearly differentiated by dress and prominence in the scene. Groups of armed men are shown with various different types of armour and weapons, possibly to indicate the retinues of different nobles, or even different ethnic groups. Lower social ranks and servants are depicted bare-headed and in plain dress, while the nobles wear large, wide-brimmed hats and decorated robes and are seated in high-backed ceremonial chairs (Frey 1986; Bondini 2012). The embossed bronze plaques offered as votives in many sanctuaries in the sixth-fourth centuries are more difficult to interpret as they are more formulaic and the iconography is more closely tied to the ritual of the specific sanctuaries concerned. For instance, the sanctuary at Meggiaro on the eastern edge of Este has produced a deposit of lamina depicting young warriors, perhaps indicating some sort of initiation rite. It seems to have housed a cult whose rituals involved young armed men (Zaghetto 2002), and provides a further demonstration of the importance of arms-bearing and warfare in Venetic society.

Other sanctuaries have produced deposits of votives depicting groups of young women, or single adult women, usually richly dressed in a style which seems to have remained fairly constant over quite a long period of time. Typical garments include a long tunic, a shawl covering the head and upper body, a heavy belt and a

disc-shaped headdress. In general, women seemed to have enjoyed a high degree of prominence, at least in the higher echelons of Venetic society. They are represented on many votive plaques and a high proportion of the wealthiest burials have been identified by their grave goods as being the graves of women. A higher proportion of female names occurs in the pre-Roman inscriptions of the region than is the case in many other areas of Italy, indicating that commemoration of high-status women was socially acceptable and added to a family's prestige.

A further valuable source for the Veneti is a body of c. 400 inscriptions in the local language. The Veneti adopted writing in the late seventh century, acquiring the alphabet from the Etruscans but adapting it into distinctive local forms, and the use of the Venetic script and language persisted until the first century BC (Prosdocimi 1988, 328–351; Pandolfini and Prosdocimi 1990, 244–289). Several regional scripts, unique to specific areas of the Veneto, develop, and all but the earliest inscriptions use a syllabic punctuation system which seems to be a local invention, although based on one used in south Etruria (Pandolfini and Prosdocimi 1990, 181–187; Prosdocimi 2003; Marinetti 2003; Whitehouse and Wilkins 2006). Writing was only used in restricted contexts, for funerary commemorations and ritual inscriptions, or marks of ownership on portable items such as pottery or bronze objects. Many of the inscriptions are short and restricted to personal names (although a few longer ones have survived) but even these can provide an invaluable tool for studying changing structures of families and family relationships. There is no evidence for the extent of literacy, or for the development of literature in the local language, but there are some features which point to writing as an important feature of Venetic culture. Votive inscriptions are concentrated at particular locations, particularly at Baratella and Lagole, which suggests that writing had a particular significance at these sites. In addition, bronze models of writing equipment, including styluses and writing tablets inscribed with an alphabet, syllabary and dedication (Fig. 7), are found at Baratella. This reification of writing implements, in particular, suggests that the cult of Reitia was particularly associated with writing and has led to suggestions that there was a school for scribes there (Whitehouse and Wilkins 2006; Lomas 2007).

Economically, the settlements of the Veneto were agrarian societies, living off the produce of their territories. Este, Padua and other southern settlements controlled productive territories yielding wine, olive oil, fruit and grains. It was also a noted horse-breeding area, famous throughout the Mediterranean as a source of chariot horses and race horses (Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.4), and exported some luxury raw materials such as amber (Braccesi 2004). The region also lies on major trade routes. Both Padua and Este lay on navigable rivers, and important land routes across the Alps ran through the valleys of the northern Veneto (Plin., *HN* 20.119–120; Capuis 1993, 188–197). During the course of the fifth century, ports were established at Adria and Spina, both of which had mixed populations of Greeks, Etruscans and locals, and this greatly enhanced opportunities for trading and cultural contacts with the Greek and Etruscan world. The high number of Greek and Etruscan goods found

demonstrates both flourishing trade and a wide network of contacts with other peoples and cultures.

III The Hellenistic Period (c. 350–150 BC)

During the fourth century, changes began to take place in Venetic society. The settlements of the southern Veneto continued to grow and develop towards full urbanisation. During the third century, complex street layouts developed and public buildings were constructed. Remains of houses indicate that the Veneti lived in stone-built dwellings, sometimes of considerable size and complexity. Fragments of stone structures at some sanctuaries suggest that monumental religious buildings were also erected, although these may have been porticoes for displaying votives rather than temples.

From the late fourth century, burials became less outwardly impressive and large-scale tombs intended for an entire clan or extended family were replaced by smaller tombs for individuals or a nuclear family, containing cremations contained in pottery urns, sometimes inscribed with the name of the deceased (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 1992, 87–90; Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, 193–234; Bondini 2005; 2010). Some, however, still contained notable rich grave goods. The third-century tomb of Nerka Trostaia at Este (Casa di Ricovero, Tomb 23) contained a very rich assemblage of objects which included an inscribed bronze situla containing the ossuary; jewellery and items of dress, including a bronze belt; and two complete banqueting sets of imported pottery and bronze vessels, one which was probably made specifically for deposition in the grave, while the other may have been used at the funerary banquet. The tomb itself was laid out elaborately, with one corner set out as part of a house, with model loom and work-bench, also in bronze (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 1992, 90–91; Gleba 2008; Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini 2012). The second/first century tomb of the Pannarioi at Altino (Fornasotti cemetery, Tomb 1) contained a vast quantity of fine black-glaze pottery of types used for feasting, some inscribed with the name of Ianta Pannaria or Pletuvios Pannarios, the apparent occupants of the tomb (Scarfi and Tombolani 1985). Both grave goods and the layout of cemeteries indicate a shift from a society dominated by a small and very dominant aristocracy and a clan-based social structure to one in which social and political power rested with a wider, although still wealthy, ruling elite.

This was also a period of economic and demographic change. The establishment of Adria and Spina provided enhanced opportunities for trade with the Greek world and with the Etruscans and this continued to grow in the fourth century. Venetic goods continued to be exported, and Greek imports, especially pottery, increased (Capuis 1993, 197–209; 2004). Both Greek and Etruscan influence can be seen in the artistic and material culture of the region, but Greek contacts were particularly important at Padua, where a phase of Hellenization is perceptible in the material culture of the city (Bandelli 2004). In particular, there are examples of locally-produced

sculpture, including some of the local funerary stelae, which adopt Hellenistic conventions at this date (Fogolari 1988, 99–105).

During the fifth and fourth centuries, there was significant Celtic migration into Italy. This focused mainly on northwestern Italy but also affected the Veneto (Capuis 1993, 218–236; Williams 2001, 100–138). Celtic names are attested, sometimes adapted or mixed with Venetic ones, a phenomenon which may indicate intermarriage between Venetic and Celtic families. Examples of possible Celtic or mixed Celtic and Venetic names may include Verkvalos, from Altino, Tivalos Bellenios, from Padua, and Frema Boialna, from Este. An inscription from Altino naming a deity called Belatukadriakos has been suggested as a possible Celtic cult (Tombolani 1985, 60–63; Prosdocimi 1988, 288–292, 301–302; Gambacurta 2013). Some Celtic influence is also perceptible in sculpture, with the adoption of Celtic motifs in the iconography of the Paduan funerary stelai (Fogolari 1988, 102–103). By the second century there was a perception from outside that the Veneti and the Celts were culturally very similar. Polybios (2.16–18) refers to the Veneti and the Celts as being very alike in many aspects of their culture, and distinguished mainly by their different languages. Despite the evidence for Celtic presence and culture, however, we should perhaps be cautious about proposing a phase of large-scale “Celticization” in the Veneto (Prosdocimi 1991; Williams 2001, 194–207). Venetic culture clearly changed to accommodate new populations and cultures, but it is difficult to assess how widespread Celtic influence was, and there is enough linguistic continuity and coherence of material culture to suggest that although Celtic elements were undoubtedly absorbed into Venetic culture, the process did not undermine Venetic identity.

IV The arrival of Rome

In later times, the people of the Veneto were very proud of their good relationship with Rome, which can be traced back to the third century BC when the Veneti had been awarded a formal declaration of friendship (*amicitia*) by the Romans for supporting them against the Gauls in 238–236 BC and later against Hannibal (Polyb. 2.23.3, 2.24.7; Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.9; Sil. *Pun.* 8.602–4). During the 190s BC, Roman power was firmly established throughout northern Italy and was consolidated by the foundation of a large colony at Aquileia in 181 and the construction of the Via Aemilia in the 170s. The Veneti remained independent allies of Rome during this period but there are increasing signs of Roman presence, including Latin inscriptions (CIL 12.636 = CIL 5.2492 = ILS 5944; cf. Livy 41.27.3–4) recording the role of Roman proconsuls in solving boundary disputes between Este and Padua in 141 and 135 BC. In 89 BC the peoples of northern Italy received Latin status and in 49 BC, this was converted to Roman citizenship. In the years after this, the Venetic communities were reorganised as Roman *municipia* (Asc. *Pis.* 2–3; Plin. *HN* 3.20.138, Suet. *Iul.* 8; Cass. Dio 37.9.3–5; Wiseman 1987, 328–331). A major Roman colonisation programme between 49 BC and AD 14 which included settlements at Este, Concordia and Ter-

geste, established a substantial Roman presence in the region. Where colonies were founded, the territories of existing communities were divided into grids for allotment to new settlers, and urban centres were developed on a Roman model, with regular street-grids, and Roman-style public buildings.

However, the process of cultural change in response to Rome began much earlier than 49 BC (Bandelli 2004). It was not a linear one-way progress towards Romanisation, or an imposition by Rome, but one of adoption of selected aspects of Roman culture by the Venetic aristocracy as status symbols – a process of voluntary cultural dialogue and exchange, not imposition. Roman culture co-existed, and eventually merged with Venetic culture rather than displacing it entirely. During the second and first centuries, the influence of Hellenistic and Roman-style architecture and building types became increasingly apparent, reflecting the adoption of a Roman vision of urban topography as part of a process of assimilation by the local population (Bosio 1981, 231–237; Baggio Bernardoni 1992, 305–320; Tosi 1992, 400–418). By the early Empire, Padua for example, had acquired a forum, theatre and amphitheatre, and was said to have a large elite class which was highly Romanised (Cic. *Pis.* fr. 10; Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.7; Wiseman 1987, 328–331).

Linguistic and epigraphic change also began in the second century BC. Latin was, of course, the main language of the new colonies, but it was also adopted for an increasing number of local funerary inscriptions from the second century onwards (Buchi 2003). However, these inscriptions are written on traditional Venetic urns, which were placed in typical Venetic burials (Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, 235–283, 419–426; Manessi 2003). The process of transition can be charted through inscriptions which use the Latin rather than the Venetic alphabet to write inscriptions in the Venetic language (Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, 221–234), and through occasional Latin inscriptions which use Venetic formulae, such as the appearance of the Venetic term *ekupetaris* in a Latin funerary inscription of Augustan date from Padua (Lomas 2006). Ultimately, the Venetic language fell out of the written record in the first century BC, although it is possible it may have continued to be spoken.

Changes are also visible in other areas of Venetic culture. Some sanctuaries fell into disuse after the first century BC, to be replaced by cults of Roman gods with stone temples and placed at different locations. Others continued in use but with the addition of stone temples and the introduction of different types of votives. This shift away from local to Roman gods points to an important phase of cultural change marked by the adoption of Roman cults and cult practices. At Baratella, for instance, the sanctuary continued in use until the second century AD and still seems to have functioned as a healing cult, now dedicated to Roman gods, including Minerva, Vesta and the Dioscuri, rather than to Reitia. Cultural change is also perceptible in funerary practices. At Este and Padua, new areas of burials were established and the usage of the earlier areas of burials declined (Baggio Bernardoni 1992, 333–350). Burials became simpler, with fewer grave goods, and Roman-style funerary monuments replaced Venetic stelae. Paduan grave stelae of traditional type continued into the first century BC, including one which incorporates a male figure wearing

a Roman toga into the traditional iconography of the deceased being driven off in a chariot (Lomas 2006), but only a small number of these have been found. One particularly noticeable fact, however, is that in both forms of epitaph and in forms of grave marker, the Roman burials of the Veneto develop their own distinctive styles of commemoration even within the Roman tradition (Baggio Bernardoni 1992, 335–345; Milnes-Smith 2007).

Despite the fact that the Veneti were absorbed into the Roman state in 49 BC, and their culture subsequently changed to accommodate Roman influences, the region remained a vibrant and important one. Ancient sources comment on the willingness of the inhabitants of the region to adopt Roman customs and to become, in some ways, more Roman than the Romans (Cic. *Pis.* fr. 10). They also note the unusually high number of families with equestrian rank, estimated at five hundred in the reign of Augustus (Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.7), which provides a good index of the prosperity of the region. Este, despite its Roman colony, was eclipsed in importance by Padua, which established itself as one of the major cultural and economic centres of northern Italy; but most of the earlier Venetic communities continued to flourish under Roman rule, and enjoyed a significant role in Roman cultural life, producing the author Livy as well as some other important intellectual figures. Although the pre-Roman Venetic culture had largely disappeared by the reign of Augustus, the Veneto continued to play an important role in Italian history.

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I Introduction

The Gauls in Italy present us with a number of conundrums, such as their controversially discussed “arrival” in Italy or their integration into Italy-wide economic, social and cultural structures. It is essential to jettison traditional preconceptions if we aim for a better understanding of the Gauls and the nature of “Celticity” in Italy throughout the first millennium. In the Roman mind, north Italy was clearly associated with the *Galli*, “Gauls” (or Κελτοί, “Celts” – both terms were used synonymously in ancient sources) and therefore called Gallia Cisalpina. In 44 BCE, Cicero described Cisalpine Gaul as the “flower of Italy” (*flos Italia*) and “bulwark of the empire of the Roman people” (*firmamentum imperii populi Romani*), full of municipal towns and colonies, united “to defend the authority of this order, and the majesty of the Roman people” (*Phil.* 3.5). Is it feasible that this region, inhabited by Rome’s fiercest enemies, feared ever since the Sack of Rome, had already become such a success story of integration into Roman society, only some 150–200 years after the region’s subjugation by Rome? Moreover, in the first century, many Roman authors originated there, such as Livy, while Vergil studied at Mediolanum (mod. Milan), the capital of the Celtic Insubres, at a time when archaeological assemblages in the region can still be described as “Celtic” (Mratchek 1984; Grassi 1995). As we shall see, the evidence shows a much less antagonistic image of the *Galli* that made this integration possible; *inter alia*, Celtic-speaking people had been living there side-by-side with other *nationes* for many centuries.

Originally, the area was simply called Gallia in Latin (e.g. Livy 28.38.13). Greek authors referred to it as *Galatía* and *Keltía* (Polyb. 2.22.6, 7.9.6–7), clearly making an association to Galatians and Celts known in the Greek world as if they were all the same people. The term Gallia Cisalpina is only attested relatively late, namely in the *lex Vatina de provincia Caesaris* from 59 (Suet. *Iul.* 22.1; Caes. *B Gall.* 2.26: *Gallia cis Alpeis*; cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 1.54 and Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.3.7: *Gallia citerior*). Around the mid-first century BCE, this was a proconsular province and it was therefore important to define the *provincia*’s boundaries: north Italy up to the Alps extending south roughly to Luca and the river Rubicon (cf. Plut. *Caes.* 20, 32; Pliny *HN* 3.20 for the Rubicon as frontier in the first century), but leaving out some mountainous “Gallic” peoples, like those in the Alpes Maritimae and Alpes Cottiae that Rome only subjugated under Augustus. Livy’s use of the term *Ligures et Gallia* (38.35.8) suggests an important distinction between Ligurians and Gauls. This might have been merely a

Roman (mis)understanding, especially since some peoples, like Taurini and Lepontii, were equally described as Gauls and Ligurians (*v. infra*). In the north-east, we also find the Veneti who, according to Polybios, shared the same customs and dress as the “Celts,” but had a different language (2.175; Strabo 5.1.4 also compares the Veneti to the “Celtic” Veneti in the Belgica that Caesar encountered).

It is also crucial to bear in mind the Etruscan presence and how this influenced other people in north Italy (cf. Sassatelli 2003): from the seventh and sixth centuries onwards there are a number of Etruscan towns in the Po valley, notably Kainua (mod. Marzabotto), Felsina, Mantua, and the multi-ethnic cities of Spina (Vitali 2008a, 90) and Atria. For Livy, Atria was *Tuscorum colonia* (5.33.7; also Plut. *Cam.* 16.1; *PECS*, s.v. Adria), but it was also less reliably described as a Greek and Syracusan foundation (Just. *Epit.* 20.1.9 citing Pompeius Trogus; *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Ἀδρία τὸ πέλαγος), while we could equally envisage a local foundation that had become a cosmopolitan trading post. Spina and Atria are not only import channels for Greek and Oriental products into Cisalpine Gaul, as seen for example by Greek coinage across the Po valley (Gorini 1998), they also provided some of the *Galli*, notably the Boii and Senones, with close contact to Greek and Etruscan culture (Lenzi 2006; Tori 2006; Vitali 2008a, 90). An Etruscan presence can be found as far west as Villa del Foro (the Roman Forum Fulvii), perhaps an Etruscan “emporium” (Gambari and Venturino Gambari 1982, 144–145), at Hasta (mod. Asti) and mod. Busca, along a west-east Transalpine trade route. On the Ligurian coast, Genoa facilitated trade between Etruria and the Transalpine trade routes from ca. 525. Altogether, so-called Cisalpine Gaul appears to have been an extremely multi-ethnic region prior to the Roman conquest, with Gauls, Liguri, Veneti, Etruscans and Greeks not only “interacting” with each other, but also with people “migrating” across north Italy, even sharing the same communities. For our interpretation of the material evidence as indicator of people’s “identity” or “ethnicity,” we need to take into account the extent of exchange taking place.

This already leads us to one crucial question: who were these *Galli* or *Keltoi* in Italy? First, in the Roman view the *Galli* were not native to Italy. They were portrayed as invaders. But a number of problems need to be addressed. First of all, the date of the alleged “invasion” is uncertain. This is problematic since it was presumed to happen in a “historic” period, directly linked to dates in Italo-Roman memory, like the Sack of Rome by the Gauls, dated between 390 and 386. Then how can we explain that ancient authors provide diverging information on the arrival of the Gauls—merely the “weakness of the historical tradition” (Frey 1995, 517; Grassi 1995, 19 ff.)? For Polybios, the battle of Allia (390 or 387/6) marks the start of fighting between Keltoi and Romans, while the invasion of Gauls in north Italy was “only a short while before” (2.18). But according to Diodorus (14.113) and Pliny (*HN* 3.21 [125]), it started in 396 when the Etruscan city of Melpum (near Milan) was defeated by confederation of Boii, Insubres and Senones, on the same day as the occupation of Veii by Camillus. For Livy, the invasion started with the siege of Clusium (388); Livy (5.34–35) also adds

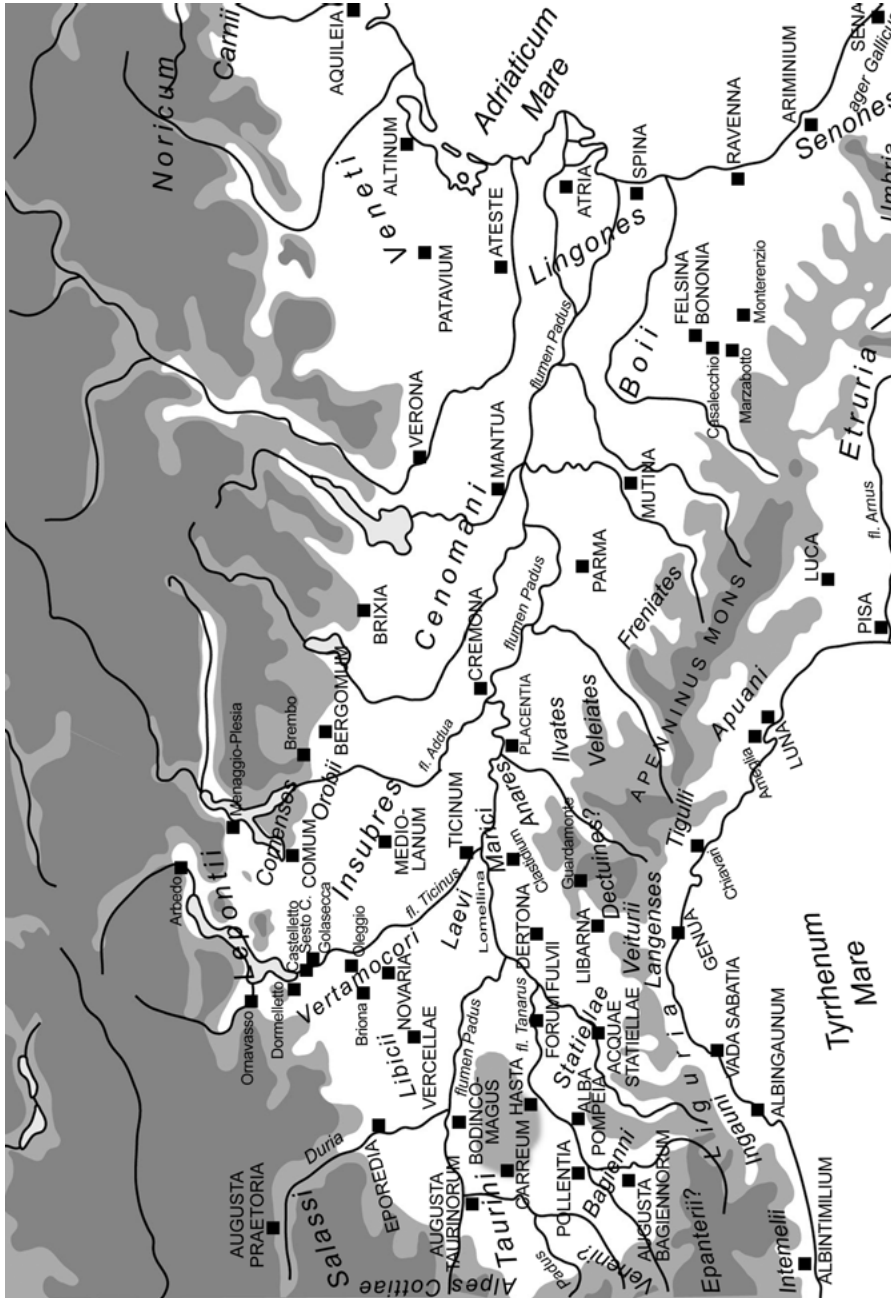


Fig. 1 Northern Ancient Italy.

the tradition of an earlier “invasion,” dated by Tarquinius Priscus’ reign and the foundation of Massalia (mod. Marseille) (on which see below *infra*).

More importantly we need to ask whether there ever really was a large-scale “invasion,” rather than more gradual migrations and infiltrations over the Alps over many generations, if not centuries. Stigmatising the Gauls as invaders did of course help to legitimise their brutal subjugation and annihilation by Rome, not just south of the Alps but also beyond, which was still very much in living memory for Roman authors like Livy and Pliny. It will be necessary to scrutinize critically the archaeological record for the “invasion” and how to interpret the evidence for “Celts” in north Italy prior to invasion and Roman conquest.

Second, how can we define “Celticity” in north Italy? Though we can see how Greeks and Romans defined *Galli* and *Keltoi*, it is much more difficult to understand how those people saw themselves. Celtic inscriptions, personal names, toponyms and ethnic names allow us to define “Celtic” in linguistic terms, i.e. as people speaking and writing a Celtic language, starting with the earliest so-called “Lepontic” inscriptions from the seventh century onwards (Prosdocimi 1991; Sassatelli 2000). The distribution of these inscriptions closely overlaps with artefacts of the “Golasecca” culture which had its origin in the Canegrate Culture that arrived in north Italy in the twelfth century, originating from the Transalpine Urnfield culture, described as “proto-Celtic” (e.g. by Kruta 2003). This might imply that throughout this period there were Celtic speakers in north Italy (Haeussler 2013a). Lepontic and Golasecca focus our attention away from the alleged fourth-century invasion to earlier migrations and to the continuous cultural contacts across the Alps for many centuries.

This leads us to people’s identity. Our evidence makes it rather obvious that the *Galli/Keltoi* were never a homogenous group, neither in a socio-political sense, nor in cultural terms. The wealth of archaeological material available today shows the extent of diversity in north Italy. Different artefact assemblages dominate in particular regions, most likely as signs of group or ethnic identity, and we can recognise a large number of localised archaeological patterns (cf. e.g. Agostinetti 1994, 2004; Haeussler 2013b). Instead of *Galli*, it might be preferable to refer to individual peoples, like the Boii, Cenomani, Insubres, Lepontii, Libici, Lingones, Senones, Taurini, Vertamocori, etc., but we should avoid making any direct association between particular archaeological “cultures” and ethnic labels mentioned by Greco-Roman authors (Williams 2001, 19–35; Haeussler 2013a). For example, the traditionally presumed territory of the Insubres shows enormous diversity in archaeological terms, and different regions – like the Lomellina, the Ticino valley, and Como – all show different cultural assemblages compared to the region around the Insubrian “capital” Mediolanum (Grassi 1995; Haeussler 2013b); if we believe in an “Insubrian empire” that also controlled neighbouring regions, like those of the Libici and Vertamocori (Gabba 1990), then how can we explain these profound cultural “subdivisions:” different ethnic identities or merely access to different products?

Most ethnic names for people in north Italy were only recorded during the Roman period, such as in Strabo’s *Geographia*, Livy’s *ab urbe condita* (both Augu-

stan) and Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* (77–79 CE). Only Cato (*Origines*, ca. 170–149 BCE) and Polybios (–146 BCE) provide more contemporaneous accounts from a time when these *ethnoi* might have still existed, i.e. prior to Rome's first-century grants of *ius Latii* and Roman citizenship, when many people still continued their “traditional” way of life judging from the archaeological record with its La Tène objects and weaponry graves. Cato, for example, recounts that the Boii consisted of 112 tribes (Plin. *HN* 3.116). Some ethnic names are only attested once or twice (and the geographical location of these *ethnoi* is rarely certain); this may reflect short-lived identities that were constantly reinvented, but some names may also reflect Roman confusion about peoples' self-definition (Haeussler 2013b). Indeed, it is feasible that some ethnic names were only developed in Roman times: identities may have been forged in response to Roman imperialism, both in periods of warfare and conquest and subsequently by Roman administrative measures, like defining territorial boundaries, initiating and catalysing processes of ethnogenesis by which certain social groups demarcated themselves as ethnically distinct. Only a few ethnic labels are still attested in the Principate, primarily those that had become part of municipal identities: Bagienni, Statiellae and Taurini survived in the names of the *coloniae* Augusta Bagienorum, Aquae Statiellae and Augusta Taurinorum.

Unfortunately, sources written by the Gauls themselves are limited. Lepontic inscriptions usually only consist of short graffiti and epitaphs, rarely containing more than personal names, important to understand the individual's personal identity. Archaeology is an essential source, but here too, we need to be very cautious as one too easily relates certain artefacts with a “Celtic” identity. Is the presence of typically Transalpine objects (Hallstatt or La Tène) already an indicator for the migration of Transalpine people into north Italy, or do they merely reflect long-distance exchange patterns? Similarly problematic is the identification of inhumation and cremation as being characteristic for Transalpine and Cisalpine funerary rituals respectively, as we shall see.

Finally, at the end of this chapter, we also need to investigate what happened to these *Galli* during and after the Roman conquest. The Roman conquest was different in the various parts of Cisalpine Gaul, ranging from near-genocide for the Senones and Boii, to hardly any immediate archaeologically or historically recognisable interference in the north-west. As a result, local populations in Cisalpine Gaul had to adapt to rather different forms of Roman imperialism. In a post-conquest scenario, very different ethnic and cultural identities can be recognised, but not instantaneously: certainly by the first century CE, most of the Celtic *ethnoi* had disappeared while others had become part of people's municipal identity; in epigraphy, people might refer to themselves as citizens of, for example, Vercellae or Novaria, not as belonging to the Libici or Vertamocori. Instead of “Romanisation,” we need to explore alternative concepts on how people's identities and cultures developed, notably the new cultural expressions that people established in the various regions, like the various new cultures that developed (Haeussler 2013b).

II Celtic invasion and pre-invasion Celt

“The Celts (...), who, envying the beauty of their lands, seized some slight pretext to gather a great host and expel the Etruscans from the valley of the Padus” (Polyb. 2.17).

“The Gauls burst in and straight away mastered all the country which the Tuscans occupied of old” (Plut. *Cam.* 16.1).

“The Gauls, a strange and unknown people (*gentem inuisitatam*), had recently overrun the greatest part of Etruria” (Liv. 5.17.8).

The all-pervading problem is of course the nature of the alleged “Celtic invasion:” did it exist at all or was it just a more peaceful and gradual migration (cf. Frey 1971; Pauli 1980, 231; Grassi 1991; Wernicke 1991; Williams 2001)? The image of invading warriors that destroyed the Etruscan cities in the Po valley and even sacked Rome appears like a watershed event in Italy’s history. It has become commonplace to take Livy’s statement of the Celtic invasion as hypothesis and then argue about local variations, as in De Marinis’ (1988b, 183) study in which he concludes that the invasion was hardly felt in the case of the Etruscan city of Mantua. But just how intrusive was the Celtic presence in north Italy really? Did it ever cover the whole of Cisalpine Gaul and drive out the previous occupants, as suggested by our ancient sources?

We need to examine aspects of persistence in settlement structure, material culture, rituals and funerary practises. There is evidence for Gauls and Etruscans happily living together in Etruscan settlements like Mantua and Monte Bibele (De Marinis 1988b; Grassi 1991; Guidi 2002; Vitali 2008b). Funerary goods and Etruscan inscriptions even indicate the cohabitation and matrimony of Celts and Etruscans in Spina, Atria, Mantua, mod. Monterenzio and Bononia (mod. Bologna) (Gaucci 2013a, 73). At Spina, the graffito *keltie* has been interpreted as an ethnonym demonstrating the “integration of Celts in the world of Spina” (Vitali 1996a, 262) and a “Celtic” settlement and cemetery at Casalecchio shows their presence in the Etruscan city of Kainua (Gaucci 2013b, 73). For Adria, Gaucci concludes that “Etruscan culture is dominant without interruption from the fifth century down to the city’s ‘romanizzazione’ in the first century BCE” (2013b, 75). It seems today that the supposed ‘Celtic invasion’ did not result in a widespread demise of Etruscan cities in north Italy, as previously presumed, though to some extent we can notice some decline, like the scarcity of imported Greek pottery after 400, as in the case of Felsina, re-named Bononia, the “capital” of the Boii (Liv. 33.37.4; Gaucci 2013b, 73; Frey 1995, 524). But, of course, one might envisage several feasible reasons for such a decline other than an invasion. Moreover, there is evidence for Celtic speakers and Hallstatt/La Tène artefacts from Transalpine Gaul in north Italy prior to the fourth century. This leads to the idea of continuous small-scale migration across the Alps for centuries rather than an invasion.

For the Celtic invasion, we need to be critical of literary accounts. In his mythical narrative, Livy writes that “this people (*gentem*), lured by the delicious fruits and es-

pecially the wine – then a novel luxury – had crossed the Alps and possessed themselves of lands that had before been tilled by the Etruscans.” Moreover, an Etruscan, Arruns, “is said to have guided the Gauls across the Alps, and to have suggested the attack on Clusium,” using them as mercenaries (5.33). But Livy also adds this account: “it was two hundred years before the attack on Clusium and the capture of Rome, that the Gauls first crossed over into Italy,” consisting of the “surplus population of ... the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Haedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci,” and that “Gallic armies had often given battle to those who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps” (5.33.5–6; 5.34; cf. Grassi 1995, 19).

There is literary, archaeological and toponymic evidence to support migration. A number of Greek and Roman authors mention the presumed Transalpine origin for many of the Galli in north Italy. This is of course a circular argument. Since ancient authors generally believed in the Celtic invasion, their quest for peoples’ origin seems to come naturally. For example, Pliny (*HN* 3.21 [124]) states that the Vertamocori, the founders of Novaria, derived from the Vocontii, in south-east Gaul (and *non, ut Cato existimat, Ligurum* “not, as Cato reckoned, from Liguria”), the Bagienni from the Caturiges (Plin. *HN* 3.7), and the Insubres from the (H)aedui (Livy 5.34.9; Grassi 1995, 19). For Pliny, the Libici, whose *civitas* capital was Vercellae (mod. Vercelli), originated from the Salluvii from around mod. Aix-en-Provence (Pliny *HN* 3.17: *Vercellae Libiciorum ex Salluis ortae*). Altogether, it is noticeable that ancient authors predominantly locate their origin in Massalia’s hinterland. If this were the case, then we would not be dealing with any long-distance migration, like those of the Cimbri and Teutones in the second century. But then we need to ask what drove them away from Massalia’s hinterland; it can hardly have been Livy’s wine which must have been more readily available in southern France compared to the large plain along the Po valley. The archaeological evidence also provides us with another problem: among others, it seems to indicate an “invasion corridor” via the Lago Maggiore, where fifth-century settlements were abandoned, followed by the abundance of La Tène artefacts and Celtic toponyms in Lombardy (v. *infra*).

Like the Libici, the Salassi in the neighbouring Aosta valley were also considered to have descended from the Saluvii according to Strabo (4.180.184) and Livy (31.38.5). However, for Cato they belonged to the Taurisci (Cato *Orig.* 2.6; Pliny *HN* 3.134). This raises the question who the Taurisci/Ταυρίσκοι were. In the time of Cato, the term was employed for a wide range of Alpine peoples from the Taurini, Salassi and Lepontii in the west to the Norici and Carni in the eastern Alps, while later authors (first century) increasingly referred to local *ethnoi*, and the term Taurisci was finally only used for the Norici prior to their defeat in 35–33 BCE (Graßl 2000). The term Taurisci primarily denotes “Celtic” peoples, and the Taurini – the population around mod. Turin – were indeed described as Celts by Polybios (3.60). But Livy refers to them as *semigalli* (Livy 21.38) and Strabo as Ligurians (4.6.6, even including the land of Cottius; Pliny *HN* 3.21: *antiqua Ligurum stirpe*). What does this mean? Were they considered to be ethnically and/or culturally distinct and/or considered to be inhabitants prior to the “Celtic” invasion (as in Livy 5.34.8)? In linguistic terms, toponymic

names beginning with *Tar-/Taur-* are common in France and Spain, thus insinuating their “Celticity” (cf. Culasso Gastaldi and Cresci Marrone 1997; Delamarre 2003, 291).

In the northeast, we also find the Carni, clearly “Gallic” for the Romans (e.g. *de Galleis Karneis*: CIL I 12,49). They are first mentioned as late as 181 BCE around Aquileia (Livy 39.22.6 ff.; 40.34.2; 45.6; 54.2 ff.), and are said to occupy the area around Aquileia together with Norici and Veneti (Strabo 4.6.9). Tergeste (mod. Trieste) was described by Strabo (7.5.2) as a Carnian settlement, but after ILS 6680 from Trieste it seems that Carni and (the Venetic or Illyrian?) Catali were only attributed to Tergeste by Augustus (... *uti Carni Catalique attributi a divo Augusto rei publicae nostrae*; cf. Šašel Kos 2016). This shows the continuing immigration of Galli into North Italy and their integration in municipal structures.

There is a large number of discrepancies between ancient interpretations of *ethnoi* and modern archaeological and linguistic studies. Greco-Roman writers generally found it difficult to make clear ethnic identifications which is hardly surprising. Consequently, we need to ask what Strabo meant when he wrote: “Now these Celts (*Keltōi*) are indeed of the same people as the Transalpine Celts” (Strabo 5.1.4). Strabo often talks about people’s lifestyle (*bios*) and language. He also used these criteria for distinguishing the “Celts” from both the Veneti and Ligurians:

As for the Alps ... many tribes (*éthnē*) occupy these mountains, all Celtic (*keltikā*) except the Ligurians; but while these Ligurians belong to a different people (*hetero-ethneis*), still they are similar to the Celts in their modes of life (*bíois*) (Strabo 2.5.28).

As always, we need to wonder which period Strabo wrote about: is it based on contemporary observations or on ancient writings that he uncritically copied? This “lifestyle” might mirror Polybios’ observation for the Transpadana and the eastern Po valley whose people did not settle in towns, but “lived in open villages (κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους) and without any permanent buildings” (Polyb. 2.17). Certainly for the fourth to second centuries, we find some small-scale La Tène cemeteries with short duration that may support Polybios’ observation, though urban centres were developing at the same time in Gallia Cisalpina, like Vercellae and Mediolanum.

These broad distinctions between Galli and Liguri may not mirror any pre-Roman ethnicities, but external creations by Greeks and Romans who noticed that the term Liguri is already attested prior to the Celtic invasion, thus presumably assuming that they must have been the autochthonous people and the Celts the “new-comers.” Historians from Syracuse, like Philistos (ca. 432–356 BCE), reconstructed Celtic genealogies, for example as descendants of Hyperboreans and Ligurians; and there is also the legend of Galata (eponymous name for the Galatians), born from Galatea and Polyphemos (Tim. ap. FGH 566, F69 Jacoby), thus inserting the Celts into a Greek mythical narrative (Braccisi 1991; Coppola 1992; Vitali 2008a, 93; Lejars 2014). This predominantly served to legitimise Syracusan enterprises and their use of Celtic mercenaries, notably for the campaigns against Carthage and

Thebes, like under Dionysios I in 386 and 369, and under Agathokles in 310–307 (Braccesi 1991, 98; Lejars 2014; Meier 2012, 45; on Celtic mercenaries, cf. Szabó 1991). In this respect, Ephoros from Kyme called the Celts *philhellenēs*, “admirers of Greek culture,” in the fourth century – not the demonised “barbarians” as the first-century Roman authors would have us believe (Hofeneder 2005, 30; Meier 2012, 45).

Indeed, *Galli* are attested throughout Magna Graecia and Sicily in the fourth and third centuries, taking part in most conflicts between Rome, Syracuse and Carthage. For example, between 367 and 348 Livy mentions at least seven Gallic attacks against Rome, coming from southern Italy and primarily returning to Apulia after fighting (Livy 6.42.5–8; 7.1.3; 7.26.9; Vitali 2008a, 93). Some *Galli* must have been instrumentalised as mercenaries. It also reveals some problems with the traditional invasion theories as we are not dealing with marauding, barbarian hordes, but forces employed by local poleis.

As already pointed out by Vitali (2008a, 94), there is a problem: despite ancient reports of Celtic mercenaries, objects of Transalpine La Tène origin are extremely rare in southern Italy. This is even more striking for Sicily where quite a few Hallstatt objects were discovered (mainly from cult contexts: Verger 2003). In southern Italy there are only few third–second-century brooches, the famous Canosa helmet, fragments of scabbards, and some toponymic evidence, like Galatina/Galatone in the province of Lecce (Vitali 2008a, 94) – an anomaly perhaps partly due to deficits in archaeological research when compared with the cemetery of the Senones of Montefortino d’Arcevia. Did south Italian Gauls radically change their funerary practices? This seems unlikely considering how important it must have been to indicate an individual’s rank by armour/weapons as grave goods (for Vitali 2008a, 94 “rank of warrior”), though we should take into account that weaponry in graves became rare around Mediolanum as well – perhaps less due to Roman rule, but to the emergence of new social and cultural understandings.

An exceptional find of “Celtic” production from southern Italy is the helmet discovered at Canosa di Puglia (Schaaff 1988, 302). Unfortunately, it cannot be used as evidence for an “ethnic Celt” at Canosa since the funerary assemblage is otherwise typically Apulian in character (Vitali 2008a, 94). There is also a time gap between the helmet’s production and its eventual deposition in the tomb; it is very much a prestige object that might have changed hands several times before ending up at Canosa (Rolley 1990, 369; Vitali 1988, 280–281, 2008a, 94). Once again, not every object indicates the user’s ethnic identity.

From our archaeological records, it is obvious that something must have happened around 400, but our interpretations might vary. On the one hand, we have seen a high level of cultural continuity with only gradual change. On the other hand, some archaeological sites seem to have experienced a rupture: above all, important settlements get abandoned, most notably the hub of the Golasecca culture, Castelletto Ticino-Sesto Calende, along with smaller settlements along trade routes in Liguria. We also recognise the “impoverishment” of sites along many trade routes

(e.g., Guardamonte, Vigana, Montaldo da Mondovì, and many more): in the Scrivia valley, the number of imports is extremely limited in the fourth and third centuries, perhaps suggesting a disruption of previous exchange patterns. Also, people in the Apennines adapted their way of life by increasingly moving to small hilltop sites, such as Rossiglione, Vigana or Cassine, sometimes with fortifications, like at Guardamonte (*v. infra*). There are also treasure hoards that may indicate a period of uncertainty, conflict or even warfare, i.e. people who were not able to recover their treasures (e.g. at Abdero and Menaggio-Plesio).

There is also the increasing presence of La Tène artefacts in Cisalpine Gaul. But how significant is this? These artefacts are distributed rather unequally in north Italy. There is an overwhelming concentration of La Tène style brooches, pottery and weaponry in the Transpadana, particularly in Lombardy and the Novarese (for distribution maps, cf. Agostinetti 1994), while in the rest of north Italy La Tène artefacts are less numerous, and sometimes isolated, which raises a number of questions regarding trade and migration. This may imply, as we shall discuss below, that some parts of Rome's Gallia Cisalpina were never really affected by *Galli*, at least not in the archaeological sense of the term. Interestingly, some La Tène finds are associated with inhumation burials that have not previously been known in Iron Age north Italy (*v. infra*). Moreover, the distribution pattern of typical Golasecca artefacts clearly mirrors significant change: artefact types that once spread down to the Po valley and beyond, are now again limited to the Golasecca "core area," i.e. around mod. Como, Golasecca and the Lago Maggiore (De Marinis 1977, fig. 2). Indeed, much of the evidence for "disruption" seems to relate to Golasecca culture, perhaps suggesting above all endogenous developments.

There are additional problems regarding the nature of the evidence and our interpretative framework. First, the dating: how are we going to date many sites and artefacts if we remove the association with the invasion theory? For example, Apennine hilltop sites were not necessarily a direct consequence of the Celtic invasion: not only are the chronologies of these sites not clear cut (some emerged after 400 BCE), there is also no need for defence against the Gauls since the rarity of La Tène finds implies that people were never threatened by Celtic settlers or warriors; the hillforts might have resulted from wider societal changes and uncertainties, perhaps resulting from the collapse of the previous exchange patterns. The Golasecca and Etruscan urban sites might have been highly reliant on a functioning trade network to supply the towns with food and prestige goods; a sufficient disruption of exchange patterns might therefore have been enough to cause an end to the flourishing urban culture of the fifth century, necessitating a realignment of local socioeconomics which could have resulted in the landscape of the fourth and third centuries (Haeussler 2000). But this disruption was not necessarily caused by an "invasion."

In this respect, Paltineri (2014) made an important observation: the large agglomeration of Castelletto Ticino-Sesto Calende already seems to have entered in "crisis" in the early fifth century (Golasecca IIIA). Moreover, its demise seems to "coincide" with the "birth of Milan," situated half-way between the Lakes and the river

Po (*Mediolanum*, “centre of the plain” or “sacred centre:” cf. Delamarre 2003, 196 ff., 221 ff.). This gives the impression that we are dealing with endogenous developments in this period: instead of the traditional bi-polar focus (Como vs. Castelletto Ticino-Sesto Calende), a now polycentric settlement structure seems to emerge which also included Bergamo and Brescia/Brixia (Paltineri 2014). The disruption at the Lago Maggiore might therefore have been less related to “invasion” than to changes in societal, economic and settlement structures, and it also helps to explain why “Golasceca culture” continued to flourish in the Lomellina – a region that should have suffered from the demise of Castelletto Ticino, but continued to be well situated geographically with *Mediolanum* as new emerging centre.

III Golasceca: Celts before the Celtic invasion

It is essential to understand the nature of “Celticity” prior to the alleged invasion, and to analyse the evidence for continuous Transalpine interactions for many generations. We need to ask whether the presence of Transalpine-style artefacts in Italy was the result of a more continuous process of migration and trade. We can quite safely assume that people who spoke a Celtic language already lived in north Italy for centuries as indicated by the so-called Lepontic inscriptions which are largely distributed in an area that we associate with the core area of the Golasceca culture. For De Marinis (1991), they are the “Celti Golascecciani,” the oldest Celts in Italy.

This culture, named after the village of Golasceca on the east bank of the river Ticino, covers the entire period from twelfth century (“proto-Golasceca”) down to Golasceca IIIA3, ca. 350 BCE (La Tène A; cf. *Golasceca* 2009). In its core phase between ca. 900 and 400, apart from the adoption of writing, Golasceca provides us with a geographically rather well-defined culture, focusing above all north of the river Po, especially around the Lago Maggiore and the Lago di Como. Ancient authors attributed this region to the Lepontii (hence the term Lepontic language/epigraphy), but we must be cautious since the term Lepontii is not attested prior to the second century (v. *supra*; cf. Whatmough 1933, 65–70 for terminology and historic evidence on the Lepontii; Rubat Borel 2005).

There are two vast (proto)urban settlements: Como provides the eastern pole for Golasceca culture, while a site on the southern end of the Lago Maggiore, covering the communities of Castelletto Ticino, Sesto Calende and Golasceca, constitutes the western “hub” since the late eighth century. Though seemingly deprived of monumental buildings, De Marinis (1986b, 32) concludes that Como had acquired “dimensions and characteristics of an urban centre” in the fifth century (Golasceca IIIA). Similarly, Castelletto Ticino’s “completa e definitiva ‘urbanistica’” is manifested by features, such as rectangular street grid complete with canalisation (Gambari 1993, 263). But we should not presume that our “Golascecciani” were merely copying Etruscan cities, especially if we take into account contemporary Transalpine “*oppi-da*,” like the Heuneburg, an urban hilltop site that accommodated 5,000–10,000

people (cf. Fernandez-Götz and Krausse 2013). Also, forms of social organisation can be expected to be rather different from the Greco-Etruscan model, especially with regard to the apparent lack of religious and administrative centres and any associated monumental architecture in the urban landscape.

This region seems to profit very much from an intensive trade network that connects the cities in the Po valley and Genoa on the Ligurian coast with Transalpine communities. Even more, it is feasible that the people around the Lago Maggiore and Como controlled (or monopolised) Transalpine trade networks (Haeussler 2000, 2013). As a result, in the peak period, sixth to fifth centuries, Golasecca artefacts spread beyond their original area of distribution, south into the Po valley and even beyond the Alps (De Marinis 1977). Perhaps this merely mirrors their expanse of trade relations. But it might also reflect political expansion and/or control over other peoples as it suggests the importance of certain Golasecca artefacts as status and group markers across a wide region. But this wide distribution pattern was shrinking rapidly in the fourth century (De Marinis 1977).

Societal complexity and cultural identity can perhaps be best seen in Lepontic epigraphy which is an essential constituent of Golasecca culture (for more discussion of Celtic languages, see Zair in this volume). The oldest known Lepontic inscriptions come from the agglomeration of Castelletto Ticino, Sesto Calende and neighbouring Golasecca (Maras 2014a, 74): a bowl from Golasecca, *sepiut(-)si*, is dated to the seventh century and a cup from Sesto Calende, *[---]iunθanaxa*, to 625–600 (Maras 2014a, 76; De Marinis, et al. 2009, 157 f.); an inscription from Castelletto Ticino comprising the Celtic name *χosioiso* is dated to ca. 600–575 (Gambari and Colonna 1986; for Lepontic, cf. Whatmough 1933; Lejeune 1971, 1988; Prosdocimi 1991; Morandi 2004; *Lex-Lep*; Stifter 2010; for dating and origin of “Lepontic” cf. Maras 2014b who argues that some of the earlier inscriptions are Etruscan rather than Celtic/Lepontic on epigraphic and linguistic grounds). From ca. 400, we see inscriptions in Lepontic and so-called Cisalpine Gaulish (or “sublépontique”), a different variation of Celtic, but the distinction is not always clear cut: is Gaulish distinct from Lepontic or merely a later evolutionary phase of the language (cf. Uhlich 2011)? We already find early “Gallo-Etruscan” texts on the famous “statue-stelai” from Lunigiana (Maras 2014a, 82; Morandi 2004, 695, nos. 272–275).

Instead of Lepontic, Lejeune in his *Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises* called it *gallo-étrusque* since a revised version of the Etruscan alphabet was employed (labelled *Lugano alphabet* by Pauli 1885). Since Celtic and Etruscan pronunciations were quite dissimilar, the Etruscan alphabet had to be adapted and we can recognise continued adaptations of the use of letters for particular Celtic sounds down to the fourth century, as well as regional differences in Como and the Ticino valley (cf. Maras 2014a). Participating in this larger (Etruscan) koiné, or should we say “trade network,” writing was spreading quickly across north Italy. Lepontic inscriptions have been found on a variety of materials, especially stone and pottery, but texts in the early period are often rather short, primarily consisting of personal names. The names are typically Celtic, often single names with patronymic.

The adoption of writing reflects a new phase for these Celtic-speaking communities. Writing was the expression of a literate élite, which is nowhere more apparent than at Como where more than one hundred fragments of Gallo-Leponitic inscriptions and graffiti date to Golasecca IIIA alone (ca. 500–350), mainly consisting of proper names (De Marinis 1991, 73–74). Writing reveals increasing social complexity. The development of a highly stratified society is also mirrored in the burials: wealthy members had access to a wide range of artefacts. Most importantly grave goods show a combination of Cisalpine Etruscan and Transalpine Hallstatt artefacts. The funerary rituals resemble a widely diffused Italian Iron Age funerary ritual: for example at Castelletto Ticino, the tomb was enclosed in a *cassone di lastre* of 120 by 90 cm within a large tumulus (5 m wide, 2.2 m high and 20 to 30 m long); similarly at San Bernardino di Briona (Gambari 1986, 81–84). Parallel with the strong contacts with the Etruscan world, exchange with Transalpine regions was clearly stimulated and expanded in this period. Consequently, Transalpine imports were used in the funerary context side-by-side with local Golasecca and imported Etruscan objects.

Como's cemetery Ca'Morto demonstrates the extent of cultural "bricolage" at the height of the Golasecca culture. In Ca'Morto's Tomb 8, for example, objects of local production were combined with conspicuous imported prestige objects, such as an iron sword with anthropoid handle in typical Transalpine tradition and a bronze helmet of Negau type, presumably a local production of an Italo-Etruscan helmet of the fifth century (De Marinis 1986d). None of these objects indicates any expression of an Etruscan or Transalpine identity or allegiance. They above all reflect Como's important role in the Transalpine trade route between the Po valley and the Alps. People expressed their cultural identity by using objects that were available to them, serving to signify the deceased's status and wealth, not his/her ethnic identity. For the individual at Como, access to Italo-Etruscan and Transalpine Hallstatt objects might have been equally difficult, making them similarly prestigious.

We also find "Golasecca finds" in the Po valley. The Lomellina region, situated between the rivers Po and Ticino, provides an important point of interaction in this period, being a site of transit for north-south and east-west trade. For Paltineri (2014, 29), it was the centre between Tyrrhenean Italy and Hallstatt Europe (for overview, cf. Pearce 1994; Paltineri 2014). From ca. 650 onwards (Golasecca IC), the archaeological evidence increases steadily in the Lomellina; at Garlasco (Madonna delle Bozzole), funerary evidence shows this new phase; it peaks in the fifth century with a series of important settlements, like Gropello-Santo Spirito (Paltineri 2014, 31–32). We will see below how this site developed after the "Celtic invasion" and the Roman conquest.

People's lives during Golasecca IIIA seem to have relied heavily on concepts like surplus production and conspicuous consumption. The socio-economic patterning is therefore based on wide-ranging trade relations, as seen from the sumptuous grave goods which include some exceptionally precious artefacts, such as a bronze vessel from Golasecca whose type is known from funerary contexts in Tuscany and Lazio, and were "orientalising" imitations of seventh-century Syrian products; moreover,

bronze pins of seventh-century Este production are widely attested in Golasecca tombs. Castelletto Ticino seems to have been well integrated into pan-Italian exchange mechanisms (Malnati and Manfredi 1991). Obviously, the exchange of artefacts also resulted in the exchange of information, and we can also expect some form of migration (even if perhaps limited to traders); this may explain the adoption of Italic forms of funerary rituals, epigraphy and architecture, and their adaptation to local understandings.

Other parts of Cisalpine Gaul show different archaeological assemblages in the sixth and fifth centuries that in turn affect our interpretation of Golasecca. Serravalle Scrivia, for example, was located on the main artery for the north-south trade route from Genoa to the Po and Ticino valleys (Venturino Gambari 1987, 18); parallel with Genoa's growth, trade along the Scrivia valley seems to have increased. Not far away, there is Villa del Foro which seems to participate in a rather different exchange network: for example, finds of Etruscan *bucchero* at Villa del Foro are of Cisalpine production, not from south Etruria. And there are Hallstatt finds relating to southern France. Strikingly, Villa del Foro lacks artefacts associated with the Golasecca culture, which were relatively common at Serravalle Scrivia, implying that contact or re-distribution between the two contemporary sites must have hardly existed. This suggests two separate polities and highlights the degree of control over exchange mechanisms, perhaps by long-distance merchants or by individual communities en route. In any case a free flow of goods seems very unlikely for southern Piedmont in this period. Since we are so reliant on archaeological finds, it is impossible to identify people's identity at Villa del Foro or Serravalle Scrivia as "Etruscan," "Golaseccan/Celtic" or "Ligurian," since local material culture largely depended on economic capacity, not cultural choices; many of these communities might have been multi-ethnic in character. We certainly should not underestimate the extent of migration across north Italy in this period.

It is important not to put the "Golasecca people" at the receiving end, or even at the periphery of the Etruscans (cf. Haeussler 2000). We should not talk about "the age of the 'Etruscan masters'" (Golasecca IC-IIA: Maras 2014a). Instead, we need to understand endogenous developments in local society: how did these people manage their own lives, develop their own forms of urbanism, closely connected to – and inspired by – both Etruscan and Transalpine regions, adapt the Etruscan alphabet for their own language, and thus created their own particular identity? People's identity appears like a "bricolaged" identity. This is also important to understand subsequent developments in Cisalpine Gaul. Also, apart from the region's "Celticity" since the twelfth century, it is also significant for understanding subsequent developments since, despite all disruptions and changes, certain cultural and economic patterns from the Golasecca period persevered down to the first century; a strong sense of identity between Ticino and Como would even continue into the early Principate (Haeussler 2013, 2015), and the continued use of Lepontic epigraphy and funerary rituals (cremation rituals, the *cassetta lithica* tombs) down to the first century BCE, despite increasing presence of La Tène artefacts and rituals (v. *infra*).

Altogether, the sixth and fifth centuries have revealed the increasing extent of bilateral migration and culture contacts across the Alps (cf. Gambari 1995 for small-scale migration; cf. Gambari 2004 for the role of women in Golasecca Transalpine relations), even spreading south across the Po valley to the Adriatic Sea and into southern Italy. Even in a more “Etruscan” environment, like at Bologna, we find Hallstatt *fibulae* of Transalpine origin from the late sixth century onwards. Together with weapons of Hallstatt character in the cemeteries of Bologna, this is thought to suggest a “presenza celtiche” and increasing mobility (Landolfi 1987; Vitali 2008a, 91). It is, however, important to acknowledge that Transalpine imports were commonly used as prestige objects in north Italy, and primarily ended up in a funerary context, side-by-side with Golasecca, Italo-Etruscan and more exotic imports, seemingly without discrimination. It is therefore difficult to attribute any “ethnic label” to these objects with any degree of certainty.

From the fourth century onwards, there are not only more La Tène artefacts south of the Alps than ever before, but these are also sometimes associated with inhumation burials that had been previously unknown in this part of Italy. La Tène artefacts appear in the Po valley, especially brooches, pottery, weaponry. Brooches and weaponry could have been important indicators for group identities and men’s function and rank in society. But La Tène artefacts remain extremely rare in some regions, especially in much of Piedmont and Liguria (Peyre 1979; Agostinetti 1994). For instance, Bric San Vito di Pecetto is a recently studied La Tène hilltop site of the early fourth century just east of Turin that Gambari, by linking it to our ancient sources, associates with a group of “Galli invasori” (2008, 142). But at the same time, local “cultures” survived and evolved, often creating new “syncretised cultures.” For example, Golasecca-style artefacts and funerary practices not only persisted, but the cognitions behind them also had a strong motivational force on the local people regardless of their ethnic origin. Similarly, Lepontic epigraphy continued and flourished, spreading into the Po valley and to Umbria as well as to the Ligurian coast (v. *infra*).

Interestingly, the evidence suggests that some Galli might have returned to their “seat of origin” in the Transalpina, at least in Vitali’s interpretation (2008a, 97) of a tomb from Plessis-Gassot said to belong to one of a group of “warriors” who had stayed among the Boii and took Etruscan black-slip ware home where he shared his Mediterranean experiences (cf. Frey 1995, 529 for examples from Champagne). Even if we might want to be more sceptical about Vitali’s narrative, it is very important to insist on the two-way traffic across the Alps: the bilateral movement of goods across the Alps is only the tip of the iceberg for the movement of people in this time.

IV “Celticity” in fourth- to third-century Italy

When discussing the Galli in the fourth and third centuries we need to take into account that the “invasion” must have been much less disruptive than ancient authors

suggested, with more persistence and gradual developments. Not only did the Etruscans continue to occupy major cities, like Mantua, we also find many locations where Etruscans and Celts lived together. La Tène artefacts increasingly appear in many parts of Cisalpine Gaul from the fourth century, but not universally. Above all, pre-existing material cultures and practices, which we can label as “Etruscan” and “Golasecca,” survived and evolved, sometimes down to the Augustan period, and we need to understand the new cultural expressions that developed in this period out of Etruscan, Italic, Ligurian, Celtic/La Tène, Celtic/Lepontic/Golasecca, and so on. These new “syncretised” cultures reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity of Cisalpine Gaul in this period. It is difficult to identify a single “Celtic culture,” and as time progresses, people’s “Celtic identities” were evolving even further. Moreover, since the third century, an accelerating state-formation process led to more prominent symbols of power and urbanism, and to the growing use of epigraphy and coinage, especially in the Transpadana (the Celtic “Insubres”), while the Romans were increasingly in control south of the river Po. We therefore need to examine the nature of “Celtic” identity in the fourth and third centuries: is this a superimposed, foreign culture, or does it instead merge into the general cultural patterning across north Italy in this period?

With Castelletto Ticino/Sesto Calende having been abandoned, our best archaeological evidence north of the Po predominantly comes from funerary contexts between the fourth and second centuries. Settlement finds and grave goods, of course, need to be interpreted very differently: elaborate objects are more common as grave goods and rare in a settlement context. This can significantly distort our view of people’s identity. Moreover, grave goods might express wealth and a cultural environment that the deceased never experienced to any similar extent. Funerary contexts might also mirror archaising trends, like dress and objects reflecting traditions of a bygone era. It is hence very problematic to interpret funerary goods as an accurate image of the living, and even more difficult to interpret individual finds as a sign of people’s ethnic identity. Dress and grave goods might have been chosen to reflect somebody’s group identity, but there might be various group identities, apart from “ethnicity:” age, rank, family, gender, and many more (cf. Haeussler 2013). We have to bear this in mind when we interpret the archaeological record. The evidence is illuminating for people’s identity, but it is only part of a larger jigsaw puzzle where most pieces are missing.

Many cemeteries have been excavated, but we must limit our study to a few type sites. We start with Dormelletto near the Lago Maggiore as it originates in an ideal type of a La Tène cemetery of “Transalpine tradition.” Located near the then abandoned urban site of Castelletto Ticino, the cemetery has 52 burials ranging from the third to the first century BCE, suggesting a rather small rural community. It is important to understand cultural developments in this period as we see the development of new, rather localised “cultural habits” in north Italy by people increasingly adopting local characteristics that resemble those known from the local (i.e. Golasecca) culture. In its earliest phase (La Tène C), Dormelletto is a type example for a La

Tène cemetery that could equally have been located in the Transalpina (Spagnolo Garzolo 1988, 2009): besides its material culture, the funerary ritual consists of Hallstatt-like burial constructions that are also known from the La Tène period in the Transalpina, while the use of inhumation is at odds with the long-established cremation rites that dominate this part of Italy ever since the arrival of the Canegrate culture. As pointed out by Spagnolo Garzoli (1988) this reflects “un rito funerario totalmente estraneo all’ambiente golasecchiano locale” in regard to both ritual and material culture, and may therefore indicate the presence of people originating from Transalpine Gaul.

In the subsequent phase, people made different choices at Dormelletto. While La Tène-style inhumations continued down to the first century, by the end of the second century BCE Golasecca-style cremations, similar to contemporary cemeteries in the Lomellina, had become increasingly common. During the excavations of 2006, a second-century funerary stele was discovered with a figurative representation (comparable to the “*têtes coupées*” sculptures from Transalpine Gaul) as well as a Lepontic text with typical Celtic onomastics: *komevios / kalatikn/os*, “Comevios, son of Calatos/Galata” (the suffix *-knos*, meaning “son of,” is common in Cisalpine Gaulish, but absent in early Lepontic inscriptions; Gambari 2007). Weaponry is only attested in the later cremation tombs and the development of a bi-ritual, similar to the Cenomani, does not seem unlikely: at the risk of oversimplification, cremation for men, inhumation for woman and children (cf. De Marinis 1977; 1986a, 134–135). People across the Transpadana may have chosen cremation because it was a more elaborate ritual that involved more resources and the public performance of more complex rituals; this may also explain the continued – or rather increasing – popularity of the ostentatious *cassetta litica* tombs (in fact, inhumations are very rare in late La Tène, even in “Insubrian territory:” Grossi, et al. 2010).

The further we move away from this core “Celtic” area, the more problematic our evidence becomes. Some excellent examples of “Celtic” craftsmanship can be found among grave goods, notably weaponry, but the majority of finds is frequently of local or central and southern Italian origin, as we already saw earlier in the case of the Canosa helmet. On the Ligurian coast, we find an Iron Age cemetery that provides food for thought as La Tène rituals and artefacts were “combined” in a unique fashion with (autochthonous) rituals and artefacts. Ameglia (Cafaggio), situated near the mouth of the river Magra and close to the future Roman colony of Luni/Luna, starts in the late fourth century (Durante 2004; Gervasini 2007). The large number of La Tène grave goods seems surprising at Ameglia. Typology and ornamental decoration of helmets, swords and scabbards are well known from Transalpine examples, such as the sword from Tomb 22 decorated by two imaginary animals in a “heraldic” position on the scabbard (Durante and Massari 1984, fig. 17; Peyre 1982, 78, plate II,7).

Comparable *isolated* finds were also discovered further east: for example, the scabbard from a tomb at Moscano di Fabriano, half-way between Ancona and Perugia, comprises similar Waldalgesheim-style decoration (Lejars 2006, 6–7; Landolfi 1991); for Vitali it belonged to “one of the Senones responsible for the first incursions

on Rome,” at the beginning of the “grandi migrazioni” of the fourth century (1996b, 594; 592–595, no 2). But at Moscano, funerary artefacts for banqueting derive from Etruria and Umbria, and others resemble Campanian and Daunian artefacts (Lejars 2006, 6–7). Among the Boii, similar Transalpine grave goods were discovered at Bononia/Felsina and its “Celtic” or “Boian” cemetery Casalecchio di Reno with 96 inhumations in east-west position (ca. 370–270) (Vitali 2001). But is this sufficient evidence to identify the people at Moscano as Boii? Lejars (2006, 7) reiterates the common opinion that archaeological finds have no “ethnic identity” per se. Indeed, we need to be careful when making ethnic identifications; our ancient sources identify the Boii as “Celts” (Strabo 4.4; App. *Gall.* 1 on 389 BCE: “afterwards the Boii, the most savage of the Gallic tribes, attacked the Romans”). But we need to ask what ethnic labels, *Keltoi*/*Galli*/*Boii*, actually signified for ancient authors? Is it just synonymous for “barbarian invader”? Boii might merely mean “The Warriors” (Falileyev 2007), Cenomani perhaps “The Far-Goers” and Senones “The Autochthonous People” (De Bernardo Stempel 2008). And what does it mean if people in Cisalpine Gaul and the rest of Italy were buried with Celtic-style weaponry: could this not also indicate the adoption of new status symbols, an elite’s new cultural *Selbstdarstellung*, or perhaps, rather pragmatically, merely the adoption of new fighting techniques? Perhaps we need to consider the development of a widespread Italy-wide socio-cultural discourse that goes beyond isolated ethnic identities.

But Ameglia provides additional information that complicates our interpretation. We can recognise a typically “Celtic” funerary ritual whereby the weaponry was ritually destroyed, probably to remove them from the world of the living; swords, for example, were bent several times. This ritual is well known from Transalpine Gaul, and may therefore indicate migration rather than just the locals adopting a Celtic ritual. But in death, Ameglia’s inhabitants display a selection of status symbols from across the Mediterranean, as one would perhaps expect for a coastal community: south Etruscan overpainted *skyphoi*, black-glaze ware from north Etruria, wine amphorae from Marseille and central Italy, similar to the case of Moscano (*v. supra*), as well as female dress items of Tusco-Latin origin.

Most significantly, the burials reflect the local practice: cremation placed in a *cassetta litica* (a stone “box”), similar to the cremations at Chiavari, situated almost half-way between Ameglia and Genoa (late eighth – early sixth centuries; cf. Leonardi and Paltineri 2012). Though so much earlier, Chiavari already mirrored both Etruscan and Transalpine Hallstatt influences (Leonardi and Paltineri 2012, 296, fig. 7; Paltineri 2010). Certainly Genoa had strong “trade” connections across the sea since its first attested frequentation around the end of the seventh century (Melli 2004, 2006). The evidence from Genoa and Chiavari seems to go hand-in-hand, one might argue: connecting the Tyrrhenian Sea, notably centres like Vulci and later Pisa, with the Po valley and our “Celti Golasecchiani” (De Marinis 1988, 159–259; Leonardi and Paltineri 2012, 296–299). Ameglia seems to reflect a similar scenario in the fourth-third centuries. But its archaeology remains complex: how does the typically “Transalpine” destruction of grave goods fit the use of typically Italic and Ligurian funerary

rituals? Is the latter merely a personal adoption of some high-status “migrants” who wished to employ more elaborate, conspicuous funerary rituals? And if the weaponry only signified imported prestige objects for the local population, then we would not expect aspects of social or military organisation, like different sets of weaponry: spearhead; spearhead-sword; spearhead-sword-helmet (cf. Martin-Kilcher 1998 for similar sets at Ornavasso in the late Iron Age; Schumacher 1989 for the Transalpine late La Tène cemetery of Wederath-Belginum). We also need to explain the presence of male La Tène brooches and female Tusco-Latin dress at Ameglia: are we dealing with male immigrants marrying local women or perhaps a deliberate segregation of male and female identities? Perhaps the most likely scenario is that Celtic immigrants came to Ameglia because the port provides an important link between the Po valley and the Mediterranean trade network, making it possible to by-pass Genoa; immigrants and locals then created their local identities with the repertoire of rituals, artefacts and status symbols that was available to them.

Ameglia and Dormelletto are just two cases that are typical for the post-invasion archaeology, casting an undeniable doubt on the idea of a coherent “Celtic” culture in north Italy. Instead we are dealing with examples of cultural bricolage by which people used artefacts and rituals of different origin.

This leads us to the above-mentioned “Waldalgesheim style,” named after the type site in the Hunsrück mountains in Germany, which can be found on weapons, scabbards, helmets, torques, etc. not just in Ameglia, but across Italy. Peyre (1982) and Kruta (1992) have argued that this style was an invention by Celts in the Cisalpine, notably the Senones, inspired by Greco-Etruscan plant decoration, insinuating that the Italian finds are earlier than the Transalpine ones. But as convincingly argued by Vitali (2008a, 90), the difference in dating of the Italian finds (e.g. at Moscano, Monte Bibele, Casalecchio, Ameglia) is minimal, perhaps a couple of decades, if it were possible to provide any absolute dating at all. In addition, the nature of the Waldalgesheim style is thought to suggest original Transalpine art and therefore we can presume that it was introduced into Italy, perhaps associated with the movement of people. The curvilinear vase decoration in the Champagne, in the middle of the fourth century, presents a similar scenario: Kruta (1991, 146) suggests Greek and Etruscan techniques, while Vitali (2008a) advocated an earlier chronology and a completely different technique, making them an original Transalpine production that was imported into Italy, like the Canosa helmet with curvilinear decoration (Kruta 1991).

La Tène weaponry, comparable to those from Ameglia and Dormelletto, can be found across Italy. As shown by Dore (1995, figs. 1–4) and Lejars (2006), there are only few La Tène A weapons, mainly between Po, Ticino and Como (fifth century), while swords, scabbards and associated elements were more widely distributed during La Tène B (ca. 400–275 BCE), also in Umbria and Marche down to Ancona. La Tène C (275–125 BCE) sees a “withdrawal” to the Bologna region and finally in La Tène D (125–20 BCE) finds are largely limited to the Transpadana (sites like Oleggio and Ornavasso). Of course, this does not allow us to “trace” the movement of “Celtic”

people in Italy, as many finds might have been traded during La Tène B-C. The subsequent concentration north of the Po may above all mirror the persistence of certain archaising funerary rituals, while people elsewhere might have adopted other status symbols as grave goods, including Mediolanum.

This also leads us to the Senones and their occupation in the southeast of Cisalpine Gaul, along the Adriatic Sea and south towards Ancona and Perugia, as seen in funerary sites, such as Montefortino (Arcevia) or Filottrano and Moscano di Fabriano with some exceptional La Tène style objects, like a gold torque (Kruta 1992, 388; Landolfi 2000). As always, there is a question of methodology. In 1901, Brizio associated these cemeteries with the Galli and more precisely with the Senones, due to similarities with finds from Bologna. As already pointed out by Lejars (2006) and Vitali (2008a), these cemeteries are hardly typical “La Tène” per se. In the words of Vitali (2008a, 92), the Senones or “Celts” were adopting new funerary customs “che li integrano pienamente nella koiné di facies ellenistica.” Also for Frey (1995, 524), the Celts “had adapted themselves to the circumstances of Italy.” Certain tombs at Montefortino and Filottrano, could equally be associated to the Umbrians; other sites, like tombs at Numana that also contained La Tène weapons, were associated with the Piceni (Lejars 2006). At the cemetery of Camerano, we find eight inhumation burials of “warriors” whose grave goods are “chiaramente piceno,” though accompanied by ritually bent La Tène swords and scabbards (Landolfi 2000, 39). Moreover, cemeteries like Montefortino continued after the battle of Sentinum in 295 and Rome’s deduction of the colony of Rimini/Ariminum in 268. This may suggest that either we should not (exclusively) associate this cemetery with the Senones, or their downfall was less brutal than is commonly thought.

V Cultural coherence or discrepant “Celtic” identities?

These examples show how difficult it is to speak of *Galli* and Celtic culture in Cisalpine Gaul. There are countless regional variations and “ethnic” boundaries are rarely clearly cut. One of the main archaeological categories, weaponry, was also changing in importance during the third to first centuries, becoming almost extinct, for example, in some parts of Lombardy, while at the same time we can identify increasing state formation processes. One consequence of these new social structures is the creation of a more or less unified coinage system across Cisalpine Gaul, the *dramma padana* (Padane drachme), as well as increasing literacy. Coinage, inscriptions and trade show that the *Galli* in north Italy were being drawn into Italy-wide developments even before the Roman conquest.

While the “Celtic fashion” (term used by Williams 2001, 199) seems to extend all the way south to Ameglia, the evidence is much scarcer elsewhere, notably in the Apennines. How is it possible that, for example, at the hillfort Guardamonte (Gre-

miasco) only one La Tène artefact was discovered, a silver spiral ring, despite continuing occupation from the early Iron Age down to the first two centuries CE (Lo Porto 1955; Chiaramonte Treré 2004)? Guardamonte never was in a remote location: in the sixth and fifth centuries it played an important rôle in the “trade” between the “Golasecca” region and Genoa, as shown Etruscan *bucchero* and Certosa-type fibulae as well as Golasecca-style brooches; the first half of the fifth century seems to have been the period of “maggiore vitalità” (Chiaramonte Treré 2004, 231). After that, trade continued as demonstrated by a Campanian A *skyphos* (ca. 300–250 BCE) from Guardamonte, an Etruscan *oinochae* of the Gruppo del Fatasma at nearby Libarna (ca. 350–275), and local imitations of the precious black-glaze ware (*vernice nera*) all along the north-south trade route from Genoa through the Scrivia valley. And despite the rarity of La Tène artefacts in the region, a brooch from Serravalle Scrivia suggests that local people did engage with La Tène art: the fibula’s arch consists of the schematic representation of a human face, which would be typical of La Tène art except for the fact that the human head was on the actual arch of the fibula. Are we dealing with a local craftsman engaging with different cultural traditions (bricolage?), using a local product and being inspired by central European La Tène *Maskenfibel*, which are also attested in Libarna (cf. Venturino Gambari 1987, 24, fig. 9, 1; Pastorino and Venturino Gambari 2008, 82–83)?

As we have seen, La Tène objects and rituals remained surprisingly marginal in shaping people’s behaviour in north Italy, notably in the northeast (Liguria and Piedmont), even in sites along the trade route from Genoa to the Po valley (cf. Capuis 1994 for “Celticity” in Venetia). Even north of the river Po, people renegotiated their identities by a process of bricolage, using elements from different cultural origin that were available to them. Some of these cultural choices would persist down to the first century, like the *cassetta litica* cremations and the *vaso a trottola*. We can talk about *Galli* or *Liguri*, but there was a complex patchwork of cultural expressions. Some communities developed state-like structures. The many ethnic labels reported by Greco-Roman authors were probably short-lived and might therefore only reflect the situation as it appears to the Romans at the time of conquest. All this has implications for the Roman period: people would experience the Roman conquest very differently due to these enormous regional variations.

VI Padane drachme – prior to the Roman conquest

With trade relations recovering relatively quickly during the fourth and third centuries, we also see the development of the *dramma Padana* and Lepontic epigraphy, while many sites must have acquired increasing urban characteristics, fortified, some acting as socio-political and religious places, like Mediolanum (Polyb. 2.34.10; *urbs* for Livy 5.34.9), Brixia (mod. Brescia) (Livy 32.30.6: *caput gentis*), Como (Livy 33.36.14: *Comum oppidum*), and many more. The Lepontic alphabet continued in use as we can see for example in the rock inscriptions from Brembo in the

Val Camisana di Carona (Bergamo) that date to ca. third–second centuries and were combined with previous rock art (Casini, Angelo and Motta 2008). Brembo seems to have been a cult place for a god with a Celtic theonym, *Poeninus*; he is attested twice at Brembo and was in Roman times identified with Jupiter at the Great San Bernard pass. Apart from the use of “Leponitic,” we see an art form at Brembo that was inspired by fifth-century *situlae* art, once again implying more persistence than rupture.

The Padane drachma circulated across Cisalpine Gaul, from Piedmont to Veneto, roughly between the third and the early first century BCE. It can also be found as far away as Rome, Manching, Barcelona and Cornwall. Originally there was a relatively standardised iconography: like its Massilian prototype it bears a head of Artemis Ephesia to the right on the obverse and a lion and the legend *MASSA* for Massalia on the reverse (standard works: Pautasso 1962; Arslan 1973, 2010; Crawford 1985, 294–297; Brenot 1994; Arslan and Carazzetti 2000; Arslan and Morandini 2007). And yet there seem to be different minting authorities: for example, Pautasso’s type-8 drachmas mainly circulate in the Veneto (Saccocci 1994), while others predominantly circulate in Lombardy and Piedmont.

The Padane drachma seems to develop relatively early, namely in a period when the Romans did not really have a silver coinage. This is why Crawford (1985, 75–76) considered it implausible to expect the minting of Padane drachma before the Second Punic War prior to the Roman denarius. But it has been shown that stylistically the Padane drachma derived from the heavy Massilia drachma of the fourth century, and this may suggest that the first Padane drachmas might have been minted as early as 300 (Brenot 1994; Pautasso 1983, 156), a date confirmed by stratigraphic finds from occupation layers in Mediolanum of the fourth and third centuries (Arslan 1994, 73; for Massaliote coins in Casalecchio di Reno, Bologna, around 300, cf. Arslan 1999). In addition, there are two early coin types that may have been predecessors: with depictions of Artemis and the owl, they have legends in Etruscan letters, written from right to left, that are Celtic: *anarekartos* meaning “brightest bear” (Delamarre 2003, 107 ff.; Markey 2007, 232–235) and *seghedu* possibly deriving from Celtic *sego-*, “victory” or “force” (Marinetti and Prosdociami 1994, 28 date this coin to ca. 400–370; Chiesa 2000; Delamarre 2003, 268 ff.). These two coins seem to date no later than the third century, probably even the fourth, suggesting complex forms of social organisation in this period (Arslan 1990; Solinas 1995).

The Padane drachma raises numerous questions. First, why did people in Cisalpine Gaul choose the Massilia drachma as model? The drachma’s silver content was probably an important issue, while Romans and Etruscans still largely used a bronze coinage in this period. However, Greek drachmas were also circulating in the Po valley (Crawford 1985, 298 ff.; Gorini 1998), perhaps partly to remunerate Gallic mercenaries; local elites might have been compelled to develop their own coinage system in response. We should not underestimate Marseille’s economic importance in north Italy in the fourth and third centuries, as we can see from the distribution of Massaliote amphorae. The choice might also reflect the presumed origin of many Cisalpine

Galli in Marseille's hinterland. But this does not explain why so many peoples across north Italy adopted a standard coinage and iconography. For Girola (1994, 139), the drachma was meant to facilitate commerce. This seems unlikely when considering the comparatively low volume of exchange (cf. Strabo's [4.6] Ligurians still exchanging in kind at Genoa) and the rarity of smaller denominations. Instead we need a reason why people in north Italy were working together in the first place. Such an alliance across the Transpadana seems most likely in a period of conflict, such as the large-scale coalitions of Boii, Cenomani, Insubres and others against the Romans in the fourth and third centuries (v. *infra*). The origin of the Padane drachma may therefore have been less a marker of a common identity than a means to reward one's allies, both as a token of gratitude for "clan leaders" and their "warriors" as well as pay for mercenaries. In this way, the Padane drachma may have worked like a prestige good being handed down along hierarchical lines.

The development of this coinage also raises other issues, like ethnogenesis and state-formation processes in Cisalpine Gaul. The increasing monetisation of societies throughout Italy must have also had consequences for local socioeconomic patterns, such as the commoditisation of social transactions, the payment of rent and taxes in coinage, or the acquisition of wealth by subaltern classes: socio-cultural change that might trigger important societal changes, at least for some *Galli* (perhaps most notably for the Insubres where "traditional" status symbols, i.e. weaponry, disappeared first as grave goods). As we shall see later, the coinage was acquiring more and more "Celtic" characteristics in a nominally Roman period, jettisoning its Greek roots.

VII The Roman conquest

Archaeological, linguistic, toponymic and numismatic evidence has shown that the Gauls in north Italy were no homogenous group and that a "Celtic" cultural identity varies significantly across the region. Also, the Roman conquest affected the *Galli* in different ways and consequently their survival, integration and their identities within "Roman Italy" would be very different. The first people who were affected were the Senones, followed by the Boii. The available literary sources suggest that they became almost extinct in north Italy with their territories occupied by Italo-Roman settlers. But we should not forget that our sources are Romano-centric and the extent to which the land of the Boii was "vacant" (v. *infra*) can be disputed.

By contrast, in the Transpadana, the Roman conquest seems to have had no immediate impact on local people. There is sociocultural change, but change is slow and incremental prior to the first century. If we had not had any literary sources, the Roman conquest would be hardly visible in the archaeological record as there is no visible "rupture," much less than around 400. It is therefore important to "de-Romanise" our analyses. For example, we should no longer talk about "early indications for Romanisation" when we are merely seeing people participating in Italy-wide cultural, societal and economic developments: the import of black-slip ware,

for example, follows very much on from the import of Etruscan *bucchero* into north Italy in the Golasecca period, and we therefore need to question how significant these findings are as an indicator for socio-cultural change or even for “identity.” As in the previous periods, people’s identities continued to reflect a “melange” of different features – Transalpine La Tène, Italo-Etruscan and local traits; this generally only started to change during the first century (Haeussler 2013a).

The Sack of Rome by the *Galli* in ca. 390–386 was a very important event in Roman memory and created the idea of a constant threat, the *terror Gallicus* or Κελτῶν φόβον (Livy 10.26.13; Polyb. 2.13.5–7; 21.6 ff; 23.7 ff; Pompeius Trogus ap. Just. *Epit.* 24.4. 7; 25.2. 10). This was used to legitimise Rome’s brutal conquest of Cisalpine Gaul, starting with the battle of Sentinum. Polybios tells us about the alliances certain Galli had with other peoples in Italy, like the Etruscans, in 299, followed by a coalition of Gauls and Samnites which Rome crushed at Sentinum in 295 (Polyb. 2.19; Livy 10.27). Finally, after the Gauls had successfully besieged Arretium ca. 284/283, Polybios reports:

At this the Romans, in high wrath, sent an expedition against them, which was met by the tribe called the Senones. In a pitched battle the army of the Senones were cut to pieces, and the rest of the tribe expelled from the country; into which the Romans sent the first colony which they ever planted in Gaul – namely, the town of Sena, so called from the tribe of Gauls which formerly occupied it (Polyb. 2.19).

This was the *colonia civium Romanorum* of Sena Gallica (ca. 290–283; Livy 27.38.4), which was followed by another colony, Ariminum, at the northern end of the Senones’ territory in 268. The confiscated territory became *ager publicus* and the Romans divided this so-called *ager Gallicus* among Roman citizens according to the *lex Flaminia* (Polyb. 2.17.7: in 232 BCE; Cic. *Sen.* 11: in 228); interestingly, this region would become part of the *regio Umbria* under Augustus; was this meant to indicate that there were no more Galli? Gaucci (2013, 98) is not alone when he speaks of “un vero e proprio genocidio,” similar to the Boii a few generations later. But was this really the case? There is the cemetery of Montefortino (Arcevia) (west of Sena Gallica) where we find Celtic-style graves down to ca. 150 BCE (cf. Landolfi 1991; Gaucci 2013). But any survival of armed Senones has been heavily rejected, for example by Kruta (2008). It seems feasible that Roman actions primarily aimed at the male, war-waging Senones, not at women and isolated groups (Gaucchi 2013, 98), most of whom were probably sold into slavery.

Sena Gallica and Ariminum became strategic points for the subsequent conquest of Cisalpine Gaul that was later strengthened by the construction of the Via Flaminia from Rome to Ariminum in 220 (Gaucchi 2013). Having seen the Senones expelled, the neighbouring Boii fought Rome in 283–282, but were defeated and forced to make a treaty; they were finally defeated at Telamon (Polyb. 2.20–2.21; 27–31; Livy 20; Plin. *HN* 3.115–116; Zonar. 8.18, 8.20; Diod. Sic. 25.13). A large coalition of Insubres, Taurisci/Taurini and Boii, including mercenaries from the Transalpina (the *Gaesatae*, meaning “serving for hire” after Polyb. 2.22), eventually led to the battle of Telamon

in 225 which the *Galli* lost – 40,000 are said to have been killed – while the consul L. Aemilius Papus carried out a subsequent punitive expedition against the Boii (Polyb. 2.21–31). The Insubres felt threatened by Roman activities and continued their resistance (Polyb. 2.32), but were finally defeated in the battle of Clastidium in 222 (*ILS* 69 [p.169]); the Romans founded the colonies of Placentia and Cremona on either side of the river Po in 218 to control their territories (Polyb. 3.40.5; Tac. *Hist.* 3.34). Having defected to Hannibal, the re-conquest of the *Galli* between 201 and 194 was concluded by the battles of Comum in 196 (Livy 33.36) and of Placentia and Mutina in 194 (Polyb. 2.17 ff.; Livy 34.46–47, 35.4–5). The Boii allegedly were expelled from Italy (Strabo 5.1.6) and their land confiscated, followed by intensive colonisation and centuriation along the Via Aemilia (187 BCE), including re-foundations of earlier Gallo-Etruscan settlements (Bononia 189 BCE, Placentia 218 and 190 BCE). Livy (39.55) describes Parma and Mutina (183) as Roman citizen colonies founded *in agro qui proxime Boiorum, ante Tuscorum fuerat*, on land which had belonged to the Boii and previously to the Etruscans (though “Celtic” finds from Parma are rare). North of the Po, Rome had already established an *amicitia* with the Veneti (283 BCE) and Cenomani (225 BCE) (Polyb. 2.23–4; Strabo 5.1.9; Livy 21.10.4: “the Cenomani, the only Gallic tribe that had remained faithful”). The Cenomani, whose main towns were Brixia and Verona, eventually defected under Hamilcar and sacked Placentia (Livy 31.10.2); they were finally subjugated in 197 (Livy 5.35, 33.23.4; Polyb. 2.12; Strabo 5.216).

Livy’s statement that the land of the Gauls was “vacant” (42.4.3–4) legitimated large-scale colonisation and land distribution, as seen by centuriation of the entire Po valley at an unprecedented scale (Schmiedt 1989). Rome’s presence north of the river Po was limited prior to the Social War: apart from Cremona, there are only the colonies Aquileia (181 BCE) and Eporedia (100 BCE) north of the Po; the latter served to control the Aosta valley and the Salassi. The first *Galli* as auxiliary soldiers are mentioned by Livy for 175 (41.1.8) and we can assume they were fighting side-by-side with Rome and her allies annually. This created what Gabba called “*coscienza unitaria con Roma*” (1984, 214), and thus a gradual process of integration. We also need to consider the cases when the Romans intervened in local affairs of the *Galli*, for example when arbitrating between Salassi and Libici over the use of water for mining in 143 (Cass. Dio 22 fr. 74; Strabo 4.6.7; Livy *Per.* 53), while Roman *publicani* exploited the nearby gold mines north of Vercellae (Plin. *HN* 23.21.78). Rome claimed to defend allies from raids of Alpine tribes (cf. Livy 62; Cic. *Pis.* 26.62) and from the Cimbrian invasion (battle of Vercellae, 101 BCE). Romans also imposed their perception of property rights, most apparent in the *sententia Minuciorum* (117) when Rome, acting as arbitrator, imposed one-sided changes to property rights, taxation and land use on the rural population in the Apennines (*CIL* V 7749). In the first century, more colonies (or new deductions) were founded by Caesar, the triumvirs and Augustus, notably Novum Comum, Iulia Dertona, Augusta Taurinorum and Augusta Bagiennorum. Augusta Praetoria (mod. Aosta) resulted from Augustus’ subjugation of the Salassi in 25; there, the (allegedly) enslaved Sal-

assi made a dedication to Augustus in which they defined themselves as *incolae* of the colony (ILS 6753; cf. Strabo 4.6.7; Cass. Dio 53.25.2–4). This shows once again the limitations of our literary sources, while showing how some of the defeated Salassi pursued an active process to appease the *princeps* and integrate into the Roman society: indeed, the epigraphic evidence from Aosta rarely reveals any traces of a Celtic identity in the Roman empire, unlike other cities, like Novaria.

People's participation in Italy-wide economic, social and cultural structures, and the increasing focus on Rome, varied enormously in Gallia Cisalpina. It is important to understand the extent to which people were allowed to participate. With Boii and Senones largely “extinct,” the two remaining major players were the Insubres and Cenomani who, according to Cicero, were explicitly excluded from Roman citizenship (*Balb.* 14.32). This must have been an anachronistic statement since all the Galli north of the Po should have acquired *ius Latii* (Latin rights) after the *lex Pompeia* from 89 BC which in turn gave them the right to acquire Roman citizenship if they held a magistracy in the new *coloniae Latinae* that were specifically created to implement the *lex Pompeia* (colonies without settlers: Asc. *Pis.* 3). But this would mean that certainly prior to 89 the Insubres, Cenomani and probably other Galli must have had no incentive to “integrate” into this Rome-dominated Italy. This had consequences for local elite strategies to consolidate their power and it also affected sub-elite people in their life choices: from the archaeology it is apparent that the Transpadane Galli did hardly imitate Roman or Italo-Roman culture in this period, and imported prestige objects are comparatively rare.

However, changes were happening, though very gradually. For example, typically Celtic weaponry graves were becoming rarer, though they continued in some parts of north Italy down to the first century, like at Oleggio, including the ritualised destruction of swords (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999). More importantly, a number of cultural developments seem to express stronger local identities amongst the *Galli*, perhaps even a “Celtic” identity. Instead of La Tène culture “lagging behind” social developments, as suggested by De Marinis (1977), local cultures seem to be thriving and developing. Among others, new status symbols were evolving during the second century, like the *vaso a trottola*: this was a locally produced wine vessel that is a leitmotif in the funerary archaeology of Lombardy, the Ticino valley and the Lago Maggiore. It first seems to circulate in the Val d'Ossola and the neighbouring canton Ticino as early as La Tène C (cf. Agostinetti 1994, 172, fig. 16 for distribution pattern). The particular shape and decoration of this vessel, widely present in high-status tombs, indicates its symbolic value in local societies – a symbolism that seems to carry on down to the mid-first century when replaced by Roman-style *olpai* (Haeussler 2013a).

The *dramma padana* makes these new “Celtic identities” more apparent (cf. Crawford 1985, 79; Arslan 1994, 73; Marinetti and Prosdociami 1994; Marinetti, Prosdociami and Solinas 2000). Between the Roman conquest and the early first century, the drachma's iconography changed dramatically. The original Massaliote lion was increasingly acquiring abstract forms, described by Pautasso (1962) as “scorpion” or “quadruped;” similarly, Artemis on the obverse also became more vigorous and ex-

pressive. This iconography resembles Transalpine La Tène art, like contemporary Transalpine coins, and might be seen as a (conscious?) expression of “otherness.” Perhaps this implies that people north of the Po felt different from the rest of Italy in the second century, despite (or, perhaps as a result of) increased participation in Italy-wide affairs.

The drachma’s original legend *Massa(lia)* degenerated into some indecipherable vertical strokes during the second century. From ca. 100 the local élites must have reached a level of literacy that resulted in new coin legends in Lepontic, notably in Lombardy and eastern Piedmont (“Insubrian” territory?). This could indicate the formation of specific socio-political entities in north Italy: Mediolanum seems to crystallise as a new political and cultural hub in this period – a large centre at the heart of the Insubrian territory and presumably the site of a mint for the Padane drachma (Arslan 1986). The drachma expresses aspects of local identity, sovereignty and *autonomia*.

But the distribution patterns of these coins with Lepontic legends (Pautasso types 9–12) are not clear cut: the *toutiopouos* drachmas mainly cover the area between Milan and Verona (such as the famous coin hoard from Manerbio with 1,400 *toutiopouos* coins), while *rikos*-coins are also commonplace around Como, the Lago Maggiore and the Roman colonies Piacenza and Cremona. Following the Roman example, these legends have been frequently interpreted as personal names of the issuer. But it seems much more plausible to relate the coin legends *rikos* (from *rix*, “king,” Lambert 1994; for plural *rikoi* cf. Marinnetti and Prosdocimi 1994, 40–41) and *toutiopouos* (Marinnetti and Prosdocimi 1994, 39–40; for Delamarre 2003, 299: “boeuf-citoyen(?)”) to the political terms attested on contemporary Lepontic inscriptions, such as *rikanas*, “of the queen” (at Oleggio); *takos toutas* (at Briona), is often considered translated “by decree of the people” and derives from *touta*, *populus* – a word also known from both Oscan (*tuta*) and Old Irish (*tuath*) (Delamarre 2003, 256 ff., 294 ff., 299). The *rikos* and *toutiopouos* legends from ca. 100–70 may have aimed at consolidating regional authority or new institutions in northwest Italy, a fundamental step away from the common Cisalpine coinage. This may reflect new forms of statehood. And at Vercellae, a first-century bilingual inscription was set up by the *argantocomaterecus/arkatako{k}materekos*, literally the “silver master,” perhaps a *quaestor* or “moneyer,” indicating the importance of coinage and an institutionalisation of power in the form of magistracies. The Romans did not attempt to replace this coinage with their denarius. Instead, they minted a particular coin just for Cisalpine Gaul, the *victoriatus/quinarius*; Crawford (1985) convincingly argues that the drachma was embedded in local traditions as a form of social transaction and it was therefore difficult to replace it with another monetary system.

Vercellae’s *argantocomaterecus/arkatako{k}materekos* leads us to the “Lepontic” inscriptions of the second and first centuries and their relationship to Latin. At Vercellae, the dedicant probably considered Latin to be more important than Celtic, hence the larger letters. This may mirror his own involvement in Italy-wide affairs and/or with Roman administration, or it reflects the diverse communities living in

Vercellae at the time. The Vercellae inscription has a religious context, defining the boundaries of a sacred space by four stelae (also cf. Latin dedication *inter quattuor terminos* at Chieri: *CIL* V 7493), which may have been triggered by increasing urbanisation at Vercellae, perhaps catalysed by its Latin colonial status after 89. This lack of *Latinitas* in Vercellae's bilingual inscription would be striking for people's cultural identity in this period.

Literacy seems to have become increasingly important across Italy and Celtic speakers in north Italy equally embraced it, not only on coinage, but also on the myriad of graffiti that is today available, like those discovered at the cemetery of Oleggio (second century BCE – fourth century CE) (Morandi 2004; Spagnolo Garzoli 1999). Though still a Celtic language, we have to consider the difference between the earlier Lepontic and later Cisalpine Gaulish: is it a different Celtic dialect or language, or merely a later phase of Lepontic (cf. Uhlich 2007)? In any case, it shows how important writing in a Celtic language had become: local elites did not yet see the need to write Latin. Latin was only gradually becoming more visible in north Italy and is rarely attested before the first century. Italo-Roman names and titles are already found in some “Lepontic” inscriptions that might indicate the influence of Latin in people's spoken language. There is the *kuitos lekatos* (i.e. *Quintus legatus*) from the “Lepontic” inscription from Briona (*RIG* II.1, E-1). At the cemetery at Cerrione, “Lepontic” and Latin inscriptions reflect the cultural transformations in the first century: the epitaphs of *Lukios Sipionios* or *Vibios Ioviku* (ca. 100–40) show the adoption of Italo-Roman names (Lucius, Vibius) and their integration in the local onomastic system, leading to a gradual change-over to Latin inscriptions, like *Primus [T]rouconis*, “Primus, son of Trouco(?)” (Cresci and Solinas 2013); less a sign of “Roman” identity, but the result of increasing interaction across Italy.

Tuder (mod. Todi) presents us with a unique inscription: apart from providing two, more or less identical bilingual epitaphs on two sides of the stone, it also seems unexpected to find a Celtic text in Umbria. Outside Cisalpine Gaul, this may have been an expression of this family's “diaspora identity” after having moved to Todi sometime between 150 and 50 (Poccetti 2015, 388). Poccetti (2015, 390) suggests that people employed their native language to record their traditions for posterity because they were aware of losing their traditions. Perhaps this was a more unconscious process, otherwise we might expect many more Gallic inscriptions in Italy. Interestingly, our Gallic “migrants” at Todi did not use Umbrian, but Latin. And as in the case of Vercellae, the Latin text is longer in order to make the meaning of the Gallic version as explicit as possible for Latin readers, providing information that was understood for a “native” audience, like the Gallic verb *karnitu* translated as *locavit et statuit*, or the unconventional Latin phrase *frater eius minimus*, unknown from Latin, which must have been implied in the Gallic personal names. Amazingly, the closest parallel is an early fifth-century Lepontic inscription from Vergiate (Varese), providing similar terms and phrases for these burial rites (Morandi 2004, 594, no. 106). Todi is by far not the most outlandish location for inscriptions in “Lepontic.” We can also find them in Alpine and Transalpine locations which prompted Ma-

rinetti and Prosdocimi (1994) to call Lepontic a “national alphabet.” But does it really convey a sense of “Celtic identity” or “otherness” in the face of Roman imperialism and colonialism? Or did people just use the writing system of their neighbours that was already adapted for a Celtic language?

People’s legal status can significantly affect one’s integration and participation. The situation must have changed significantly after the Social War when most of the Cispadani, notably the citizens of the Latin colonies in the Aemilia, had received Roman citizenship in 90, while others, explicitly the Transpadani, received *ius Latii* in 89. The latter was no block grant, but, as we are told by Asconius, indigenous settlements were transformed into Latin colonies without any deduction of settlers, while attributing (*adtributio*) neighbouring communities to these *coloniae* (Asc. Pis. 3; Plin. HN 3.24). This probably was a longer process since the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, most likely dating after the citizenship grant to the Transpadani in 49 and the end of provincial status in 41, still mentions a variety of communities with jurisdictional rights, including *oppidum*, *municipium*, *colonia*, *praefectura*, *forum*, *uicus*, *conciliabulum*, *castellum* and *territorium* (Roman Statutes nos. 28–30), while in theory only *municipia* and Caesarian/triumviral *coloniae* should have existed (e.g. in a comparable law from Este). Cisalpine Gaul had only been a regular province in the territorial and administrative sense of the term for a short time, perhaps to implement the administrative reorganisation after 89; the first regular proconsular governor is only attested for 75 (Sall. Hist. 2.98); Caesar was governor from 58 to 49 (Cic. Pis. 2, 5) and granted Roman citizenship to the Transpadani in 49 (Cass. Dio 41.36.3). The province was finally dissolved by Octavian (App. B Civ. 3.30; 5.3.22; Cass. Dio 48.12.5) who later divided Cisalpine Gaul in four *regiones* (Plin. HN 3.46): *VIII Aemilia*, *IX Liguria*, *X Venetia et Histria*, *XI Transpadana*, excluding many Alpine regions he conquered (*Alpes Maritimae*, *Alpes Cottiae*, *Alpes Graiae*), with the notable exception of the Salassi who became part of *regio XI*.

While the land of Senones and Boii became heavily colonised, indigenous cultures and languages had the best chance to persist and evolve north of the Po. Interaction with Italo-Roman “cultures” led to numerous developments, like selective adoption and adaptation of Roman status symbols or the development of new symbols and identities. Socio-cultural change took place at different “speeds” regarding imports, rituals, language, epigraphic habit and dress. We should not forget the level of economic integration that started rather early: already Cato described the Insubres as a major producer of pork. Roman identity only became an issue with the increasing participation of Cisalpine Gauls in Roman affairs and the possibility of integration, especially since the enfranchisement into the Roman citizen-body which created new aspirations. Down to the first century, La Tène culture remains an important part of the Galli’s identity, notably in the funerary context north of the Po: the *vaso a trottola*, for example, remains widely present down to ca. 40 BCE, as we can see from numerous second- and first-century cemeteries that preserve Iron Age rituals down to the first century when they portray increasing cultural transformations (e.g., Oleggio, Lomellina, etc.).

Despite the presumed “romanizzazione,” aspects of pre-Roman identities persist. Many Iron Age settlements acquired their own particular characteristics during the first and second centuries CE (Haeussler 2013a). Throughout the *municipium* of Novaria, for example, people focused on their own community with a high level of euergetism and many Celtic personal names, seemingly continuing the strong self-identity across the Ticino valley from pre-Roman times. Vercellae, on the other hand, appears more outward-looking with many locals making a career in Rome’s praetorian guards and a senatorial elite giving rise to an increased self-identity with Rome. The identities of rural communities are different again, as clearly seen in the case of Canavese and Cerrione. The alimentary tablets from Veleia show the continued use of Celtic toponyms. Moreover, a strong sense of local identity persisted in some regions. Between Novara, Como and Bergamo, including Milan and Lodi, people’s behaviours seem to be shaped by long-standing “traditions,” notably in the religious sphere: epigraphic dedications are more prominent in this region in Roman times than in the cities along Po and Via Aemilia. We should not talk about “Celtic identity” or “cultural resistance;” those are persisting cultural understandings and behavioural conventions, changing only gradually, while people adopted new media, like Latin epigraphy, primarily in a region that had previously been using “Lepontic” (Haeussler 2015). We should bear in mind that, for example, the myth of Herakles/Hercules might have been already known (and “customised”) in Alpine regions for generations, as seen from mid-fourth-century Herakles/Hercules bronze figurines from Borgosesia (Turin). In the Principate, some Celtic theonyms have clear parallels in the Transalpina, like Albiorix, the various mother goddesses (e.g. Matronae Dervonnae from Milan), and of course Belenos who became Apollo Belenos at the local sanctuary at Aquileia, even frequented by the emperors Diocletian and Maximianus (*CIL* V 732 = *ILS* 625; cf. Haeussler 2015 with further bibliography).

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Contributors

Valeria Acconcia is an archaeologist with a BA in Classics, a Diploma of Specialization in Archaeology, and a PhD, all from the University of Rome “La Sapienza.” From 2009 to 2014, she held a research fellowship in Etruscology and Italic Archaeology at Chieti University. She is now an Assistant and Lecturer in Etruscology and Italic Archaeology, and in Italic Languages and Epigraphy, at Chieti University. In charge of the excavations at Veio, Populonia, Monteriggioni, Colle Val d’Elsa, and Iuvanum, she now directs or co-directs excavations at Naveli, Castrano, and Peltuinum.

Enrico Benelli has his PhD from the University of Rome. As a specialist in Etruscan epigraphy, he is currently a researcher at the Institute for Ancient Mediterranean Studies (ISMA) of the Italian National Research Council (CNR), where he has been entrusted with the editing of the *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae* and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*. He is also a specialist in central-Italic archaeology, thanks to his participation in the study of the necropolis of Fossa, two years of work experience for the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche*, and, finally, co-direction of the excavations in the Sabine necropolis at Colle del Forno. He has been Professor at the University of Udine, and Visiting Professor at the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris; since 2014, he has been an Associate Member of the *Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici*.

Guy Bradley is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at Cardiff University. His research focuses on the history and archaeology of Rome and Italy in the first millennium BC. He is the author of *Ancient Umbria* (2000), and the editor with J.-P. Wilson of *Greek and Roman Colonization* (2006), and with E. Isayev and C. Riva of *Ancient Italy* (2007). He is currently working on a book on early Rome.

Having studied in Paris (Ecole Normale Supérieure) and Rome (Ecole Française de Rome), **Domini-que Briquel** is now Professor at Sorbonne University (Latin) and teaches Etruscan and Italic languages and civilizations at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. He has published several books on the Etruscans, especially on the debate about their origins, and on early Rome: *Les Pélasges en Italie* (1984), *L’origine lydienne des Étrusques* (1991), *Les Tyrrhènes, peuple des tours, l’autochtonie des Étrusques chez Denys d’Halicarnasse* (1993), *Le regard des autres, les origines de Rome vues par ses ennemis* (1997), *Mythe et révolution, la fabrication d’un récit: la naissance de la république à Rome* (2007), and *La prise de Rome par les Gaulois, lecture mythique d’un événement historique* (2008).

Born in Milan (Italy), **Loredana Cappelletti** has a DPhil and a Specialization in Ancient History, Classical Studies and Epigraphy from the University of Vienna (Austria). She currently lectures in the field of Roman History and History of Roman Public Law at the Department of Ancient History, Papyrology and Epigraphy, and at the Department of Roman Law and Antique Legal History, University of Vienna. Her publications (www.loredanacappelletti.it) and research (www.arca.it) address the political and constitutional history of Rome and other populations of ancient Italy from the seventh century BC to the second century AD.

Alessandra Ciarico is a prehistoric archaeologist and an archaeospeleologist. She has a BA and Diploma of Specialization in Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology from the University of Rome “La Sapienza.” She has collaborated for several years in research projects and studies for publications in prehistoric ecology at “La Sapienza.” Moreover, from 2000 she has been in charge of excavations of preventive archaeology in Rome, and at numerous sites in other regions, such as the Abruzzo, Marche and Emilia Romagna. She has directed several excavations in Picene contexts,

for instance at the settlement at Matelica and at the necropolis of Novilara. She has also been in charge of the prehistoric finds and settlements for the MPM Survey Project (Cyprus).

Massimiliano Di Fazio is Honorary Fellow (Cultore della materia) at the Università di Pavia, where he graduated in Etruscology. He then obtained the Specialisation in Archaeology (Etruscology) and a PhD in Ancient History at the Università di Roma “La Sapienza.” He also had the opportunity to pursue his research thanks to some Fellowships (Aywin Cotton Foundation, Fondation Hardt) and post-doctoral experiences in several foreign institutions. Among his fields of interest are: social and religious history of pre-Roman Italy, especially Etruscans, Samnites, Volscians, and other peoples of central Italy; the “Romanization” of central Italy; and Etruscan cultural memory.

Gary D. Farney received his PhD in Latin from Bryn Mawr College in 1999, and has been a Fellow at the American Academy in Rome (1996–1997), the American School for Classical Studies in Athens (1997–1998), and the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations in Istanbul (2013). He is currently Associate Professor of History at Rutgers University (Newark). He is also the Editor of the *Journal of Ancient History* (<http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/jah>) and the Co-Director for the Upper Sabina Tiberina Project (<http://fieldschool.rutgers.edu>). His current book project is on aristocratic family identity during the Roman Republic and early Empire.

Michael P. Fronda is associate professor of ancient history in the Department of History and Classical Studies at McGill University (Montreal). He is an expert on the history of the Roman Republic. He authored *Between Rome and Carthage* (Frona 2010), contributed to Blackwell’s *Companion to the Punic Wars* (Frona 2011), and has written several articles relating to the Second Punic War. Currently his research focuses on processes of Italian integration and “Romanization” in late Republic, and Greek federalism in southern Italy.

Francesca Fulminante’s main research focuses on urbanization and state formation in Middle Tyrrhenian Italy with a particular focus on *Latium vetus*. She has just completed a Marie Skłodowska Curie Advanced Fellowship with a project on “Connected Past and People. Identities and Complex Politics in Middle Tyrrhenian Italy” at the University of Roma Tre (Italy) in collaboration with Prof. Alessandro Guidi. She is also a visiting scholar and guest lecturer at the Division of Archaeology in Cambridge (United Kingdom). She has published *Le Sepolture Principesche in Latium vetus* (L’Erma di Bretschneider 2003) and the *Urbanization of Rome and Latium vetus from the Bronze Age to the Archaic Era* (Cambridge U. P. 2014). She has contributed to excavations in Rome, Pompeii, Veii, Crustumerium, Broom (Surrey) and Gubbio/Perugia.

Marijke Gnade is Professor by Special Appointment in the Archaeology of pre-Roman Cultures in Central Italy at the University of Amsterdam. The focus of her research revolves around the issue of identity formation, ethnicity and material culture in the past. Since 1990 she is the Director of the Satricum Project, a research project that investigates the ancient town of Satricum (modern Le Ferriere, Lazio). At the same time, she is the academic consultant for the province of Latina (Lazio) with respect to its archaeological heritage.

Joshua R. Hall has recently completed a PhD at Cardiff University with a thesis examining warfare and social power in early Rome and Etruria. He has published on the connections between religion, mythology, and warfare amongst the Etruscans and is the author of a number of forthcoming papers on Greek warfare. He is currently completing a number of book projects, including a monograph on Punic warfare and an edited volume on unit cohesion in ancient armies. His primary research interests are in Iron Age Italy, early Rome, and ancient warfare.

Helle W. Horsnæs, MA and PhD. in Classical Archaeology (University of Copenhagen), wrote her dissertation on *The Cultural Development in North-Western Lucania c. 600–273 BC*, since published under this title with L'Erma di Bretschneider in 2002. She has been Curator of Ancient Coins in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, at the National Museum of Denmark since 1999, where she also has published on coin finds from Denmark.

Patrick Kent's research focuses on the relationship between the Romans and their Italian allies during the Republican period. This work focuses in particular on the way in which the Roman army and alliance system developed out of earlier Italian military and political traditions, as well as the processes of integration, social interaction, and the growth of states. He earned his PhD in History from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2012, and has since held teaching positions at Michigan State University, Elon University, North Carolina State University, and UNC-CH.

Cesare Letta is Professor Emeritus of Roman History at Pisa University, where he has served since 1980. For twenty years he has directed the Pisan Archaeological Mission at Collelongo (Abruzzi). In 1999 the University of Pisa awarded him the *Ordine del Cherubino*. He is the director of the Journal *Studi Classici e Orientali* (Pisa), and member of the scientific committee of *Rivista di cultura classica e medievale* (Roma), of *Florentia Iliberritana* (Granada), and of *Revista de Historia* (Concepción, Chile). His publications cover a wide range of topics and his interests include Latin epigraphy, authors such as Cato the Censor, Seneca and Cassius Dio, and subjects such as the history and culture of Italic peoples, the Romanization of Italy as well as of Gallic and Alpine provinces, the Severan period, and the Imperial cult.

Dr. **Kathryn Lomas** is an Honorary Senior Research Associate in archaeology at University College London, and a part-time tutor and Honorary Fellow in Classics at the University of Durham. She has research specialisms in the history and archaeology of early Italy and the Western Mediterranean, ethnic and cultural identities in the ancient world, and the development of literacy in the ancient Mediterranean. She is the author of *Rome and the Western Greeks* and *Roman Italy, 338 BC – AD 200*, and the editor of several volumes of collected papers, and has published numerous articles on her areas of interest.

From 1976 to 2012 **Dorica Manconi** was a Funzionario Archeologo del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali for the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria. She also directed the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Perugia for five years (2000–2005). Previous to this, she was named a Researcher of Archaeology at the University of Cagliari in 1980. In addition to her research on the Umbri (see e.g. in the bibliography of Ch. 31, Manconi 2010, 2014a-b, Manconi, et al., 2015), she has worked on the history of the collections of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Perugia, with particular emphasis on the numismatic collections.

Daniele Federico Maras received his PhD in Archaeology (Etruscology, 2002) and a Specialization degree in Classical Archaeology (2004) at La Sapienza University of Rome, where he taught Epigraphy of pre-Roman Italy from 2006 to 2010. He has been a visiting scholar at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (2011), Margo Tytus Visiting Scholar Fellow at the University of Cincinnati (2014), Associate Research Fellow of the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University (2014–2015), Samuel H. Kress Lecturer for the Archaeological Institute of America (2015–2016). He has also served as Socio Corrispondente of the *Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, a member of the *Società Italiana di Storia delle Religioni*, a member of the Board of Teachers for the PhD in Linguistic History of Ancient Mediterranean at the IULM University of Milan. Among many articles on a range of topics, he is also author of *Il dono votivo. Gli dei e il*

sacro nelle iscrizioni etrusche di culto (2009), and, with G. Colonna, of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, II.1.5, dedicated to Veii and the Faliscan area (2006).

Giulia Masci received her PhD in History from the Università degli studi di Torino in 2010. She has authored a number of articles on the ancient Sabines, and is currently the Project Manager for the Upper Sabina Tiberina Project. She lives in England, working for Project and Programme Management Support at the Natural History Museum in London.

Oliva Menozzi received her BA in Classics, from the University of Chieti, her MSt in Archaeology from Oxford University, her Diploma of Specialization in Classical Archaeology from the University of Rome “La Sapienza,” and her DPhil/PhD in Classical Archaeology from Oxford. From 1999 to 2002 she held a research fellowship in Classical Archaeology at Chieti University. Since 2002 she has been a Researcher in Classical Archaeology at Chieti University, and since 2003 a Lecturer of Archaeology of the Greek Colonies for BA courses, and of Archaeology of the Roman Provinces for MPhil courses. She has participated in excavations at Hatria (mod. Atri), Iuvanum, Trevignano Romano, Cyrene and Lamluda (Libya), Pyrgos (Cyprus), and at Luxor (Egypt). She has directed the excavations and surveys at Aufinum (mod. Capestrano) and at Antinum (mod. Civita d’Antino), and the Archaeological Mission of Chieti University in Libya, Egypt and Cyprus.

Francesca Mermati earned her first PhD in Archaeology of Magna Graecia, with a specialization in Archaeology, at the University of Naples Federico II (2004, 2005). She was a Fellow at the same university from 2006 to 2007 (in the History Department) and 2009 and 2010 (in the Philosophy Department) working on Cumae and Paestum, and before (2004–2005) at the CNR/INNOVA in Naples. At the end of May 2016 she gained a second PhD in Archaeology and Art History at the University Federico II. She is currently involved in research on ancient Campania and South Italy, with a particular attention to the connections between Greeks and local peoples in the Iron Age, Orientalizing period and Archaic period. Her current book project is on the princely tombs of the Orientalizing Period from San Valentino Torio in the Sarno Valley, Campania.

Sara Neri received her Ph.D. in Etruscology at University of Rome “La Sapienza” in 2008. Editor of *Officina Etruscologia*, her first book on the Etruscan Orientalizing Geometric pottery in South Etruria appeared in 2010. Her research interests are mostly focused on material culture, early defensive system and funerary ideology at Veii and since 2005 she is the co-director of the Veii Project – excavation at Veii-Piazza d’Armi. She is the co-editor of the forthcoming third volume of Veii-Piazza d’Armi. She is part of a research group which is publishing the Iron Age and Orientalizing necropolis of San Martino of Capena.

Silvia Paltineri was educated at the University of Pavia and the University of Padova. She earned her PhD in 2006. She teaches the civilization of pre-Roman Italy both at the University of Pavia and at the University of Padova, where she has also taught Etruscan Studies from 2006 to 2012. Her research focuses on the Iron Age in northern Italy and the Etruscan presence in the Po valley. Dr. Paltineri is the editor of two books and author of fifty publications, including reviews, articles and a book about the Iron Age cemetery of Chiavari. She is a member of the Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria.

Duane W. Roller is Professor Emeritus of Classics at the Ohio State University. Educated at the University of Oklahoma and Harvard University, he is the author of a dozen books (most recently *The Geography of Strabo*, Cambridge 2014, and *Cleopatra: A Biography*, Oxford 2010) and nearly 200 articles. As an archaeologist, he has excavated in Greece, Italy, Turkey, Israel, and Jordan. He has also been a Fulbright scholar three times.

Saskia T. Roselaar's research focuses on the social, economic and legal history of the Roman Republic. She has worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the Universities of Manchester and Nottingham, and as a teaching fellow at the Universities of Reading and Ghent.

Roman Roth teaches Classics at the University of Cape Town. His research interests include the cultural history of Republican Italy, the interface between written and material evidence, as well as ceramic studies. He is a former Research Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge (2004–2008), and has held a Senior Fellowship of the Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation, based at the University of Cologne (2015–2016). He also directs an excavation project at the site of ancient Capena (RM).

Federico Santangelo is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at Newcastle University. He has taught and published on various aspects of Roman history, mostly Republican, and is the author of *Sulla, the Elites and Empire. A Study of Roman Policies in Italy and the Greek East* (2007), *Divination, Prediction and the End of the Roman Republic* (2013), and *Marius* (2015).

Rafael Scopacasa is research fellow at the Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter, where he got his PhD in 2010. He was the Raleigh Radford Rome Scholar at the British School at Rome (2010/11). His recent publications include *Ancient Samnium: Settlement, Culture and Identity between History and Archaeology* (Oxford U. P., 2015); and “Gender and ritual in ancient Italy: a quantitative approach to grave goods and skeletal data in pre-Roman Samnium” (*American Journal of Archaeology* 118.2, 2014). He is interested in bringing together historical, epigraphic and archaeological evidence as a means of constructing alternative histories of pre-Roman Italy.

Christopher Smith received his DPhil from the University of Oxford in 1992, and took up a position at the University of St Andrews in the same year. From 2009 to 2017 he was Director of the British School at Rome.

Tesse D. Stek is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Archaeology of Leiden University. His work concentrates on the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Italy, especially on the forms and impact of Roman expansionism in ancient Italy. He coordinates a NWO-funded research project on Roman Republican colonization involving systematic comparison between Italic settlement organization and material culture and early Roman colonial areas in central and south Italy. Recent work includes the edited volumes *Roman Republican Colonization: new perspectives from archaeology and ancient history* (eds. Stek/Pelgrom, Rome, 2014) and *The impact of Rome on cult places and religious practices in ancient Italy* (eds. Stek/Burgers, London, 2015).

Jacopo Tabolli received his Ph.D. in Archaeology from University of Rome “La Sapienza” in 2012. Editor of *Officina Etruscologia*, his first book on the necropoleis of Narce during the Early Iron Age and the Early Orientalizing Period appeared in 2013. In 2012 he funded the MAVNA museum in Mazzano Romano and since then he has been the scientific director of the museum. He has been excavating for several years at Veii and he is currently co-directing different excavation projects in the site of Narce at the sanctuary of Le Rote and at the necropolis of Cavone di Monte Li Santi Le Rote.

Gianluca Tagliamonte is Professor of Etruscology and Italic antiquities at the University of Salento (Lecce, Italy). He was author and editor at the Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana “G. Treccani” (Rome) (1990–1998). Then, he was archaeologist in the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities, for the Superintendency of the Provinces of Naples and Caserta (1999–2002). He is member of the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici. He has carried out various surveys

and archaeological excavations, and he is director of the excavations (2002–2015) of the late-Republican sanctuary of Monte San Nicola at Pietravairano (Caserta, Italy). Among his main publications: *I figli di Marte. Mobilità, mercenari, mercenariato italici in Magna Grecia e Sicilia*. Roma: Bretschneider, 1994; *I Sanniti. Caudini, Irpini, Pentri, Carricini, Frentani*. Milano: Longanesi, 1997, 2005²; *Le Terme di Diocleziano*. Roma-Milano: Electa, 1998; *Ricerche di archeologia medio-adriatica, I. Le necropoli: contesti e materiali*. Edited. Galatina: Congedo, 2008; *Magna Grecia. Città greche di Magna Grecia e Sicilia*. Edited with F. D'Andria and P. G. Guzzo. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana "G. Treccani," 2012; *Città vesuviane. Antichità e fortuna. Il suburbio e l'agro di Pompei, Ercolano, Oplontis e Stabiae*. Edited with P. G. Guzzo. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana "G. Treccani," 2013; *Archeologia dei luoghi e delle pratiche di culto*. Edited with L. Giardinò. Bari: Edipuglia, 2013; *Ricerche archeologiche in Albania*. Edited. Roma: Aracne, 2014; *Sui due versanti dell'Appennino: necropoli e distretti culturali*. Edited with F. Gilotta. Roma: Bretschneider 2015.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa received the PhD. in Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology and Latin from Bryn Mawr College, and has participated in excavations in the US and abroad, including Corinth and Poggio Civitate (Murlo). She has been a consultant for the Kyle M. Phillips Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. She has published extensively on various topics of Etruscan culture, including architecture and shipbuilding, trade and the Etruscan-Punic alliance, anatomical votives and health in Etruria, votive offerings and divination in Etruscan and Italic religion, and has appeared on the *History* and *Discovery Channels*. Her books include *A Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum* (2005), *Divining the Etruscan World: the Brontoscopic Calendar and Religious Practice* (Cambridge, 2012), and *The Etruscan World* (editor, Routledge 2013).

John W. Wonder teaches in the Classics Department at San Francisco State University. His publications on the Lucanians include: "Lucanians and Southern Italy." in McNerney, Jeremy, editor. *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014, 514–526; "The Italiote League: south Italian alliances of the fifth and fourth Centuries BC." *Classical Antiquity* 31.1 (2012): 128–151; "What happened to the Greeks in Lucanian-occupied Paestum? Multiculturalism in southern Italy." *Phoenix* 56 (2002): 40–55.

Douwe Yntema is Emeritus Professor of Mediterranean Archaeology at VU University Amsterdam. He is a member of the CLUE Research Institute of the same university and a fellow of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science. He (co-)directed a series of multi-period field surveys (of both urban and rural type) and various excavations in south-Apulia (sites of Oria, Valesio, Muro Tenente and L'Amastuola).

Nicholas Zair studied Classics, followed by a Master's and Doctorate in Linguistics, at Oxford University. He then became a Research Fellow at Peterhouse, Cambridge University, and is now a Research Associate on the AHRC-funded research project "Greek in Italy," in the Classics Faculty at Cambridge. His research has focussed on the historical development of the phonology and morphology of the Celtic and Italic language families. He has recently finished a book on the use of the Greek alphabet to write Oscan ("Oscan in the Greek alphabet," Cambridge U. P., forthcoming).

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